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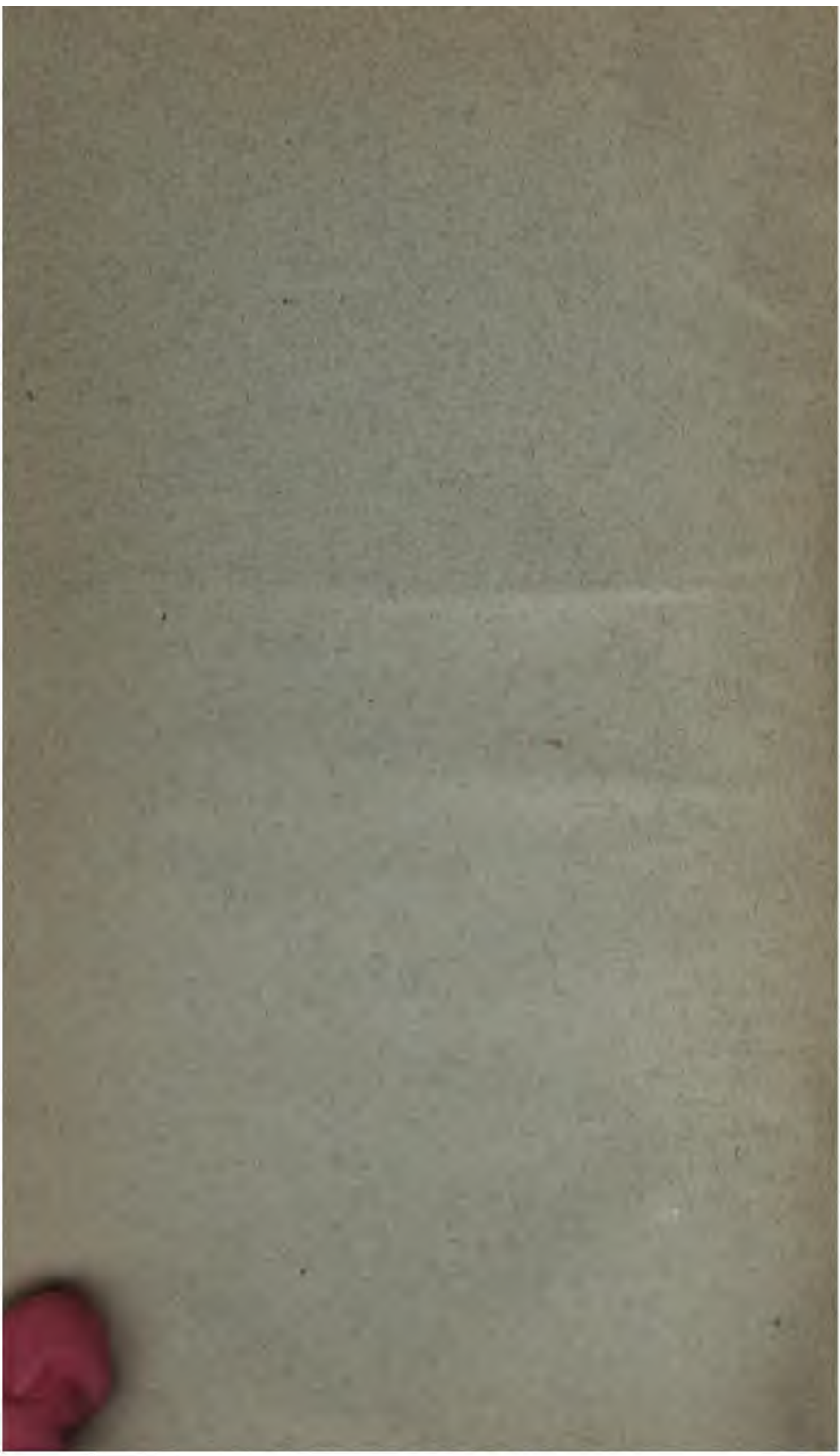

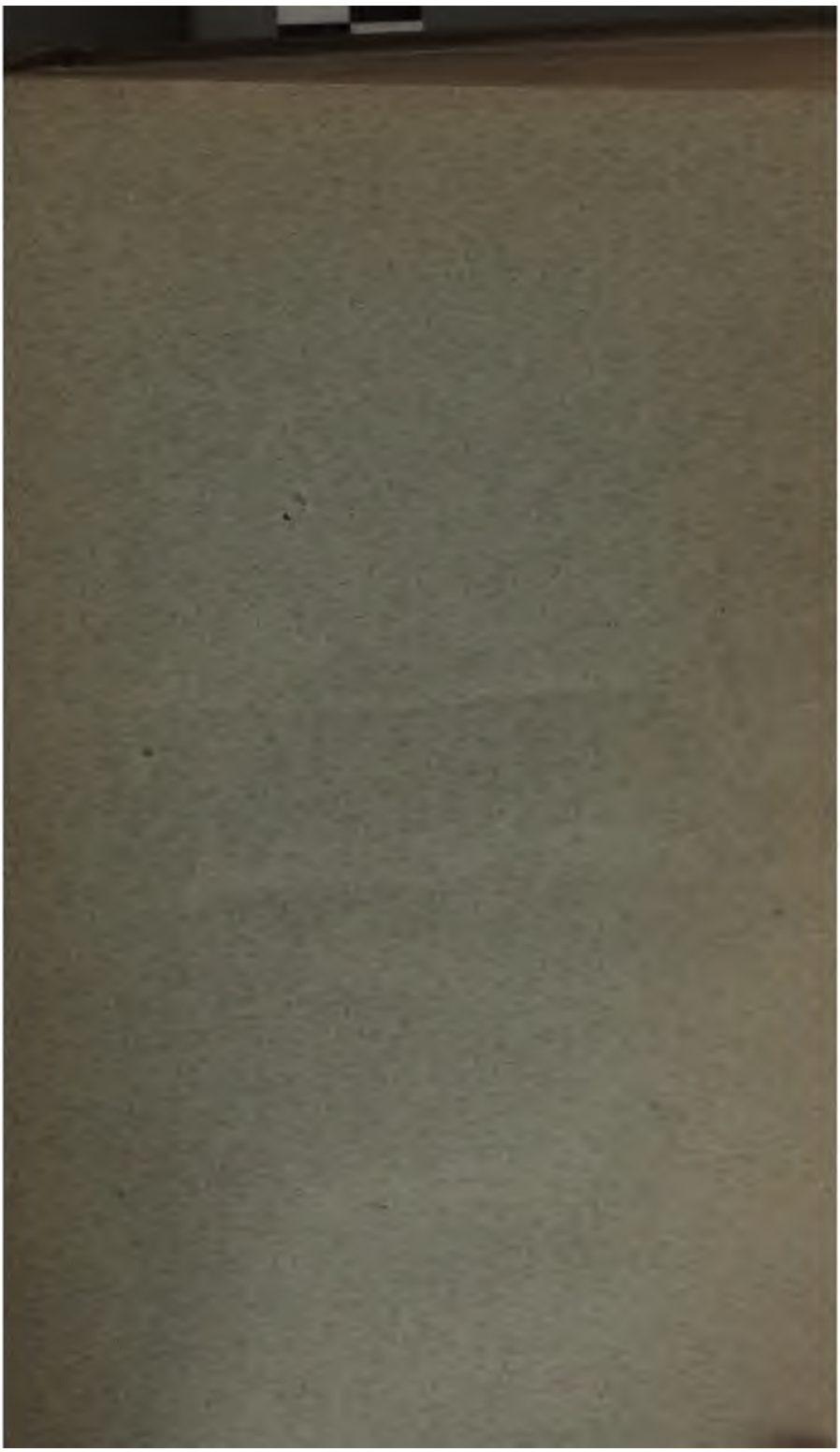

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

A

Quarterly Review.

VOL. LVI.

JULY—OCTOBER.

LONDON:
JOHN AND CHARLES MOZLEY.
6, PATERNOSTER ROW;
NEW YORK: WILLMER & ROGERS.

1868.

LONDON :
R. CLAY, SON, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS,
BREAD STREET HILL.

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JULY, 1868.

ART. I.—1. *Chronicon de Lanercost.* (Maitland Club.) 1839.
2. *Handlyng Synne.* By ROBERT DE BRUNE. (Roxburgh Club.)
3. *Book of the Knight de la Tour-Laundry* (E.E.T.S.). 1868.

THE age of instruction by good stories has passed away. People are much too hard-headed and clear-sighted nowadays to be arrested and impressed by a marvellous tale. They will insist upon finding explanations for the marvels, and explanations are fatal to good stories. The Middle Age was the true period for stories; the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries were especially prolific of them. In the sixteenth century men began to argue and rail, and the day of stories was past. Now, in order to constitute a good story, the narrator should not in any way be tied to actual facts, or even to the probable. He should be allowed without question to expatiate in the realms of history and geography; the elements should be completely at his command; the spirit-world should be perfectly familiar ground to him; the Blessed Virgin, saints, angels, and fiends should be ready actors in the drama; and time and space should be annihilated at his will. Instead of that captious old law, *Nec Deus intersit*, it should be competent to introduce the Deity at any and every stage, and familiarly to know the secret counsels of Heaven. All these conditions the mediæval story-tellers assumed, and therefore no wonder that they told good stories. In those days it never occurred to any one to ask that disagreeable modern question whether the tale were true; all that they regarded was, that it should be edifying; nor, indeed, was the edification very rigorously scrutinized, for it frequently happened that the story was full of the most indelicate details; that the main end, the object, or the moral of the tale should bear upon religion or morality is all that can be said to be required. We are all familiar with mediæval stories in Chaucer, and other books, where not even this was observed; but it is fair to say that the

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majority of stories told in the legends of saints, and in the manuals, religious and moral, which contain such an abundant store of tales, have this characteristic. Of the books we have placed at the head of this article, the 'Lanercost Chronicle' was written by English Franciscan or Minorite friars, the great collectors, manipulators, and dexterous users of these stories; the 'Handlyng Synne' is a book of stories, made by a good canon to enforce religious duties; and the 'Book de la Tour-Laundry' is a collection of stories made in France, by a father, for the use of his daughters. As these latter were also drawn, as is acknowledged, from clerical sources, we have in these three books a fair sample of the sort of stories which were familiarly in the mouth of the religious teacher in the Middle Age.

It has often and with great probability been asserted, that one chief cause of the high popularity which the friars obtained was the amount of good stories that they had at command. They were constantly introducing these into their sermons, thus making their discourses far more attractive than the stiff and dry orations of the parish priest; and we may be sure that in their frequent visits in their districts they were wise enough to soothe the unpalatable demand for alms with the softening influence of a piquant and merry tale.

> 'Now mot a frere studyen and stumblen in tales,
> And leven hys matynes and no masse singen,
> And loken him lesynges that liketh the puple,
> To purchasen him his pursefull to pay for the drynke.'[1]

They thus made themselves acceptable, not only as quack doctors and pedlars, but also as having at command a wonderful fund of thrilling and sensational interest and amusement. What the trouveur was in the knight's castle, that was the friar in the farm-house or hostelry. The unblushing indecency of many of the stories may prevent their reproduction in modern days, but there is enough and to spare on record, even omitting the indelicate stories, for us to get a fair notion of the sort of tales that the friars told and delighted to record and accumulate, of the seasoning which they provided for their pulpit discourses and their private exhortations in commendation of that highest of all virtues, the contributing towards the support and aggrandisement of the brethren of S. Francis or S. Dominic. It must be confessed that the stories for the most part have somewhat too obvious and palpable a moral, and bear somewhat too distinctly upon the great virtue aforesaid. Nevertheless, this is not the case in all of them, and there are to be found in them many curious illustrations of the manners, customs, and tone of thought of their age.

[1] Piers the Ploughman's Crede (ed. Skeat), l. 591.

As to the amount of probability judged necessary for these mediæval tales, we may perhaps gauge it by a story related as grave matter of fact in the 'Lanercost Chronicle,' of a famous Bishop of Winchester:—

'Having mentioned Peter de Roches, Bishop of Winchester, I will tell you what I have heard from older men. He was a man vain and worldly, as is too much the fashion with our prelates; and once upon a time, taking with him, as he was wont, his hunters, he went to the forest to search for wild beasts when he ought to have been rather hunting for souls. In the forest his followers became separated from him, and the bishop coming to an open space suddenly beholds a beautiful mansion which he had never seen before. He admires its grace, and wondering to whom it belongs, hastens on to see. As he approaches, servants in rich liveries come to meet him, and invite him to the banquet of the king. When he hesitated on account of his dress, they bring him a fair cloak, and, leading him to the feast, place him on the right side of the prince. In the midst of the banquet, he demands of the prince who he is. He informs him that he is Arthur, the king of the whole of Britain. The bishop then asks if he is saved. The king replies, "I expect the mercy of God." "Alas!" says the bishop, "who will believe me if I tell them that I have to-day seen and spoken with the great Arthur? "Shut," says the king, "your right hand." The bishop did so. "Now open it." He did, and straightway out flew a butterfly. "Now," said King Arthur, "as long as you live, you shall have this memorial of me, that whenever you please to shut and open your right hand, you shall be able to make a butterfly come forth and fly away." This became so well known, that men used to come to the bishop, asking him instead of a blessing for a butterfly, and many used to call him the butterfly-bishop.'—*Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 23.

We can easily conceive a friar telling this story with much relish. There was the sly fling at the bishops as being vain, and worldly, and fond of amusements; there was the adroit support of the legend of Arthur's continued life, 'rex quondam, rexque futurus,' which was so much cherished and delighted in by Englishmen; and there was the strange and bewildering audacity, which asserted of one of the best known men in England—a man whose ways and actions were closely watched and familiarly scanned—that he never shut and opened his right hand without letting forth a butterfly. The following story represents the same unblushing audacity, applied to another world:—

'There was a king of Saxony who had married a princess of Norway, who had borne him two fine boys. This king being constantly engaged in wars, grew tired of the regal life, and one day confided to his consort his design of retiring from the throne, entering a religious order, and leaving her to carry on the government. This plan the queen violently resisted, and they agreed to refer it to the archbishop for his decision whether it were the holier act for the king to leave his wife and children and take religious vows, or to remain and perform his duty as king and husband. The archbishop decided that it was the king's duty to choose the religious life; upon which the queen insisted also on entering it. So the King of Saxony became a Minorite friar, and after nineteen years spent in the holy life, he died. Now, it chanced that on the very day of his death a holy nun departed this life who had made a solemn compact with her abbess to come back on the third day, and bring her news of the world beyond. The abbess was much astonished that she did not fulfil her

promise. She fasted and prayed, and began to think that there might be deceit even in the inhabitants of heaven, when on the ninth day the nun appeared in glorious apparel. She explained her delay by saying that on the day of her migration to the heavenly land it chanced that a certain most famous saint was going the same way, viz. a king who had laid aside his crown to take the vows of a Minorite. At his death there was such exultation in heaven, and such a general rejoicing, that strict orders had been given by the Lord that no one should leave the heavenly courts for seven days, but that all should unite together to do honour to the illustrious royal friar.'—*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 33.

The following is related of the writer's own times, and is specially connected with the name of Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln:—

'There was a certain knight who had a high devotion for S. Nicholas, and every year celebrated his feast with great honour, and a large assembly of his friends and neighbours. It chanced one year, when the solemn services of the church were over, they were all making themselves ready for the banquet. But the ladies, who take a longer time in preparing themselves, and who were in an inner chamber with the mistress of the house, decking their persons, were being waited for in the hall by their husbands. Then the wife of the knight, being a true daughter of Eve, and full of pride and vanity, standing before her mirror, asked her attendant whether she looked elegant and well-decked. The servant answered that she was indeed nobly apparelled. Then the lady added, "Do you think that I may be considered equal in beauty to the statue of the Virgin to which honour is paid in the church?" Instantly did this blasphemy receive its punishment, for a huge toad, swollen and hideous, was fixed by its front feet to her forehead, and hung down with its hind legs below her nose in a way horrible to behold. The terrified women cry and scream, the master of the house and others rush in: they try to drag the hideous beast away with pincers, and other means; but they prevailed nothing, for ever it clings more strongly. The feast is turned into a deadly lamentation, nor is there any hope of remedy save through the mercy of that Mother to whom the wretched woman had dared to compare herself. She is placed on a litter and carried to Lincoln, attended by a large band of friends. She gives herself to vigils and prayers, while all the country runs to see the sight, and some laugh and some pity her. For thirty days she remains afflicted. After this, having been thoroughly humiliated in mind and body, on waking from a brief sleep she finds herself entirely delivered from her misfortune, nor did any trace of the beast nor any wound remain.'—*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 45.

This may serve to illustrate the amount of boldness of assertion which these stories exhibit, a boldness not confined to remote times, or to the unseen world, but freely applied to contemporary events, challenging the consent of a great number of persons in known places, and with circumstances alleged easy to be sifted and detected. It may, we think, be said that the audacity of assertion was quite unlimited. But there is one especial point to be noted in passing, and that is the grossly irreverent way in which the Blessed Virgin is treated in these narratives. In the story just recited she is made to be the censor of vanity and fine clothes. So also in the 'Book de la Tour-Laundry,' where we are told that there were in the church of Roch-Madame

'Divers tresses of ladies and gentlewomen that had been washed in wine and other things for to make the hair of colour otherwise than God made it, the which ladies and gentlewomen that owned the tresses were coming thitherward on pilgrimage, but they may never have power to come within the church door unto the time that they had cut off the tresses of their hair, the which is hanged there before the image of our Lady; and this is true, and a thing proved, as divers that have been there say.'—*Book of the Knight de la Tour-Laundry* (E.E.T.S.), p. 70.

It may be thought that these daring assertions as to the Blessed Virgin do not represent her in an unworthy light, although they may tend greatly to lower the high reverence with which she ought to be regarded. It is far otherwise, however, with the immorality and repulsive sentiment of gallantry with which the stories in which she is introduced are sometimes marked. Take for instance the following, from Caxton's 'Golden Legend:'—

'There was a thief that often stole, but he had always great devotion to the Virgin Mary, and saluted her oft. It was that he was taken and judged to be hanged; and when he was hanged, the Blessed Virgin sustained him and held him up with her hands three days, so that he died not, and had no hurt. And they that hanged him passed by, by chance, and found him living and of good cheer. And thence they supposed that the cord had not been well strained, and would have slain him with a sword, and have cut his throat, but our Blessed Lady set her hand before the strokes so that they might not slay him. And then knew they by what he told them, how that the Blessed Mother of God helped him; and they marvelled and took him down, and let him go, in honour of the Virgin Mary. And he went and entered into a monastery, and was in the service of the Mother of God as long as he lived.'

'There was a clerk who loved much the Blessed Virgin, but who, coming into a great estate, thought to take a wife. On his way to the church he remembered that he had not that day said the hours of our Lady, and he went into a church by the wayside. Then did the Blessed Virgin reproach him a little cruelly: "O fool, and unhappy! why hast thou left me that am thy spouse and thy friend, and lovest another woman before me?" Then did the clerk leave his promised bride, and spend the rest of his days in a house of religion.'

There is a story in the 'Lanercost Chronicle' which narrates how two thieves, captured for their misdeeds and lodged in a deep and filthy dungeon, determined with themselves that they would address special devotions to the Virgin. Whereupon they were visited in their dungeon by the object of their prayers, and bid to arise and depart, and not to remain there like slothful men. On this they make an attempt to move, and their fetters are found to yield like wax; the doors open before them—the guardians of the prison are struck dumb and powerless—and the robbers pass out unchecked. 'This,' says the writer, 'I myself heard from the priest who had received the confession of one of the escaped culprits.'[1]

[1] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 77.

Of all the friars, the Carmelites got the name of being the most audacious story-tellers, and they are especially reproached for their introduction of the Blessed Virgin into their stories, and their claims to stand in a peculiarly favoured position towards her.

> 'Thei maketh them Maries men (so thei men tellen),
> And lieth on our Ladie many a long tale.'[1]

> 'Thei ne prechen nought of Powell, ne penaunce for synne,
> But all of mercy and mensk, that Mary may helpen.'[2]

But we don't imagine that the Carmelites were the only offenders in this way; every wherein this sort of literature the Blessed Virgin is made to play a degrading part in these stories. She is introduced as the especial patroness of the most vicious and abandoned, if, perchance, they have, in the midst of their evil courses, performed any acts of devotion to her. Thus, in the 'Book de la Tour-Laundry,' we have an account of an

'Evil woman that fasted the Friday and Saturday in the worship of Christ's passion and the virginity of our Lady, and alle way that woman wolde kepe her selff clene thilke two days. Hit happed her on a derke night she yede towardes her leeman to foly, she felle into a welle that was twenty fadom deppe, and in her fallyng cried helpe on oure lady; and whanne she come to the water she fonde it harde undernethe her fete, and a voyse came to her saieng, "Thou hast in the worship of oure Lady kepte thin flesshe clene in her fast, and therfor now thou shalt be saued of this perile." And so on the morow folke came to feche and wynde up water at that welle, and thei herde and sawe her thereinne, and thanne thei drawe her up, hauyng moche meruaile how she might be saved; and she said it was for loue of her fast the Friday and the Saturday. And thus as ye haue herde God and our Lady saued her.'—*Book de la Tour-Laundry*, p. 10.

If such stories as this were recited to stimulate devotion, what influence could they have had on the morality of the audience? Observe also the strange inconsistency with which this ever ready supporter of the views of the friars is made to do duty. At one time she is quoted as the avenger of a love of dress, at another she is made to send terrible plagues upon a lady who was so perverse that she would not wear her best clothes on Lady-day.[3] But the mediæval stories were not only remarkable for their audacity and irreverence; they are also to be noted as having in them nothing moral, in the proper sense of the term. It may, indeed, not unfairly be said that mediæval religious stories have no moral basis whatever. They seem to be fables skilfully adapted by the preacher or teacher to enforce the particular duty or observance which he is anxious for the moment to inculcate, without any regard to their general moral bearing. Thus, in Robert de Brune, the hard and bitter usurer,

[1] Piers the Ploughman's Crede, l. 58. [2] Ibid, l. 80.
[3] Book de la Tour-Laundry, p. 47.

who throws a loaf of bread at a beggar's head because he can't find a stone ready to his hand, is represented as being reclaimed and made a distinguished saint from the merit of this rather questionable act.[1] A man might be stirred up by this to give a donation to the particular object for which the friar was pleading; but what would be its effect on his moral life? It may perhaps be said that it is out of the question to expect a moral aim in those who use essentially immoral means. Does any one ever really strive to recommend pure and disinterested conduct by fictitious and incredible stories, which the narrator could never have possibly himself believed in? It is very possible that specific acts of devotion may be thus recommended, but hardly so that sound general moral teaching should be thus inculcated. And hence it will follow that the very method of teaching used by the friars in fact precluded them from being useful instructors, and led them, of necessity, to devote their energies to enforce acts of a more or less distinctly superstitious character. What the sermons of the ordinary parish priest in the Middle Ages were, we may get a fair notion from various directions of mediæval bishops, and from some specimens of such sermons which have survived. They were a short and, if bald, perhaps practical, instruction on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the seven virtues, the seven works of mercy, and the seven deadly sins; but the friar aspired to much bolder flights than this. He came to excite and awaken, and not so much to contribute towards the amending of daily life as to introduce new methods of devotion and greater zeal in what he declared to be the cause of God and Holy Church. Having to deal with an ignorant audience he naturally resorted to stories, and as the topics he handled were more or less of a sensational character, he was driven to employ sensational stories. Regarding truth as a very secondary matter, even if he regarded it at all, he drew readily upon his imagination and memory, and by the help of purgatory, saints, angels, and fiends, he compounded those wonderful narrations with which the literature of the Middle Age teems. As in the mediæval view he would be a very poor saint indeed who did not begin to work miracles from his very infancy, so he would be nothing of a friar, in the estimation of his fellows, who was not ready with these instruments for influencing the popular mind. But as his object was not moral improvement, but religious excitement, such also was the cast of his stories; and hence no phase of the wildest and most grotesque superstition can be

[1] Handlyng Synne, l. 5720.

found which is not plentifully recommended by strange and startling tales. Dropping then the moral element as well as the conditions of verisimilitude and probability, it may be interesting to see what sort of religious acts and duties were enforced by these stories of the friars, for thus we should seem to gain a glimpse at the mediæval mind. In a book written, as the 'Chronicle of Lanercost,' by Minorite friars, we should expect to see plentiful glorifications of the order at the same time that we have disparaging tales of the parochial clergy. The rivalry between the two was notorious, and, indeed, necessitated by the state of the case, for the parish priest could not see his domain intruded on, his richer parishioners taken from him in their confessions and offerings, and his influence and authority weakened, without violently opposing the aggression. Hence arose ill blood and numerous quarrels, and the friar would not be slow to record, and perhaps invent, disparaging stories against his old-established rival. In these stories the *focariæ* or *concubinæ* of the priests, usually play a prominent part. Sometimes, indeed, higher game is aimed at than the mere parish priest; as, for instance, in the 'Lanercost Chronicle,' where we are told of

'A certain vicar, notorious for his irregularity, who openly kept a mistress, though often admonished. It chanced that the bishop going his rounds on visitation, the priest was brought before him and suspended for his sin. He goes to his house full of heaviness, and bitterly reproaches his mistress for the trouble she has brought upon him. She inquires the cause, and on hearing it, bids him be of good cheer, for that she would subdue the bishop. In the morning then the bishop going to the church meets this woman carrying a large quantity of chickens and eggs: he asks her whither she is going. "I am hastening," says she, "to the wife of the bishop, who, being ill, requires these delicacies for her support." Upon this, the bishop, conscience-stricken, immediately frees the vicar from the suspension which he had inflicted on him.'—*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 92.

In another place we have an account of a parish priest who, at Easter-tide, excited his parishioners to perform immodest dances, and for inflicting degrading penances upon them was at length stabbed in his own churchyard.[1] A certain priest at Wells sinned yet more atrociously, for, being taken with grievous sickness, and certain Friars Minor having been sent for to minister to him, he manages to make them leave the room to get some refreshment, and in the meantime he calls for his money-box and endeavours to secrete his cherished gold-pieces by putting them in his mouth. The attendant, who sees it, at once summons the friars, who rush to the room where the unfortunate ecclesiastic is beheld lying dead, his body the colour of lead, and bristling from head to foot with coins, which stick

[1] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 109.

out of it like pieces of lard in a *ragout*.[1] Let none, therefore, presume to defraud the holy brethren of their alms, or venture to cherish their worldly goods, when, by giving them to pious uses, they may make 'redemption for their soul.' Hear the story of the steward of the Lady of Valenor, who lived near Newcastle :—

'He being near the end of life was counselled by the priest to make a pious disposition of his goods. Whereupon he obstinately declared that he had none to dispose of: "If I have any more than this little of which I have told you, I bequeath the remainder to Satan," said he, impiously. No sooner was he dead and about to be laid in the grave, than, as they moved the coffin, a fire burst out and instantly consumed his house. They carry him hastily to the church, but as they go the fire follows them, consuming the whole streets through which they pass. They reach the church, and hardly had they deposited their burden, when the church also is in flames, and this and the neighbouring church is burnt completely to the ground. This is known to all the country, and I myself have seen the traces of the conflagration.'—*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 119.

Hear again the story of a man famous in his time, one Francis, a wealthy usurer of Milan. This man was greatly in arrear for tithes and church-dues, and being pressed to pay, and threatened with the Pope's letters of excommunication, he asks the priest to dinner, and receives him with a splendid show of feasting:—

'"Now," says the usurer, "if you think you can compel me to pay your dues, show your power by cursing that loaf of bread." The priest hesitated; but being excited by the gibes of his companion, at length he solemnly cursed the bread. Instantly it is turned into an old mouldly lump. "You have shown me the power of your curses," exclaims Francis; "now show the power of your blessing." The blessing is spoken, and instantly the bread returns to its former state. Upon this the usurer pays his dues and is absolved.'—*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 132.

It is, of course, to be expected that the duty of giving liberally to good works will form a very prominent topic in mediæval stories; but there is one kind of tales under this head which we imagine must have been specially popular, inasmuch as they represent the doing of one good act of almsgiving, even if done unconsciously, as making all the difference to the sinner between purgatory and hell. The doors of purgatory were open to the widest possible extent in the mediæval legends, and in fact scarce any were denied entrance there save those who died under the ban of the church, or priest's wives, or other perpetrators of ecclesiastical offences; this class of sins being, in the estimation of the mediæval story-teller, of far deeper dye than ordinary transgressions against morality. But the bold religious romancer was not to be utterly quelled even by the doom to

[1] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 153.

hell itself. The well-known story of S. Gregory represents him as delivering his mother from the very place of everlasting torment, and the writer of the legend actually appends the receipt by which the effect may be produced. In the 'Staeyons of Rome' it is said that a mass sung in the chapel *Scala Cœli* delivers from hell.

> 'Who-so syngeth masse yn that chappelle
> For any friend, he loseth hym fro helle.'[1]

This, however, is strange doctrine, and not in harmony with the ordinary legend, which is orthodox on this point. With respect to the doom to everlasting woe, there is one particular of mediæval stories worthy of being noted, and which might be illustrated by a thousand examples. It is that the body on earth attests by some terrible outward appearance or strange catastrophe happening to it the state of the condemned soul. Sometimes the body of the sinner is carried off before the eyes of the awe-struck beholders. Thus, in the 'Lanercost Chronicle,' an excommunicate person of great wealth dies at Rome, and is taken to the church of the Friars Minor for sepulture. The friars refuse, but the attendants of the body force their way into the church and begin to prepare a grave: when, lo, at the door of the church a huge wolf of many colours appears, and stalking gauntly up to the coffin tears it open, and seizing the body of the sinner, disappears with it in his mouth, and is seen no more.[2] At another time, a wicked 'playtour of Milan,' who had been actually buried in the church, is dragged out of his tomb by devils.[3] The husband who hears from a holy hermit of his wife's condemnation, which had been revealed to him in a vision, has the coffin opened, and finds the face black and distorted.[4] A very remarkable legend as to the body of a condemned sinner is recorded in the 'Lanercost Chronicle.'

> 'An excommunicated and sacrilegious man had died and was buried, when, lo! to the horror of all beholders, he is seen again in his natural body, wearing the habit of a *black monk*, taking up his position either on the roofs of houses or on corn-stacks. Darts and arrows are aimed at him, but whatever touches him is instantly reduced to ashes. If any ventured to lay hands on him, he received such a terrible shock that all his bones seemed to be broken. At length a brave esquire is determined to try a vigorous combat with him, but, terrible to relate, he was slain by the hideous apparition.'—*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 164.

The mention of the habit of the black monk as worn by this apparition is suggestive and amusing. The friars bore no great love to the parish priest, as being continually poaching on his

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[1] Staeyons of Rome (ed. Furnivall), p. 119.
[2] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 98.
[3] Robert de Brune: 'Handlyng Synne.'
[4] Book de la Tour-Laundry, p. 69.

ground, but they were not directly brought into collision with the monks. Nevertheless, the two looked upon one another with anything but friendly feelings, and many are the stories (most of which will not bear reproduction) which are found in friars' books directed against the monks. On the other hand, it is very remarkable, that no friars ever seem to get into any difficulties, or to do anything wrong, or to fall short in any point of the most consummate virtue. The rivalries between the four orders which are brought out so amusingly in 'Piers Ploughman's Creed'[1] do not appear in their writings, where, with a wise *esprit de corps*, the whole of the mendicant orders are assumed to have a common cause and interest. The members of each order will, of course, be chiefly careful to exalt their own brethren; but should it fall to them to have to mention others, they will still remember that they are friars, and not lazy monks or secularized parish priests. A Franciscan would not vilify a Dominican openly to the people as he would a portly black Benedictine monk or a half-secularized canon of S. Austin; but he would indirectly cut the ground from under him by singing many a strain of praise in honour of his own founder and his own order. We must give a few specimens of the sort of stories that would be in his mouth when it became necessary for him to advance the claims of his own brotherhood.

'There was a famous Anchoritess who lived near Shrewsbury, and who, being grievously ill, was warned by S. John the Baptist that she would experience a severe trial from the wiles of the serpent. Accordingly she is visited by the devil in the form of a physician, who desires that he may be allowed to examine her side where the pain was felt. The saint at once perceived that it was the devil, and ordered him by the Holy Gospel of the Incarnation to reveal "what men they were who were the greatest opponents of his progress." "The Friars Minor," replied the fiend. "And wherefore?" "Because they won't let us fix in men the darts of mortal sins, or if we do fix them in, they won't let them advance to profit." Of the same holy recluse a glorious vision is recorded as having been sent to bless her on the Feast of S. Francis. She chanced at the time to be lodging in her house two of the brethren of the order, and rising in the night to pay her devotions before the altar, she finds the lamp, which she had lighted, suddenly extinguished, and in the place of it a heavenly light of infinite glory illuminating the church. Then appeared S. John Baptist, who was often wont to converse with this saint, and soon afterwards four of the Minorite order—one of these was S. Anthony of Padua—who, clad in vestments of inconceivable beauty, proceeded to sing mass. The Queen of Heaven is seen standing in visible form on the altar: but the saint asked S. John how it was that S. Francis was not there. She was answered, "He is so much engaged on this day, it is impossible for him to attend; for to-day he is constantly employed in Heaven in interceding for those who apply to him as their patron."'—*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 184.

[1] A poem of the fourteenth century, probably by the same author as 'The Complaint of the Ploughman,' edited by Mr. Wright, but not to be confounded with Langland's 'Vision of Piers Ploughman.'

With such testimony as to the importance of his saint in the heavenly courts and the effective power of his followers here below, we can conceive the Franciscan making a profound impression; and he had numberless stories to the same purport. He could recount how two friars passing through a town about twelve miles from London were suddenly summoned to attend a dying youth, who had, by a miracle, from his sick bed seen them enter the place, and had directed his attendants to go and fetch them. How that, when they came, the youth demanded of them urgently to be invested in their habit, for he told them that he had seen a vision of purgatory, which was a mighty fire into which souls of every age and of both sexes were continually coming and being detained there; but, at length, he had seen two men clad in dresses like theirs, and these, instead of tarrying in the fire, had passed through at once, without a pause, and gone on their journey to heaven; wherefore he desired a right to wear the same habit, that it might fare with him likewise.[1] Upon inquiry, it was found that just at this time two holy brethren, namely, William of Middleton, at Paris, and a famous brother of the house at Oxford, had passed to their rest.[2]

The stories relating to the mass and the miraculous powers of the holy wafer are endless, and a choice collection of them is to be found in the treatise of Paschasius Radbert. These either represent some favoured saint being allowed to see with his bodily eyes the divine victim, or they show how the scoffer or unbeliever, venturing to receive, has a terrible vengeance inflicted on him. Thus, the Jew who went to mass has his teeth miraculously closed, and nothing can avail to open them, until he is penitent, and desirous to become a Christian, upon which they are immediately relaxed. There is a story of something of the same character in the 'Lanercost Chronicle,' and we may easily imagine the effect which such narratives would have in exciting the popular feeling against the Jews, just as the legend of the crucified boy,—which is not confined to Lincoln, but appears in divers mediæval chronicles related of other places also,—had in a still more terrible degree. The story runs as follows:—

'It chanced at Paris that, though it is forbidden by the Church for Christians to dwell with Jews, a certain Christian woman lived as a servant with a Jewish family. On Easter-day, as she was preparing herself to go to church, she was seen by the master of the family, who having derided her vain superstition, promises her a reward if she will bring back to him the holy bread, that he may see what it is that Christians worship. The wretched woman agrees to do so, and the Jew summons a large party of his friends; a table is prepared covered with a white cloth, and they wait for the arrival of the woman. When she comes, she

[1] Lanercost Chronicle, p. 70. [2] Ibid.

is bid to deposit what she had brought upon the cloth, and the Jew, seizing a knife, cries, "Behold what the Christians call their God, and what was crucified by us!" Then he stabs the housel so fiercely that the knife enters the table. Immediately there flowed forth a stream of blood, which dyed the table, the cloth, the hand, and the knife of the impious one, and the garments of those who stood around. The blood flowed forth more copiously than it would from a large wound in a human body. Struck with terror, the spectators fled, but the impious Jew thought to wash away the stains with water. But soon he found that, instead of being able to do this, whatever the knife or the napkin touched, became blood. Desirous to hide the proofs of his crime, he then buried the Lord's Body in a deep well. Straightway the water in the well changes into blood and bubbles up to the top of the well.[1] Everything that it touches becomes blood. The rumour of this wonder spreads, and the impious ones are brought to judgment, and burned; though, as some who were present repeat, the woman repented, and was pardoned, the Jew only was burned.'—*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 134.

This represents rather a numerous class of stories; but there is one told in the 'Book de la Tour-Laundry' on this subject, which is probably unique.

'There was a devout lady, and if hit happed her on a day that she herde no masse she wolde not that day ete fleshe nor fysshe; and yet she wolde be fulle of sorrow in hert; and hit happed on a day her chapelin was sike that he might not synge, where through she must go home withoute masse. And she yede wak oute her place crieng on God, saieng these wordes, "Lord, forgete not purueie me of thin holy seruice though this chapelein be syke;" and as she saide these wordes she saw comyng towardes her two freres, of the whiche she was gladde, and asked hem yef thei wolde saye her masse; and thei ansuered her, yee, if her lyked. And she prayed one of them shoulde go to. And she thanked God of her coming. And so the youngest of the freres yede to masse. And as he was afore the Agnus Dei the old frere loked on hym how he brake the oste in the iii parties. And he sawe one of the parties lepe into the good ladies mouthe in mannere of a gret clernesse or a light; and the frere that was atte the masse loked aboute hym where the iii parte of the oste was become, and trembled for ferde, and his felowe came to hym and saide, "Be not aferde, for that ye seke is in the good ladies mouthe." And thanne he held hym content, and thanked God of that miracle.'—*Book de la Tour-Laundry*, p. 45.

Another numerous class of stories connected with the mass is that which dwells upon the power of the sacrifice to aid souls in purgatory. Sometimes also, but more rarely, this power is applied to persons in danger or distress in this life, as in Robert de Brune, where a miner who had been overwhelmed by a sudden falling in of earth is represented as being kept alive for a whole year by his wife coming daily with a pitcher of wine and some loaves for an offering at the church, and procuring a mass to be sung for him. As to behaviour at the mass, there are many stories, some of them of an amusing character. We gather from Robert de Brune that in his day (the beginning of the fourteenth century) there was a great deal of irreverence even at this, the most solemn, service of the Church. The lay-

[1] The same incident occurs in the legend of Little Saint Hugh.

folk would press into the chancel, and the ladies would come so near the officiating priests, as to distract their attention. Thus, in the 'Instructions to Parish Priests,' by John Myrc, the people are to be directed—

> 'That whenne they doth to chyrche fare,
> Thenne byade hem leue here mony wordes,
> Here ydel speche and nyce bordes,
> And put away alle vanyte,
> And say here pater noster and here aue.
> No non in chyrche stonde schal,
> Ny lene to piller ny to wal,
> But fayre on knees they schule hem sette,
> Knelynge down upon the flatte.'[1]

But that these decorous rules were not always observed we are shown by a story in the 'Handlyng Synne,' which tells us how that once the celebrating priest was suddenly interrupted in the holy office by a loud peal of laughter from his deacon. Stopping to investigate the cause of such indecorum, he is told that the joke is so good, it was impossible to help laughing at it—

'"For," says the deacon, "as I stood I saw two women eagerly 'jangling,' and between them stood a fiend with pen and parchment in hand, carefully taking down all that they said. It chanced, however, that the women talked so fast the fiend had quickly filled his roll of parchment, so he tried to pull it out longer with his teeth; and so hard he tugged that he broke his roll and drove his head violently against the wall. This made me to burst with laughter; and when the fiend perceived that I saw him, he drove his fist fiercely against the roll and vanished. "Tharfore y loghe and hadde gode game."'[2]

As respects the sin of absenting oneself from the holy offices of the Church, there is a good story in the 'Lanercost Chronicle.'

'In a village in England, near Richmond in Yorkshire, which was near to the forest, and very well suited for feeding cattle, a certain man named John Francis, of advanced age, had fallen into great contempt of the faith. For while his neighbours on the Lord's Day went to church, and sought the refreshment of the Holy Sacrament, this man was wont to go and visit his cattle. Traversing the hills and valleys one Sunday, having wandered from his way, he came upon a retired spot which was filled with the spirits of the air, who were all of small size like dwarfs, hideous to look at, and were dressed in the similitude of ecclesiastical garments, attending on one leader who was vested as a celebrating priest. Immediately they summon the astonished and confounded farmer and bid him hear the service for the Lord's Day. Then they begin hideous laughter instead of the chant, and a vile noise instead of music, making a frightful mockery of the service. At the point when holy water is sprinkled, the chief performer, after going round to his followers, comes at length to the living man, and instead of sprinkling him with water, he bruises his wretched body with a terrible shower of stones. The wicked spirits then begin to fly away, and the wretched man, although stiff and bruised so that he could not stir, is seized with the desire to fly with them. At that

[1] Instructions for Parish Priests (ed. Peacock), l. 265.
[2] Handlyng Synne, l. 9263.

moment, however, he remembered the Passion of the Lord, and sank to earth again. Again and again he is tempted to fly, but each time the remembrance of Christ avails to keep him back. He reached home with difficulty, and for eight days as he lay in his bed this disposition to fly continued, until, being brought to confession, he was loosed from his plague.'—*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 127.

The religious stories of the Middle Ages may not, perhaps, be very highly rated as vehicles of instruction, and, in the form in which we meet with them in the old chronicles and religious manuals, they may not be able to lay much claim to that which is the proper business of such compositions, namely, amusement. Nothing, indeed, can be more insipid and unattractive than the legends of the saints, and we may turn over the pages of the 'Golden Legend' in vain in the hope of finding a really good story. They are all of the same hue, a chain of causeless and senseless miracles, exhibiting the utmost depth of bathos in their conception and circumstances. We naturally resent the fact of having such tasteless fables put forward as true histories,[1] and this probably hinders even that amount of amusement which their strange eccentricities might otherwise produce. Still, these stories are by no means to be rejected as utterly without value, for not only do they exhibit the opinions of their age, and throw light upon Church matters and social usages, but they are also one main part of the foundation upon which the grand superstructure of mediæval poetry arose. When subjected to the powerful transforming influence of genius and wit, the grotesque legend of the friar becomes a poem, and the first link in a long and extended chain of imaginative conceptions. The great transformer of these stories to this more artistic use of them was Boccaccio. It was he who, while he unfortunately pursued the old indecency, gave the form of a story with incidents carefully arranged, and a catastrophe arrived at step by step, to these crude tales, while at the same time he relieved the narrative with wit and humour, and clothed the actors in them with life. In his hands the stories of Christendom begin to bear

[1] What may be alleged in defence of retaining these legends in the Church services may be seen in Melchior Canus:—'I mean not to defend all the histories which are everywhere read in the church; I see there are so many of the vulgar sort, not only among the laity, but of the clergy also, that most willingly embrace these fables that the Church long since exploded. In this kind it behoveth the bishops to do something; but they must be wise as well as diligent, lest, while they go about to cure the looseness of the skin about the fingers, they hurt the head. These haply go about to put grave histories into the place of such as are apocryphal; but they change the divine service of the Church so much, that scarce any show of the old religion seemeth to be left in the daily prayers: wherefore this must stand firm, that the histories of the saints which are wont to be read in the church must not be despised, though some of them be uncertain, apocryphal, light, and false; for they are credible and true for the most part, and some of them certain.'—Quoted by Field, 'Of the Church,' p. 190.

a faint resemblance to the complicated and elaborate tales of the Eastern more scientific narrators, while at the same time chivalry with its tales of love and adventure, learned principally in the East, helped forward the change. To Boccaccio is distinctly due the great poem of Chaucer, who, with inexhaustible wit and skill, made mediæval stories and characters in the highest degree amusing. At the same time, another independent element came in to help to lay the foundation for the long and elaborate romance which succeeded the short and bald religious story. A Welsh priest, Geoffrey of Monmouth, writing the history of the British kings, embodied the old traditions of the Cymry as to Arthur and his knights, and thus gave birth to the Arthur poems and ballads, which exercised so great an influence on European literature. In the Arthur poems there is a strange mixture of the romantic element with the ecclesiastical; valiant knights contending with giants, and then building churches, or sending for their confessor. We do not, however, remember to have met with so good an illustration of the religious story passing into the knightly poem as the poem of S. Christopher. Our readers will be familiar with the legend of the huge giant determined to serve only the strongest—how he goes to the king, of whose power he had heard, and then, finding that there was one stronger than he, even the foul fiend, determines at any price to be his man. At length, one stronger even than the fiend is revealed to him, and he becomes the devoted servant of Christ, occupied in carrying pilgrims over the river. As the poem has never been printed, we shall make no apology for quoting the passage in which Christopher meets with the fiend:—

'And fra that kynge with steryne mode
He went away als he were wode;
Forthe he wanderde, este and weste,
Thorgh wyldernesse and wyld forest.
Many a mountain and many a valaye
Thorowte he went full many a daye.
And appone a daye als he gan byde
Undir an heghe mountayne syde,
Als so ferre als that he couthe kenne
He saughe ane oste of armede mene.
Foul and ugly were thaire wedis,
And all thay rade on blake stedes.
Als thay come rydand on a route,
A grete tempest come thame aboute;
Ane of the uglyeste of that araye
Comes rydand owte appone straye.
Unsemly was he unto syghte,
Twenty cubettes he was of heghte,
And als sone als he come hym nere,
"Bele amy," he says, "what dose thou here?

Telle me tyte, withowtten lesynge,
What es the cause of thi comynge?"
Full sone he ansuerde hym agayne,
"Me standes none awe fra thee to layne;
Certanly, the sothe to telle,
I gaa to seke the fende of helle.
Kane thou telle me of hym oghte?
For many a day I hafe hym soghte."
"Whate wolde and thou myghte hym mete?"
"Serue hym," he sayde, "to hende and fete,
And euer mare to be hys mane,
In all the servyce that I kane;
And I may fynde that it swa bee,
That ther be no gretter a lorde than hee."
The tother ansuerde sone and sayde,
"I am the fende, and thou be payede."'

From a MS. of the fifteenth century.

Compare this version with the ordinary one in the 'Legends of the Saints,' and we see at once how much the ballad element has added to the religious story. The grotesque legend becomes a poem with highly dramatic effects. Just so from mysteries and miracle plays, the dullest of all human compositions, sprang the charming personifications of Spenser's 'Faëry Queen,' and upon stories silly enough in themselves were based some of Shakespeare's most wondrous dramas. In the history of literature, then, the religious story has a place and a certain amount of merit, as being suggestive and productive of higher and greater things.

It is doubtless quite a work of supererogation to criticise mediæval religious stories on the ground of accuracy; but there is one point which seems to us worthy of notice, inasmuch as it affects the amount of credence to be given to these tales, when they do not touch of the supernatural, but affect to relate things from well-known sources. We allude to the way in which the familiar histories of Scripture are related in them. The strange errors which appear in their versions of these may serve to indicate how entirely the very notion of truth and accuracy was discarded from the consideration of a mediæval story-teller, and how, therefore, the plainest historical facts stated in these narratives may not be received without question. We will take a few instances from the 'Book de la Tour-Laundry.' Here the wife of Lot in her flight is said to have been turned into a *stone*—the men of Shechem are said to have been slain by all the *twelve* sons of Jacob—Joseph is tempted by the wife of *Pharaoh*—Mordecai figures as a *lady*—the destroyer of Jezebel is *Joshua* or *Josiah*—the beheader of John the Baptist is the same Herod who slew the innocents—and Mary Magdalene is the sister of Martha;

though this interpretation of the identity of the two Maries is by no means confined to the legend writers. The flood is constantly attributed to the great fondness for dress which prevailed among the women of the old world; and on this subject we have a specimen of a sermon preached by a mediæval bishop, which, as an example of how these stories were introduced into pulpit discourses, is worth quoting:—

'I wode telle you of a sermon that an holy bishope made, that was a noble and gret clerk, in the which sermon was great foysun of ladies and gentilwomen, that were maruelously araied in diuerse and queint maners and hadde highe hornes; the whiche the holy man beganne to reprove, and geue diuerse ensamples to make hem to be layde doun, as Noyis flode that stroied the world for the pride and the disguysinge that was amonge women. And whanne the deuelle sawe hem so disguysing and counterfetenge hem, he made hem falle into the foule synne of lechery; that displesed so moche oure Lorde, that he made it reyne fourti dayes and fourti nightes withoute cesing, so that the water was hyher thanne ani thing on erth or mountayne bi the highthe of ten cubites, and thenne all the worlde was drowned and perisshed. And after, whanne the bishope had shewed these ensamples with other, he saide that the women that were so horned were like to be horned snailes and lesles and unicornes. And he saide they were like the hertys, that bare downe her hedes in the smalle wode; for whanne thei come to the churche and holy water be caste on hem thei bowe downe the hede. "Y doubt not," said the bishope, "that the deuelle sitte betwene her hornes, and that he make hem bowe down the hede for ferde of the holy water." And for sothe he tolde hem many mericales, and hidde no thing, nor of the settinge of her tyre pynnes and array, unto that he had made mani of hem right heui and sore. And he tolde hem an ensample of two yonge women that wolde haue hasted hem to free her felawes towardes a feste, and a gret semble of ladies and gentilwomen, to that extent that they and her new array and disguysing might be furst sayne att the feste; and therfore they yode ouer a mareys for the next waye, but thei felle in the myre, and fouled all her clothes and array, and were later atte the feste thanne they that held the highe way, the whiche had her array clene. Also he told hem how there was onis a gentillewoman that come to a fest so straungely atyred and queintly arraied to haue the lokes of the pepille, that alle that sawe her come ranne towardes her to wonder lik as on a wilde beste, for she was atyred with highe longe pynnes lyke a jebet, and so she was scorned of alle the company, and saide she bare a gallous on her hede.'—*Book de la Tour-Laundry*, p. 62.

In these days of profound admiration for mediæval peculiarities, it may be interesting to some of our lady readers to know that strange structures on the female head have abundance of orthodox precedent. We commend the good bishop's discourse to their careful consideration.

ART. II.—1. *The Odes of Horace.* Translated into English Verse. By THEODORE MARTIN. Second Edition. Parker, Son, and Bourne. 1861.

2. *The Odes and Carmen Sæculare of Horace.* Translated into English Verse. By JOHN CONINGTON, M.A. Bell and Daldy. 1863.

3. *Translations into English and Latin.* By C. S. CALVERLEY, late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Deighton, Bell, and Co. 1866.

4. *The Iliad of Homer.* Translated by EDWARD, Earl of DERBY; to which are appended, *Translations of Poems, Ancient and Modern.* Vol. II. John Murray. 1867.

5. *The Odes, Epodes, &c.* Translated into English Verse. By CHRISTOPHER HUGHES. Longmans. 1867.

6. *Horace. Odes, Epodes, and Secular Song.* Newly Translated into Verse. By CHARLES STEPHEN MATHEWS. Longmans. 1867.

7. *Translations from the Lyrics of Horace.* In English Verse. By E. H. BRODIE, M.A. Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

WITHIN the last five years an impulse has been given to the ambition generally existing among scholars, men of taste, and dabblers in literature, of translating Horace's Odes into English. And there is no reason to suppose that the fashion, having set in, is likely soon to decline, especially as helps to understanding Horace are more plentiful than they were, and as, in place of stiff German and somewhat bald English editions, a novice can now recur to the excellent editions of Yonge and Milman (and if he wants a good German edition, let him add Dillenburger) in cases of doubt about interpretation or text. But, unfortunately, as there are many candidates for such laurels as are to be won in translating Horace, so are there many and diverse views as to the manner and form of translation that should be adopted; and it may not be a waste of time to endeavour to ascertain which of these are sound and rational, and to test, by the results before us in the shape of volumes of Translations, the relative values of the theories advanced.

The appearance in 1863 of Professor Conington's version of the Odes was, perhaps, the first real step towards solving the

question, how far 'the untranslateable could be translated;' and he assuredly propounded a true canon, when he laid it down that 'some kind of metrical conformity to the original must be aimed at by a translator of Horace.' His inquiries and experiments in this field, as in all upon which he enters, bear the mark of pains and patience, acumen and ability; and his volume has this further recommendation, that the Preface to it consists of a candid exposition of his doubts and difficulties. His translations are tentative, and wear very much the appearance of essays towards the solution of a most difficult question, because in some cases, *e.g.* in handling the metre called the Second Asclepiad, he has tried four different measures, or varieties of one general measure; so that the student who consults his pages for guidance will have at any rate the advantage of choice. This however he has, we think, succeeded in establishing, that, so far as is feasible, a translator of Horace should aim at conformity of line and stanza to the length, breadth, and semblance of his original; and that to ordinary folk, not born poets, there must be danger in trying to hit off the spirit of Horace in metres nowise Horatian in their character. Of course, the conformity must be general, and must depend on the nature of the case; and in pointing this out, and illustrating it in his practice, he has rendered essential service to translation, by anticipating a movement at all times imminent in the direction of acclimatizing Alcaic, Sapphic, and Asclepiadian metres. Through his reasonable and soundly-conceived compromise we have escaped much Procrustean wracking of the most genial of poets upon a bed which his torturers would in good faith call his own, and our eyes have not yet witnessed insult thus added to injury. As 'sure as death,' to use the Welshman's expression, the heresy of English hexameters will spread to some extent; and even while we write, the pages of *Blackwood* are partly occupied by some clever attempts to clothe Horace's metres in an English garb made to the Latin pattern. Nay, more, we have recently been favoured with a sight of some by no means unreadable or unenjoyable versions of the Venusian poet actually in the original metres, although in our vernacular. Perhaps in stomaching them we did just recite, *sotto voce*, the consolation, 'There must be heresies.' But of this we are persuaded, and we are glad to have so competent a judge of the matter as the Oxford Professor of Latin along with us, that the English taste will have nothing to say to unrhymed lyrics; or, to put it more fairly, that 'rhyme is the inferior artist's only chance of giving pleasure.' Exceptional poetic power and great gifts of minstrelsy may afford to be bold, and can possibly venture either so far out to sea as to turn Horace into metres

having not the slightest semblance to his own, or so close to shore as to graze it by exactness of reproduction, without suffering shipwreck, or grating much upon one's ears. But the mid course is safest; and as the translator's excellence is faithfulness, not self-assertion, it is best for him to eschew the excitement and peril of enterprise, and to look to find success in the same direction with prudence.

The two most remarkable experiments in translating Horace that have been made public since Professor Conington's Horace issued from the press, although differing from his in the management of particular metres, are oftentimes curiously corroborative of his general views. These experiments are (the more the pity) of a limited character; and this is the more to be regretted, because, limited as they are, they betoken much capacity for producing standard English versions of a poet universally attractive. We allude to Mr. C. Stuart Calverley's 'Translations into English,' and to the Translations from Horace appended to the sixth and cheaper edition of Lord Derby's Homer. There is reason to suppose that in both cases these translations were made, though not published, before Professor Conington's publication of his Horace, in which case it should seem that independent judgments have led both authors to approximate to the same conclusions as that eminent scholar. If we take the Alcaic stanza, one of the commonest in Horace, we shall find that Mr. Conington represents it by a quatrain of alternately-rhyming octosyllabic iambic lines. In the 9th Ode of the First Book ('Vides ut altâ stet nive candidum') Lord Derby has successfully adopted precisely the same metre; and if we examine Mr. Calverley's practice with Alcaics, we shall find him applying to them the metre of 'In Memoriam,' which is not another, but only a variety of the same; octosyllabic lines, of which the first rhymes with the last, and the second with the third. It must be admitted that Lord Derby, whose attempts to render the Alcaic do not exceed three, has had recourse to a six-lined stanza in the other two, the familiar English measure, in which two couplets of eight syllables are separated by a sex-syllabic line which rhymes with a final line of like dimensions. We are convinced that this measure is not a tithe as successful in its object as that which Lord Derby uses in common with Professor Conington. Because the noble Earl has really much of the poet in him, it lends itself to his handling far more readily and satisfactorily than to inferior artists; but if we take a stanza from the 14th Ode of the Second Book, and set Conington's four lines over-against Lord Derby's six, candour bids us pronounce the former to be most like Horace.

'Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor: neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te, præter invisas cupressos,
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.'—II. xiv. 21-4.

'Thy land, thy house, thy pleasing wife,
Must all be left *with parting life:*
The cypress, tree of gloom,
Alone of all thou lov'st to tend,
Shall on its short-lived lord attend,
And wave above thy tomb.'—(D.)

The threads of the Latin have to be strained and stretched to eke out the material for six lines of English; whereas if we take the Professor's more compact representation, it fulfils every requirement of the Latin except, we must admit, a rather striking epithet:—

'Your land, your house, your lovely bride,
Must lose you; of your cherished trees
None by its fleeting master's side
Will travel—save the cypresses.'—(Con.)

A stanza from the 31st Ode of the First Book, and a very beautiful one too, will serve to show the snares of Lord Derby's alternative metre for representing the Alcaic, and the safety of that which he has elsewhere used, with Mr. Conington:—

'Non æstuosæ grata Calabriæ
Armenta; non aurum, aut ebur Indicum;
Non rura, quæ Liris quietâ
Mordet aquâ, taciturnus amnis.'—I. xxxi. 5-8.

'Nor flocks, nor herds, that wander o'er
Calabria's sultry mountains steep:
Nor gold, nor wealthy India's store
Of ivory, nor pastures deep,
Through whose rich soil of mouldering clay
Smooth Liris eats his silent way.'—(D.)

'Not Indian gold or ivory—no,
Nor flocks that o'er Calabria stray,
Nor fields that Liris, still and slow,
Is eating, unperceived, away.'—(Con.)

The former of these versions exhibits infinite taste in filling in the shades and touches of a picture, which, if we compare it with Lord Derby's copy, one might suppose Horace to have only sketched in outline; whereas Mr. Conington seems to realize the ideal of faithfulness, extenuating nothing and exaggerating nothing. His rendering of the epithets 'quietâ' and 'taciturnus' seems to set the silent river before us. If, however, we turn back to the 9th Ode, where both translators use the same metre, there can be no doubt as to the superiority of the

instrument agreed upon as compared with any other distinct measure. We give each version of the well-remembered conclusion of that ode from 'Nec dulces amores' to 'digito male pertinaci,' I. ix. 15—24. Here is Lord Derby's :—

'Nor rudely spurn, too happy boy,
Or love's delights or joyous dance;

Ere crabbed age have bleached thy brow
The Campus now may claim thy care;
The gay promenade, the whisper'd vow
At twilight breathed to willing fair;

And tell-tale laugh of merry maid
In corner hid, and slender wrist
Of bracelet spoiled, or ring conveyed
From fingers which but half resist.'

And here Professor Conington's :—

'Nor scorn sweet love, nor merry dance,
While years are green, while sullen eld
Is distant; now the walk, the game,
The whisper'd talk at sunset held,
Each in its hour, prefer their claim.
Sweet too the laugh, whose feigned alarm
The hiding-place of beauty tells,
The token, ravished from the arm
Or finger that but ill rebels.'

Both are classical; both poetically rendered; both add to other merits a remarkable degree of faithfulness. Lord Derby is best in rendering 'Donec viventi canities abest Morosa;' but the Professor's line, 'The hiding-place of beauty tells,' is a set-off in neatness and prettiness of touch. The honours, on the whole, are equally divided. But let us see how Mr. Calverley has turned the same passage. We are not sure that his version of these stanzas, possibly from his more perfect union in himself of the qualifications of poet and scholar in exact proportion, is not the truest of the three :—

'Nor deem sweet love an idle thing,

Ere Time thy April youth hath changed
To sourness. Park and public walk
Attract thee now, and whispered talk
At twilight meetings pre-arranged.

Hear now the pretty laugh that tells
In what dim corner lurks thy love;
And snatch a bracelet or a glove
From wrist or hand that scarce rebels.'

The words 'compositâ repetantur horâ' strike us as having a much more poetic rendering here than in the other versions,

of which Conington's 'prefer their claim' is a somewhat prosaic equivalent to 'repetantur.' And, indeed, we are quite unable to assent to Professor Conington's reason for having passed over Mr. Calverley's metrical representative of the Alcaic stanza, namely, that it associates itself too much with a modern poet and a modern poem—a reason which, if strained tightly enough, should lead us to tolerate English Alcaics and English Sapphics. It seems to us as good to the full for its purpose as the alternately rhyming quatrain; perhaps even better; and we can discern at once the charm and satisfaction Mr. Calverley finds in it, when we note that of his translations from Horace the larger portion consists of the famous Alcaic odes at the beginning of the Third Book done into this metre. Unfortunately, we have no common ground there on which to try him with Lord Derby, but we would refer our readers to the 5th Ode of the Third Book for a passage on which to compare Mr. Calverley and his 'In Memoriam' metre with Mr. Conington and his variety of octosyllabics. On the whole, we are disposed to give the palm for grace, ease, and likeness to the manner of the original to the Cambridge competitor. We are free to own a strong predilection, in spite of our adhesion to the metrical conformity theory, to the spirited and graceful lyrics of a somewhat earlier translator, Theodore Martin. Always wearing the impress of the man of the world and of society, they have about them an air which is so far Horatian, and for the sake of which, and of the real poetic gifts of their author, one consents to forget that the metres he chooses generally ignore conformity to the original. Some of his lyrics might even be popular, were the fact of their being translations overlooked; but, in the case of the Odes from which we have just quoted, he does not seem to us to have wrought with his usual success. The self-devotion of Regulus reads tamely and like sing-song in octosyllabic couplets, divested of the stanzaic or quatrain character, which seems characteristic of Horace, and the 'trysting' at the end of the 9th Ode is scarcely truer in manner than in words to the original, as given in Mr. Martin's five-lined lyric stanza:—

> 'The laugh from the sly corner, where
> Our girl is hiding fast;
> The struggle for the lock of hair,
> The half well-pleased, half angry air,
> The yielded kiss at last.'

But, to recur to Mr. Calverley, we greatly regret that his affection for a metre which is so good an exponent of the Alcaic should have led him to apply it likewise to the Horatian measure known as the 'Third Asclepiad,' and as that in which,

amongst others, the 6th and 24th Odes of the First Book are written. He thus contravenes a rule of Mr. Conington's, which, it cannot be doubted, the translator of Horace would do well to hold inviolate, though, it must be owned, its propounder has himself in one or two instances contravened it. But the character of the Third Asclepiad stanza calls distinctly for a shorter line in the fourth verse than in the three preceding it; and a sound instinct has led both Mr. Conington and Lord Derby to adopt a quatrain of three decasyllabic lines, and a fourth of six syllables. It needs no great penetration to see what weighed with Mr. Calverley in electing to repeat the same metre here as he had successfully used for the Alcaic, if we turn to the 24th Ode, and observe how akin to the tone and feeling of 'In Memoriam' the burden of it is. Here is a version of 'Ergo Quinctilium—Quinctilium deos,' which, while it recalls Tennyson at every turn, will be pronounced eminently faithful and touching :—

'Sleeps he the sleep that knows no morn?
Oh Honour, oh twin-born with Right,
Pure Faith, and Truth that loves the light,
When shall again his like be born?

Many a kind heart for him makes moan;
Thine, Virgil, first. But ah! in vain
Thy love bids Heaven restore again
That which it took not as a loan.'

Had this translator turned the Alcaic odes into any other English form of verse, we could have been well content to accept this as an almost perfect bit of translation in matter and manner, despite the lack of a fourth line of shorter length than its predecessors. Lord Derby, however, realizes more entirely the cadence of the Horatian stanzas :—

'And does Quinctilius sleep in endless death?
Oh! where, for modest worth and truthful mind,
And, twin with Justice, uncorrupted Faith,
Shall we his equal find?

For him shall many a good man's tears be given,
And none shall bitterer weep than, Virgil, thou!
Who for thy loved Quinctilius weariest Heaven
With unavailing vow.'

And, unless it be that Mr. Conington hits off the expression 'non ita creditum,' which is not so well preserved in the English of Lord Derby, we might say that it was a dead heat between the Chancellor of Oxford and its Latin professor herein.

'And sleeps he then the heavy sleep of death,
Quinctilius? Piety, twin-sister dear
Of Justice! naked Truth! unsullied Faith,
When will ye find his peer?

By many a good man wept Quinctilius dies ;
By none than you, my Virgil, trulier wept :
You vainly lift to Heaven reproachful eyes,
Asking your loan ill-kept.'

It must be owned that the ring of both these specimens is very much akin to the mournful regret that breathes through the melody of the original. Again, if we turn to Theodore Martin, there is a something wanting. His version has its pathos, and the sighing cadences befitting the subject, but it fails of perfectness through its 'own too much;' one does not want six lines in exchange for four. Mr. Brodie, one of the most recent experimenters upon Horace in English, has so far concurred in the principle of Mr. Conington as to the management of this particular metre, that he adopts the six-syllable fourth verse, although he represents the three other lines of each stanza by eight syllables each, instead of ten. The result, however, is unsatisfactory. Eight syllables do not match the gravity of the original, and seem to import a jingle which is foreign to the Latin; and besides, this translator has not, it would seem, set enough store by polish and finish, as may be gathered from two lines of the same passage as we have been dwelling upon :—

'By pious tears he'll not be won,
Who was but Heaven's loan.'

We cannot conceive how any one who undertakes to give English readers an idea of Horace can allow himself even the most sparing use of abbreviations and colloquialisms. Were it not that we fear we should tire the patience of our readers, we might go on at length to show how Mr. Conington has worked out in his suggestive preface, and in the text of his Translation, the same principle of 'metrical conformity;' a principle which we are convinced cannot be lost sight of by a translator of Horace without damage to his chances of thorough success, although we are quite ready to admit that the more poetical the translator's mind and genius, the more licences and varieties he may allow himself in interpreting this principle. In dealing with the metre known as the Fourth Archilochian ('Solvitur acris hiems,' &c. I. iv.) Lord Derby follows Conington in representing it by alternate lines of fourteen syllables and ten syllables; the only difference being that the rhymes of the former are successive, while those of the latter are alternate. Mr. Calverley—whose experiments upon Horace are the more provoking in their chariness, because what he does vouchsafe is of a nature to induce a great faith in his skill, power, and judgment—has not given us his views, or a light upon his practice, with reference to this measure. He has, however, handled another very beautiful

form of Horatian lyric, the so-called Second Asclepiad, of which the famous Ode to Pyrrha, and that to the fountain Bandusia, in III. 13, are samples. This latter ode Mr. Calverley expresses like Conington, as regards length of line, and differs from him only in adopting successive, instead of alternate, rhymes. Their first and second lines are decasyllabic, and their third and fourth sexsyllabic. There is more fancy than faithfulness in Calverley's Englishing 'splendidior vitro' 'stainless mirror of the sky,' and we are prosaic enough to like Conington's 'in clearness crystalline' better: on the other hand, we think that 'gelidos inficiet tibi Rubro sanguine rivos' comes out better in Calverley's,

> 'And those cold springs of thine
> With blood incarnadine,'

than in Conington's,

> 'His warm red blood, so early stirr'd,
> Thy gelid stream shall die.'

'Incarnadine' is a more tolerable word than 'gelid,' if we must naturalize strangers, and, besides, it has an undeniable sponsor. We give the third stanza of each translation. This is Conington's very pretty version:—

> 'Thee the fierce Sirian star, to madness fired,
> Forbears to touch: sweet cool thy waters yield
> To ox with ploughing tired,
> And lazy sheep afield.'

Mr. Calverley's runs as follows:—

> 'Fierce glows the Dogstar, but his fiery beam
> Toucheth not thee: still grateful thy cool stream
> To labour-wearied ox,
> Or wanderer from the flocks:'

Though we could be 'happy with either,' we own a preference for the alternation of rhyme in this instance. Lord Derby adopts Mr. Calverley's treatment of this Ode, except that he renders the third and fourth lines of each stanza in octosyllables, the effect of which is good, but not so good as sixes. In the Ode to Pyrrha he resorts to a system of decasyllables and hendecasyllables, which departs very far from metrical conformity, but which enshrines some very pretty translation, and shows the poetic vein of its translator. Here is a specimen:—

> 'Who now, confiding, revels in thy charms,
> Deeming thee purest gold! and hopes that thou
> Shalt still remain as he beholds thee now,
> As kind, as open to his longing arms,—
>
> Nor knows the breeze how fickle.'

A new and not unworthy candidate for honours in translating

Horace, Dr. J. W. Smith, has turned this Ode not unskilfully, although with no greater approach to metrical similitude, as this stanza from his mint will testify :—

> 'He dotes, confiding in your glittering charms,
> And hopes that, disengaged and still engaging,
> You'll always bid him welcome to your arms,
> Nor thinks the storm will soon be raging.'

The commonplace mediocrity of expression and language with which Mr. Christopher Hughes and the Rev. C. S. Mathews, both aspirants to the praise of Englishing Horace, render this beautiful Ode, is well matched by the every-day style of metres in which they have thought proper to clothe their versions.

But most admirers of Horace will be curious to learn how our translators succeed in representing the Sapphic metre. Mr. Conington has handled it in two ways: first, by appending a final quadrisyllabic line to three octosyllabics, the rhyme of such stanza being alternate; and secondly, as in Ode 22, Book I., by adding a syllable to the second and fourth of these verses, so as to make a double rhyme, *e.g.*

> 'Place me where none can live for heat,
> 'Neath Phœbus' very chariot plant me,
> That smile so sweet, that voice so sweet,
> Shall still enchant me.'

And this second mode we take to be the one most suited for the purpose, because it relieves the necessary brevity of the other form, which is very trying for a translator alive to the difficulty of giving English for Latin conscientiously. Mr. Calverley represents the Sapphic in a quatrain of alternately-rhyming seven syllables, and Lord Derby in alternately-rhyming eights. We prefer either of the Professor's resorts to the treatment of the Sapphic by his competitors. Calverley's 38th Ode (Book I.) is pretty and true:—

> 'Persian grandeur I abhor;
> Linden-wreathèd crowns avaunt:
> Boy, I bid thee not explore
> Woods which latest roses haunt:
>
> Try on naught thy simple craft
> Save plain myrtle: so arrayed
> Thou shalt fetch, I drain, the draught
> Fitliest 'neath the scant vine-shade.'

But, even as touching its lyric merit, and much more as a representative of the original measure, we are bound to prefer Conington :—

> 'No Persian cumber, boy, for me:
> I hate your garlands linden-plaited;

Leave winter's rose where on the tree
It hangs belated.

Wreath me plain myrtle; never think
Plain myrtle either 's wear unfitting,
Yours as you wait, mine as I drink
In vine-bower sitting.'

Lord Derby has not tried his hand on this Ode. Dr. J. W. Smith's version of it is fair, and his style of verse (three rhyming octosyllables and a final sexsyllable rhyming with its fellow in the next stanza) not inapt. The other recent versions are nowise memorable, except Brodie's, which is in the metre Lord Derby chooses for Sapphic translations, and which is among the best of his rather uneven specimens. To see Lord Derby's work in Sapphic passages, we must skip to the 8th Ode of the Second Book, that unpleasant Ode to Barine, into his English of which, no matter whether he uses the aptest fashion of verse or not, he has certainly infused a dash of the original spirit. If our readers will turn to the Latin ('Ulla si juris—publica cura,' 1–8), with which we have a conscience as regards crowding these pages, they will easily see the skill and grace with which the strong and bitter recrimination of the poet has been reproduced by the translator, without the slightest sacrifice of propriety :—

'Barine, did not perjuries fail
To leave on thee one angry trace;
If one discoloured tooth, one nail
Less perfect, marred thy wondrous grace,

I might believe; but with each vow
Thou heap'st on thy perfidious head
More radiant beams thy glorious brow,
And wider still thy conquests spread.'

And the whole Ode is translated with a force and truth which speak volumes of the skill and tact of its translator; from another of whose Sapphic experiments we cull the stanzas which follow ('Multa Dircæum—carmina fingo,' IV. ii. 25–32) :—

'Riding the gale on pinions proud,
The Swan of Dirce soars sublime
Amid the expanse of storm and cloud;
While, as the bee from fragrant thyme

Laborious draws her honied spoil,
Moist Tibur's groves and banks along
Musing I rove, and ceaseless toil
To weave my unaspiring song.'

This, by the way, is a passage which may be more than matched by a beautiful version by Theodore Martin, at the perusal of which one is for the moment prompted to run counter to one's

better judgment, and to fling the requirements of metrical conformity to the winds. Here it is :—

'When the Dircæan swan doth climb
Into the azure sky,—
There poised in ether high,
He courts each gale, and floats on wing sublime,
Soaring with steadfast eye,—

I, like the tiny bee, that sips
The fragrant thyme, and strays
Humming through leafy ways,
By Tibur's sedgy banks, with trembling lips
Fashion my toilsome lays.'

There may be some little amplification here, particularly in the first stanza; but as to the general effect being eminently happy and appropriate there can scarcely be two opinions.

Whilst we are mentioning Mr. Martin's translations, it may not be inopportune to remark that he throws into Horace's lighter amatory lyric poems a spirit and life which we miss in almost every other translator. What is there in Calverley, Conington, or Lord Derby—we will not insult this triumvirate by naming the 'ignes minores' which have recently flickered in their wake—to match his English version of 'Vixi puellis,' III. xxvi., which it would be a sin to try and straiten to the rule of exactness and literality? It is true that he devotes three quatrains of ample length, as to syllables, to two Alcaic stanzas of Horace; but he concludes this spirited sample of his talents by a closer adherence to the 'par pari referto' rule. The last stanza in this Ode runs—

'O quæ beatam diva tenes Cyprum, et
Memphin carentem Sithonia nive,
Regina, sublimi flagello
Tange Chloen semel arrogantem.'

And who would attempt to improve on Mr. Martin's presentment of it?—

'Oh Goddess! o'er Cyprus the sunny who reignest,
Fair queen of soft Memphis, oblige me and touch
With your scourge that minx Chloe—the scornfullest, vainest—
Just so as to frighten, but not hurt her much.'

There is plenty of attempt at liveliness in some of the minor attempts at Horatian translation which it has been our ill-luck to peruse—especially in the ill-judged publication of his Horace practice by Mr. Charles Stephens Mathews; but only in Martin do we seem to discover sprightliness, such as we associate with the muse of Horace, in union with grace and refinement. Conington's version of the Ode we have just quoted is not amiss as a translation, but it cannot compare for a moment with

Mr. Martin's in respect of this union of qualities. It is in good taste, but it is not lively. Many versions of it have a vulgar liveliness, which is not in good taste. But, after all, to the composition of a good translation of the Odes there needs something more than a previous study of the intricate question of suitable metre, and even than a steadfast eschewal of the slipshod style, which wrecks about five translations of Horace out of every six. It is essential, though some do not seem to think so, that a translator should be familiar with the meaning and interpretation of his author; and this not generally and superficially, but specially and deeply. We could fill pages with the blunders of pretenders, who have simply not known, or not cared to know, what the Latin which they professed to English imported. And there is no excuse for this in the present day, as in almost every passage Professor Conington's version is, as might be expected, a faithful exponent of the meaning of Horace. There have been great pains too bestowed, but recently, on editing Horace in such a manner as to serve the needs of intending translators. Mr. J. E. Yonge's Horace, with its careful text, apt and not wearisome notes, and, above all, its rich apparatus of parallel passages from our own poetry, might preclude, if systematically consulted, the danger of an even ill-grounded translator knocking his head against the meaning of a passage. And it is to be hoped that the new and cheaper edition of Dean Milman's Horace may do something also in this direction, if its beautiful getting up can only tempt those who profess to be fond of Horace to look into the inside of it, and to examine the soundness of its text in cases where there is a dispute as to readings. It is no use to attempt translation without a basis of scholarship; no use to try and represent Horace in English garb, unless we have some sort of insight into the original material we have to imitate. Professor Conington rightly discerns that one particular aim of a translator of Horace should be to preserve his sententiousness. 'It is this, 'perhaps more than anything else, that has made him a store-'house of quotations. He condenses a general truth in a few 'words, and thus makes his wisdom portable. "*Non, si male 'nunc et olim, sic erit;*" "*Nihil est ab omni parte beatum;*" '"*Omnes eadem cogimur;*"—these, and other similar expressions, 'remain in the memory when other features of Horace's style, 'equally characteristic, but less obvious, are forgotten.' (Conington's Horace, Pref. p. vii.) And we contend that it takes some understanding of the language of the original to know and feel one of these bits of portable wisdom, when one comes across it, so as to preserve its character in translation. Where Horace has—

'Audax omnia perpeti
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas:'

there is manifestly some care to preserve his proverbial wisdom in Mr. Conington's:—

'Daring all their goal to win,
Men tread forbidden ground and rush on sin.'

But what feeling of the original is to be discerned in this representation?—

'Daring, enduring, headstrong man,
Will through restraint to wrong.'

Or who will tolerate as a fair equivalent for Horace's

'Durum: sed levius fit patientiâ
Quicquid corrigere est nefas,' (I. xxiv. *ad fin.*)

this diluted slip-slop—

'Sad lot.—But ever understand
Patience makes each more lightly bear
Evils which all alike must share;'

when he may see in Conington's version the unadorned and almost literal counterpart—

'Ah! heavy grief! but patience makes more light
What sorrow may not heal.'

It was a goodly habit with our forefathers to esteem an acquaintance with their Horace creditable to English gentlemen long after their schooldays were a distant retrospect. What may be in store for us we know not. Mr. Lowe regrets painfully that there was ever a day when his classical proficiency was rewarded with an edition of the worthless poems of Catullus. Perhaps his words may have the effect of discouraging the study of Horace and Virgil, and the rest of the Augustan poets, in the present generation; and in his latter days he may enjoy the monopoly of being able to quote them. But one thing we fervently hope, that if the study of the original language is to be snubbed, we may not be put off with translations, especially if they are so uneven and uncertain as to excellence as those of Mr. Brodie and Dr. J. W. Smith, or so barren of worth as those of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Mathews. Mr. Conington has indeed saved the memory of Horace from dying out, even if we, by common consent, forget our Latin as

a nation. We have great hopes that the present silence of Mr. Calverley, and his apparent secession from the literary world, only betoken that he is engaged upon a complete translation of Horace, in which it may be demonstrated that he has solved the question of other metrical correspondences, and that he has been able to match each Horatian metre with a separate English counterpart. If our late Premier is not to be pressed, at his age and in his state of health, to the resumption of such studies as, in his case, have borne noble fruit in his Iliad, it may still be fondly dreamed that, in hours of relaxation, he may at least double or treble his specimens of translation from Horace. Our own firm belief is that good translations are calculated to induce a reaction, and to increase the study and appreciation of the classics, and not, as might be supposed, to provide a substitute for them. But they must be good; and to that end we counsel all second-rate translators of Horace, who have youth and leisure enough, to call in, or to forbear, hasty publication. It will always be a profitable occupation, as regards that poet, 'nocturna versare manu, versare diurnâ,' to plod again and again through his ever pleasant, ever instructive pages; for they teem with the wisdom needful for social life in all times. To say nothing of a well of quotation, which it is impossible to exhaust (although we do not recommend the experiment to any friend of ours; for the most intolerable of bores is he who never opens his mouth without observing 'as Horace says'),—the uses to which a knowledge of this poet, minute enough to be 'at one's fingers' ends,' may be made to subserve, are endless. Not only from his Satires and Epistles, but even from his lyric pieces, may be gleaned hints to stand one who wishes in due season to graduate as 'a man of the world' in excellent stead. If not profound, they are at least never unpractical. And then, what a treasury is our poet of commonplaces for every occasion! Is a constant admirer gathering himself up for one last appeal to a fair one who has kept him dangling to her train for season after season? What can he do better than utilize, in some form or other, the beautiful Ode of Horace to Ligurinus (iv. 10), which Conington tabooes on account of the objectionable associations of the original, but which Theodore Martin has shown us how to approach in such wise as to extract the honey, and leave behind whatever is foul and refuse?

TO A CRUEL BEAUTY.

Ah! cruel, cruel still,
And yet divinely fair,
When Time with fingers chill
Shall thin the wavy hair,

Which now in many a wanton freak
  Around thy shoulders flows,
When fades the bloom which on thy cheek
  Now shames the blushing rose ;

Ah ! then, as in thy glass
  Thou gazest in dismay,
Thou'lt cry, Alas, alas!
  Why feel I not to-day,
As in my maiden bloom, when I
  Unmoved heard others moan ;
Or, now that I would win them, why
  Is all my beauty flown ?—P. 202.

Is a young writer honestly seeking to express a sense of gratitude to an unselfish patron, and to give utterance to his thankfulness without donning a livery, or rendering himself liable to the charge of servility, he may point a compliment moulded on such an one as this of Horace to Mæcenas :—

'Lay down that load of state-concern ;
  The Dacian hosts are all o'erthrown ;
The Mede that sought our overthrow
    Now seeks his own.'—Hor. *Od.* III. viii. (Con.)

Or invite him to unbend and rusticate to the tune of 'Vile potabis modicis Sabinum' (Hor. Od. I. xx.). Sticking to the worldly-wise tact and self-respect of his Horace, a man may hold his own, and yet be popular and prized. Indeed, it is his thorough 'social prudence' which is the key to the universality of his charm. On this, in truth, is based that monument of which he had a prophetic foretaste, and which we will not wrong him by citing in any other words than his own :—

'Exegi monumentum ære perennius
Regalique situ pyramidum altius ;
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum.
Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam : usque ego posterâ
Crescam laude recens.'—III. xxx.

ART. III.—*A Memoir of Baron Bunsen.* Drawn chiefly from Family Papers by his Widow, FRANCES, BARONESS BUNSEN. London: Longmans.

THE views and opinions of Baron Bunsen in their general character and tendencies have been so long before the world, and have been subjects of such frequent discussion and allusion in these pages, that we believe we shall best consult the wishes and interests of our readers in collecting for their information the leading facts of the present Memoir.

Two bulky volumes of biography are a serious undertaking for busy men, especially where they consist in large proportion of translations of German thought and speculation;—an undertaking needing more enthusiasm for their subject than can be looked for in our case. Not that we are complaining of the mass of matter and correspondence which is here brought together. As a man who 'lived his life' and left his mark as Bunsen did, his widow is justified in supposing that less would not have satisfied his admirers and surviving friends, and there is a unity in his life and the objects for which he lived which encourages to amplitude and detail. But he was a man especially for his friends and sympathisers. It is necessary to agree with him in order to think him a great man. He wanted largeness of mind to understand those who materially differed from him. He could not do them justice; and shows himself doubly insolent towards opponents, both as a German —and therefore by birth profound and clear-sighted—and with the added infection of English partisanship. 'We are the people' (that is, Bunsen leading and directing liberal English thinkers) might be the motto of the book, and 1,300 pages in this strain are apt to weary readers who find themselves invariably on the contemned side. It is an axiom with him that Germany furnishes the instructors of mankind: a very common impression among his countrymen; and they never seem to feel it more strongly than when they come to England. Not that Bunsen was insensible to the merits of English practice; he was more alive to it than others of his countrymen naturalized amongst us, but he wanted to change its foundation, and to put it on the basis of German thought, or, as we should term it, German scepticism. Have by all means a Church, a

ritual, a liturgy, but no creed or dogmatic faith; for Germany has outlived these, and Germany dictates thought to the world. He accepted the outsides of religion from us and others, only divesting them of the bones and sinews which imparted their strength and grace, and out of them arranged a scheme for national public worship at a time when he emphatically says of his countrymen that 'agreement by means of a theological 'expression of the points of faith is not to be thought of,' and 'a 'clear, firm, positive Biblical belief would seem no longer to 'exist among us.' The task he set himself was to construct a belief lax enough and vague enough to be accepted by his countrymen to the extent of joining in a common worship; and an intense delight in labour, united to a devotional temperament, induced such a satisfaction in his work, and such a conviction of its supplying a need, as emboldened him to impose it as the only theology for the day upon England too. He was honestly set upon making Germany Christian through his own instrumentality; saying, 'A truly Christian faith has need to be newly engendered in these days.' It was out of the question for Germans to receive the Bible in an orthodox spirit, so he devised an interchange between the two countries—a give and take. He liked our Liturgy, he liked our Episcopal Church government: we were, therefore, to dictate the form; but as a compromise with modern ideas, to give up the substance, such as the English mind can alone understand it, by accepting his 'Japhetic rendering of the Semitic expressions' to which we had hitherto attached the meaning they obviously convey. Having really at heart to make his countrymen more religious, feeling it his mission to restore them to Christianity, conscious in his own case that this was compatible with the absence of all positive dogma—with what he calls untrammelled Christianity—it never seems to have occurred to him that he was undertaking a serious responsibility in disturbing English faith; and that being, as he evidently felt, an apostle to his own people, he might and must appear to be something very different to us. Nothing strikes us as more remarkable and, we may add, more insulting, than the recklessness and careless haste with which he obtruded what he knew the vast majority of English Churchmen regarded as poison upon our reading public, taking the odds and ends of time from more weighty affairs to shoot an arrow at our most cherished convictions, whether concerning theology or Scripture. It is clear that he set the worth of his minutes against our hours, and a German at his toilet against an English divine in his study. Our readers may recall a notice in these pages of his 'Age of Hippolytus.' Of the four volumes that constitute that work more than two were written in a fortnight at his

house in Carlton Gardens, in the month of June, in the midst of the heat and bustle of a London season, intensified a thousandfold by the Great Exhibition, and when his official duties and the civilities due to distinguished foreigners must have occupied all the public hours of the day. But this is nothing to a sentence we found in a letter to his wife: 'When I have dressed for dinner, I shall write my comment upon Ewald's book,' an author whom it is his boast to have introduced to the English public.

After these few words, recalling the author and savant as he is familiar to the reader, we will enter upon his biography. A remarkable man he certainly was, and well adapted to point a moral. He illustrates with close accuracy the Wise Man's proverb, 'Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall not stand before mean men; he shall stand before princes;' and not less emphatically the Apostle's judgment, 'Knowledge puffeth up,' which *we* would supplement by that saying of Bacon's upon much-knowing: 'But above all things caution 'must be taken that men have good stay and hold of them-'selves; and that this much-knowing do not draw on much 'meddling; for nothing is more unfortunate than light and rash 'intermeddling in many matters.'

Bunsen was a *parvenu* in the most honourable sense of the word. He rose from the ranks, as it were, to a high position, and through his rapid advance retained strong family feelings and affection, which showed themselves both in sentiment and action:—

'My husband was born on the 25th August, 1791, at Corbach, in the Principality of Waldeck; the child of parents advanced in life, who had married (in 1790), for the sake of companionship and mutual care, in old age, and probably little anticipated such blessing upon their union. His father, Heinrich Christian Bunsen (fourth son of an advocate of the same name), born 29th May, 1743, belonged to a regiment of natives of Waldeck, engaged in the Dutch service, which he was induced to enter by the promise and prospect of further provision after his term of military service should be past; that is, of such a post in his native country as should furnish opportunity of working: it was not the bread of idleness that he asked or desired. But after twenty-nine years of service, in a country where, although he made friends and was much respected, he was yet a foreigner, he came back home-sick to Corbach, to find the graves of most of his family; his means of subsistence being restricted to the scanty produce of a few acres of land, and a small retiring pension from Holland, besides what his own industry in making copies of law documents might work out in addition.'—Vol. i. p. 2.

It was from his father, not his mother, that Bunsen derived the germ of what was remarkable in him. This Heinrich Bunsen was distinguished for correctness of language and terseness of expression (not a conspicuous feature of the son's style).

'He was,' we are told, 'unswerving in rectitude, founded on his deep-seated Christian faith; remarkable in an age of general laxity in moral and religious observances, for the steadiness and fervency of his outward acknowledgment in word and deed of God and His providence in the world: . . . and he implanted in the mind of his son that strong independence of the fascination of external circumstances of rank and condition, that decided estimation of the dignity of man as man, that contempt of pretensions based on the accidents of birth and station, upon which his conduct throughout life was grounded.'—Vol. i. p. 3.

By his first marriage he had two daughters, one of whom, Christiana, eighteen years older than her distinguished brother, exercised a great influence over his childhood. Her sad story makes an interesting episode; and the delicacy and kindness of Bunsen's care of her, and the intimacy of his correspondence with the broken-down invalid, form a very engaging trait in his character.

Of the second marriage it is said:—

'Heinrich Christian took to his wife, in 1790, Johannette Eleonore Brocken, then aged 41, who had lived fifteen years in the Palace of Bergheim, highly valued for her intelligent and devoted care of the young family of the Countess of Waldeck, Christine Wilhelmine, born Countess of Ysenburg-Büdingen, who continued to her for life the small salary she had before received of nineteen florins, then considered ample; supplied her with the marriage portion of house-linen and furniture, which a bride in Germany is expected to bring of her own, and honoured the wedding, which took place in the church at Bergheim, by giving a dinner and ball, in the palace, to the married pair and their guests. These instances of favour indicate unusual merits in the object of them: and they must the less remain unnoticed, as Johannette Eleonore has left little other trace of her existence, besides the material one of being the mother of her son. But although she took the best care of the infant years of her only child, she made upon his mind no such impression of devoted love as to excite a warm return on his part, and his first consciousness of feminine tenderness and of the maternal qualities which attach a child was awakened by his eldest sister Christiana. The portraits of the parents testify to the resemblance of the son to his father; of his mother's features none could be traced in him but her short and curling upper lip.'—Vol. i. pp. 4, 5.

Christian Carl Josiah derived his Christian names from the members of the noble family in whose service his mother had lived, and who acted as sponsors. His father, after notification of the birth and baptism, added the ejaculation, 'O God, guide 'him by Thy grace, and let him grow up in Thy love and 'fear, and in all virtue, to the joy of his parents. Amen.' Nor can we doubt that this prayer was heard, both in the blameless youth which this narrative records, and also in an inherited trust and faith seen in the future philosopher,—a belief in Providence and a reliance on Divine aid, expressed in daily life, far above, and often in contradiction to, his opinions formally stated; so that we may almost assert that no disciple

of Bunsen's could be as religious as Bunsen himself, his own actuating religion having been implanted before speculation set to its work. A man who has once embraced in childhood the idea of Providence can hardly lose it. His father kept note of his progress in learning, which from the first seems to have been remarkable:—

'Every date has been preserved of his progress up to the highest form, which he reached at Michaelmas 1808, at sixteen years of age. All accounts testify to his having seized upon the information offered as a property to which he had a natural claim, achieving tasks with a power and certainty as though he already possessed by intuition the knowledge he was acquiring. Thus he became the delight of his teachers, and the pride of his father, while with his schoolfellows in general he was popular, as he had always time and power to spare to execute the tasks which others had not accomplished; in return for which help he required those who possessed voices to sing to him, or, when rambling in the woods, to pick wild strawberries for him, which his short-sightedness prevented him from seeing on the ground.'—Vol. i. p. 6.

Nor was extraordinary aptitude at learning his only childish distinction. Bunsen clearly owed much of his success in the world to his personal advantages. His sister described him as a beautiful child, fair-complexioned, and curly-haired, 'with 'the bright eye and fine chiselling of features which those 'who have seen him to the last still hold in remembrance.' In 1816, at the age of twenty-five, his likeness to the First Napoleon was so great that, passing through France at that time, it nearly got him into trouble. A schoolfellow, Wolrad Schumacher, has supplied some interesting recollections of Bunsen's youth; answering the general question by a digressive reference to his own matters, which at least proves how early Bunsen's personal influence upon other minds manifested itself:—

'Thus passed the winter of 1805, when in every free hour of the day I sought refuge in Bunsen's abode; and this was the course of things for three years. He was fourteen years of age, and had in the previous summer been confirmed. I was more than two years his junior, which difference is considerable at that time of life, and he was almost two classes higher than myself; wherefore, even at that period, the question must have arisen in my mind, what made him receive me into such intimacy? The motive, I found, was that he had divined the state of my mind and desired to comfort me: and I inquired no further, for I was in fact helped entirely out of my disconsolate condition.'—Vol. i. p. 14.

After describing Bunsen's parents and their dwelling, 'reminding you of the abode of a Westphalian yeoman,' he says—

'Christian Bunsen's own small room was in the upper story, towards the garden. Here, during my Corbach school-years, did I go in and out, finding my friend never otherwise than occupied, full of zeal and earnestness over his books. In the morning he was up with the sun, which shone

straight into his window, looking to the east. During the summer evenings, when I came in the twilight to fetch him to walk, he was reading or writing, but ever turned from his occupation to receive me with bright kindness. Throughout the school, he was admired as a genius, but by no one so much as by myself:—great as his achievements have been, my boundless anticipations still exceeded the result. In knowledge and comprehension, no individual could measure with him in any degree, and his laboriousness cast all the rest into shade. The execution of an essay of forty-one pages, set as a task, in one week, was unheard of except in his case; and the sixty pages of fair transcript accomplished in one Sunday for the procrastinating advocate, to help his overtasked father, might well astonish those aware of the fact. Yet more was his memory matter of astonishment. On a day of school-examination, Counsellor Bunsen of Arolsen (already mentioned), who was the appointed commissioner, expressed the wish to hear Schiller's poem of "The Bell" declaimed the following day, and the question went round who would volunteer for this performance; but as no one had already learnt the poem by heart, no one would offer to learn and recite it in that short time. Christian Bunsen, however, nothing daunted, and believing in the possibility, accepted and executed the task.

'That he was regular in attending church cannot be asserted, for often did he assist his father in despatching arrears of work, and often did he indulge in study in the stillness of the Sunday, which was ever delightful to him; yet was he often seen at church, and, when there, observed to be more devoutly attentive than any one of us, as was also the case at morning prayers at school; and although nature had not been favourable to him as to power of voice, yet he joined in the hymns with earnest solemnity. I have seen him *read* in the Bible: for the actual study of the Bible the time was not yet come.'—Vol. i. pp. 15—17.

His sister asserts that, as a child, he was self-willed, and unmanageable (like so many clever children) except by his father, to whose authoritative commands he never failed to yield; but his friend records that his behaviour to his teachers was exemplary, grateful to all, and showing a delicacy of discernment. With regard to his schoolfellows, 'he was the most inoffensive 'youth in the entire school; but in self-defence, if aggression 'were attempted, he could be terrible in expression of coun-'tenance and resolute demeanour.' He cared for no games, probably mixed little with them. The money he earned by copying was always punctually delivered to him by his father, and this he spent in books. 'I have never,' says his friend, 'met in life a more passionate lover of books, and with the 'bookbinder he entertained ever a sort of intimacy and sym-'pathy.' In the autumn of 1808, Bunsen went to Marburg University, living, in consideration of his father's limited means, in a closely economical plan, but happy in a new world. Here he stayed only a year, finding it in a declining state. From thence, running some pecuniary risks, he went, October 1809, to Göttingen; there Heyne, 'full of years and honours,' received him with paternal kindness, and saw in him a student of uncommon gifts and acquirements. When he had been

at Göttingen three months, Heyne recommended him as teacher of German to William Backhouse Astor, son of the celebrated Astor of New York, who, from the pecuniary advantages of such a connexion, must be regarded as Bunsen's first patron. He was thus secured an independent position in the University, and also Mr. Astor became so attached to him and took such pleasure in his company, that he engaged him to accompany him wherever he went in Germany. This pupil, his own studies, and a Hebrew class, to which he was appointed teacher, brought Bunsen such an accumulation of work that his father's rule of early rising (in boyhood he used to rouse him at three in the morning) became his own. At the University he always secured a good morning's work before the day began. He could, through life, sleep at will for a few minutes, 'after which he became fresh again to go on for hours.' Nevertheless, we cannot doubt that he lived faster than other men, and that the organization, especially of the heart, suffered for this strain upon it. He was never a mere student, but mixed much with men of congenial minds, taking walks into the country with favourite associates in English fashion, though walking was never a pursuit with him. The great event of his stay at Göttingen was his first literary success, 'An Essay on the Athenian Law of Inheritance,' which obtained the prize. How men take their first triumph in this field is always an index of character. His friend writes:—

'I was stationed at the *aula* to bring instantaneous intelligence of the name to which the prize would be adjudged—to him who waited at home. I took my post close to the door, and as soon as Mitscherlich, having unfolded the sealed paper, had read the name, "Christianus Carolus Josias Bunsen," I ran off without hearing what followed. The joy which my news created is not to be described; it had no check, and seemed to have no end, making its way in rapturous demonstrations. At such times Bunsen was most attaching, pouring forth his very soul of light and love towards his sympathising friends. Great was my surprise the next morning early, to find him at his work, absorbed as usual, as though nothing uncommon had happened.'—Vol. i. p. 20.

He adds his reflections on Bunsen's habitual air and manner:

'The demeanour of Bunsen was peculiar and original under the anticipation of any critical time in life. Moved evidently in his inmost consciousness, he yet seemed to behold that which was impending as without him, or rather above him. From whence help was to come he doubted not, the question *how* occupied his serious cogitations; yet did he live on cheerfully the while in a certain quiet confidence. He had great self-consciousness, but uttered it not himself; it spoke plainly out of his entire being: in common intercourse he was ever modest and unpretending; the force that was in him was original nature; arrogance, pretension, and all school formality were foreign to him; he spoke with clear common sense; collected and abundant in original thought; not shy or mistrustful of himself, ever acting on the spur of duty, and faithful under every test. . . .'

'Overlooking his life, as I now can from first to last, I behold ever the same thread, the same tissue: I have never perceived a change, and to believe that any such had taken place would be impossible to me. At the time when his influence was great with Frederick William III. and with the Crown Prince, afterwards Frederick William IV., great was also the spite entertained against him in well-known circles: a consequence of which was his being accused of "intrigue," and of being more *sly* than any man in the Monarchy. I consider such tendencies to have been foreign to his nature, and that no crooked ways can be found in his course of action. The words of Gustavus Adolphus, used in allusion to himself, might apply here also: *Qui se fait brebis, loup le mange.*'—Vol. i. pp. 20—22.

In another place his friend notes the 'instinctive discern-'ment of differences of character, of mental gifts, of qualities of 'the heart, for which Bunsen was ever remarkable; his faculty 'of meeting without artifice or dissimulation every variety of 'mind, influentially and systematically;' and this characteristic throws light on his letters. He explains to one friend, and apologizes for his religious opinions to another, with so nice a discernment of the character and sentiment of his correspondent, that we believe, without any intention to mystify, the same views are not recognisable under the different handling he gives them. We are perfectly certain, that the good ladies who have written in alarm at something he has said, whom he soothes in some of the letters here given by a strain of warm piety, would have been perfectly horrified at certain confessions of faith or want of faith, delivered in others with philosophical disregard of vulgar or feminine prejudice to a brother inquirer. In turning over these pages and encountering his statements of views, it is indispensable to refer to the name of his correspondent. He writes differently to Dr. Arnold even, intimate as he was, and high as was his opinion of his friend, and gives a different impression of his state of mind, belief, and opinion towards things sacred, from his tone when writing to Lücke or Renan. The only people, as far as we see, towards whom he uses one consistent language are those whom he terms Puseyites. There is a faith in dogma to which he never can be civil; but we do not observe that he numbers men of the more rigid or simple class of believers among his correspondents. For ourselves, it is impossible to accept his philosophical utterances as representing himself, any more, perhaps, than some of these effusive ladies' letters. He was more than most people a contradiction, the singular point being that he was never the least conscious of any opposites in himself; on the contrary, as time got on he became more and more profoundly convinced, that the hope of the world of the future lay in an exact and implicit acceptance, both of his religious feelings and the ground on which it rested.

His manner, acceptable as it made him in English society, was not, we are given to understand, agreeable to the men of rank in his own country, for a note says :—

'Reinhard Bunsen, speaking of the subject of this memoir in a letter dated Berlin, 28th December, 1841, confirms this statement of the jealousy which many persons of distinction felt towards him at the time referred to. "Apart from his being," he says, "a *parvenu* and not *noble* . . . his demeanour, which is that of a man who crouches before no one, is peculiarly hateful to them."'—Vol. i. p. 22.

And to this may, perhaps, be attributed the fact, that so much of Bunsen's life was passed in foreign countries. At Marburg, Bunsen, as student of divinity, preached one sermon in church with general approbation. At one time he had so far thought of divinity as a profession, as to be deterred by the fear that neither voice nor chest was strong enough for the calling to which he felt most inclined, which, it is remarked, may well surprise those who had an opportunity of observing the uncommon power of both those organs, even to the close of his life.

The letters at the close of 1812 speak of his taking up the Bible as a study. He tells his parents that he and a few friends are reading the Gospel of S. Luke together. The state of religious opinion in Germany was no check to any audacity of criticism, but Bunsen had been taught a love, if not reverence for the sacred records; and one friend, in the depths of depression, tells of the salutary effects of this reading upon himself, and how Bunsen's more vigorous nature was brought to bear upon him for good.

'On our way back, Bunsen joined me apart from the others; related much of Heyne, to whom he has been considerably indebted for his advancement. We talked of Sophocles, of Plato, of Johannes Müller, of Herder. He told me what I might expect in the way of philosophy, and what an enjoyment he had procured himself in the establishment of a philosophical society, which he invited me to join. I answered that I believed myself unequal to the requirements of the society, but he argued away my doubts, and I heartily thanked him for the offer. It was so unusual, that a man whom I could love and honour should advance to meet me! Hitherto, whenever I had found such, it was I who had to make the way; and now did one of a standing far above mine, whom from the first moment I had loved and honoured, approach me closely; and this consciousness did my heart good. We resumed our conversation on the Antigone. Bunsen asked me with an indescribable look, a beam of kindness and benevolence, whether we should not be brothers? What a blessed moment was that! I had not known before what it was to have a friend, and now my heart expanded. I could speak little, but the whole gloomy past vanished from my sight, and I held fast the happy present. I spent the evening at Ulrich's, where Bunsen also was. After supper he read passages out of the New Testament,—that of the man who built his house on the rock, that of the lilies of the field, and the last chapter of John. Never had I felt so happy; my life, and what I am capable of becoming, seemed to clear up before me. The contemplation of a friend,

so far advanced beyond any other of those devoted to study in Göttingen, far from discouraging, inspires me with courage and power to urge my way forward, and strive to become worthy of him.'—Vol. i. pp. 35, 36.

In the spring of 1813, having closed his university career with the highest credit, he set out on a journey with Mr. Astor to Vienna, and from thence to Northern Italy. The change of scene, the farewell to one stage of life, and the expectation of what lay before him are vividly described to a friend; a sense of power, an expectation of a great future, are evident in every allusion to self. At no time was mere learning a sufficient object. He early formed his programme of life: this is not an unusual exercise of youthful ambition; but to construct an ambitious programme, and to carry it out as he did, shows a strength of foresight, acting with a concurrence of circumstances and a power to bend circumstances to his will, which are rare indeed. He had always a plan, and boasts of holding by it. 'I, at least,' he writes, 'have not swerved a hair's breadth from the point of view which I have held these two years.'

'Often does it seem to me as if my endeavours were absurd and must prove vain, as though I had done wrong in attempting to sail through the storms of life in the leaky barque of learned research, or in having armed myself with knowledge as a heavy staff, good perhaps for the purpose of removing some stone of offence, or of striking down some mad dog infesting the rough path, but not of force to secure arriving at the mark, for the sake of which all the labour had been undertaken. In this temper of mind labouring and striving become hateful, and I would rather flee away into the quietest corner of the most insignificant village in order to seek that which is wanting to me. Wherefore all this learning and teaching, listening, and searching out what serves not to that end? and why in this place of all others, where men are so quietly merging their whole being into learning, as though it were their means of regeneration? In cheerful moments, on the contrary, I resolve manfully to fight my way through, looking forwards and keeping the aim in view, which is to understand myself and the age, and to apprehend what may be the prime need of each; to minister according to my ability to that need; to separate what ought to be passed over or annihilated; to begin *ab Jove;* to climb in the blossoming time of life the heights of human intelligence, and search out the landmarks of its first achievements:—then to start into active life.'—Vol. i. pp. 30, 31.

To know men and to mix among them was now his aim. He was naturally constituted to enjoy life, and to play his part in it. His view of the use of travel was to 'teach the different centres of cultivated humanity;' and from this time he mixed with the leaders of thought wherever he went, and took his place among them,—a fact which, under the circumstances of his birth and fortune, tells much for his personal influence. His friends already used sounding epithets in talking of him. Thus when he was twenty-two, having returned to Göttingen, for a time, E. Schulze, the poet of his circle, writes:—

'By the untiring efforts of Bunsen, our whole circle, consisting of Lachmann, Lücke, Reck, Bunsen, and myself, and further widened by the addition of the admirable Brandis—also in intimacy less close, by that of Brandis's brother, of Jacobs, Klenze, and Ulrich—was brought together again. A spirit of zealous but friendly emulation arose amongst us; and on a certain cheerful evening, at my suggestion, we made a vow, each to each other and to all, that we would effect something great in our lives. It was a noble circle, in which an oppressed heart could expand and breathe again. Bunsen, the man of kingly and all-ruling spirit, considering all branches of knowledge, all forms of mental exertion, but as means to accomplish a single great object,—who, open at all times to every sort of impression, could with indescribable power appropriate and make his own all that seemed in nature most opposite; who, with the keenest and, at times, appalling clearness of intellectual perception, united a depth of sympathising feeling; and who, with an energy, ceaselessly diverted into a multitude of channels,—never lost sight of his object.'—Vol. i. p. 46.

And then follows a portrait of each of this group of names: 'brilliant friends,' some too well known—especially Lachmann, called 'the founder of the new school of criticism.' Bunsen equally panted for practical activity, and for study with an ulterior end in view. Probably he very early conceived that idea before referred to of translating Semitic into Japhetic expression, and with this design threw himself into philology.

'And so you must not be dissatisfied, if, with and after all these considerations, I remain not only firmly resolved to follow up, and strive after, my earliest purpose in life, more felt, perhaps, than clearly discerned, viz. to bring over, into my own knowledge and into my own fatherland, the language and the spirit of the solemn and distant East;—but also, if it be possible, I would for the accomplishment of this object even quit Europe in order to draw out of the ancient well that which I find not elsewhere. I should need to write you a book, to be able to state all that has urged forward my resolution to this point. That it is not from desire of fame I call God to witness; the thought of *that* has never occurred to me throughout the whole time of consideration. My aim is, *first*, so to draw the East into the study of the entire Course of Humanity (particularly of European, and more especially of Teutonic humanity), that no power on earth shall disunite them:—and, *secondly*, to make Germany the central point of this study, so far as my strength admits.'—Vol. i. p. 51.

A plan of life is an excellent thing, but we must think that we see it in Bunsen's case tending to a foregone conclusion. He found what he wanted and intended to find. In pursuit of his object he designed to spend some time in India, and he has some difficulty in satisfying his own notions of consistency and justifying himself and others, when this scheme was given up for study nearer home, for marriage, and diplomatic life in Rome. But his powers of acquiring languages were extraordinary, and the sacrifice of years away from other interests was in truth unnecessary. We find him acquiring a language in the intervals of a hasty tour, and a theory to be proved ends in the acquisition of Icelandic, and a whole treasure of Scandi-

navian lore. He went to Paris for his Eastern studies, and there astonished not only his tutor, but himself by his progress.

'PARIS, 27*th April*, 1816.

'. . . Of myself I must tell you, that I am deeper in work than ever. In order to get well into the course of study, and at the same time to abridge the time of waiting, I have ventured upon great, and what you may reckon, audacious undertakings. At first I only planned following De Sacy's lectures on Ferdusi, which the Persian scholars in general do not attend, but which he carries on with two French pupils, one of whom has been eight, the other twelve years, studying under him. To the great surprise of the latter I appeared among them, as a listener, a week ago; and, to their vexation (because I was a cause of delay), in the next following lecture (which was yesterday), I already translated my portion; and as each time from 170 to 190 verses are gone through, there was enough to satisfy my appetite. But thereupon De Sacy would insist upon conducting me also into Meschoud and Sadi, partly from love to the subject, as he is *De Sacy*, and partly from the sort of noble pride the French have in showing how much they are willing to do for one; besides, he thinks much of Germany and of his reputation there. I therefore entered upon those lectures also, and having prepared myself as well as I could, and thus understood something of Sadi, I shall next week take my place in the ranks, and translate with the others. But this step drew another after it. For the understanding of the two latter poets, a knowledge of Arabic is indispensable, if the thing is not to be done superficially, on account of the use of Arabic roots and idioms. Wherefore De Sacy proposed to me to attend an Arabic lecture, which he would as much as possible arrange for me. As I had now got well into the work, and felt that I should be able later to read on in Ferdusi by myself, when I should have had the necessary practice, I accepted the offer, and shall begin next week to translate *Pilpai*, and possibly afterwards the Koran. When I now add that I continue twice a week to read Persian with Langlés, you will be aware that from morning till night I have enough to do in preparation and repetition: and this I do, with *fury* and delight, because I must get on, and I do get on.'—Vol. i. pp. 93, 94.

To his sister he writes the same, adding:—

'I am perfectly well, and arrange my day as I like; work from six in the morning till four in the afternoon, only in the course of that time having a walk in the garden of the Luxembourg, where I also often study; from four to six I dine and walk, from six to seven sleep; from seven to eleven work again. In that manner I can make it possible to work in the evening, which otherwise I never could. I have overtaken in study some of the French students who had begun a year ago. God be thanked for His help! Before I go to bed I read a chapter in the New Testament (last night Corinthians xii.); in the morning, on rising, one in the Old Testament; yesterday I began the Psalms from the first.'—Vol. i. p. 96.

From Paris he goes to Florence to meet Mr. Astor, who is recalled from thence suddenly to New York, and urges Bunsen in vain to accompany him. He had too distinct an idea of success on his own ground, though the loss of income involved immediate perplexity. He is at once eagerly caught by a Mr. Cathcart, who engages him to teach him French three hours a

day for four months, in return for which he sees all that is worth seeing in Florence, and afterwards at Rome.

'This arrangement suited perfectly with Bunsen's plan of awaiting the arrival of Niebuhr at Florence, on his way to Rome, and he writes further to his sister, "See! thus far has God helped me! you will believe that I am thankful! Giving lessons disturbs me but little, as I may choose the hours that suit me, and I profit much by the practice of speaking English."'—Vol. i. pp. 99, 100.

All the while he is working 'with fury' on his own account, and making acquaintance with Niebuhr, then head of the Pussian Legation, of whom we have had one mention before in the following notice.

'In another letter of October 1, he speaks with satisfaction of the "connexion with Mr. Cathcart, which I look upon as one of the most fortunate occurrences of my life;" and looks forward to the enjoyment of "Rome, with all its treasures, still the capital of the world;" and of the society of Niebuhr, "equally sole of his kind with Rome; him alone I can acknowledge as my lord and master, because his instructions, and his personal excellence in every respect, as well as in that of learning, stand highest in estimation among all the men I know; he is essentially the person to form me into a thorough man and citizen of my country: moreover, as regards the realization of my plans to become a Prussian, he is equally the man."'—Vol. i. pp. 103, 104.

Bunsen is a remarkable example of *success*. At the right moment the friend, the patron, the opportunity always present themselves; but this of course may only prove, as in a degree it certainly does, his remarkable aptitude to seize the occasion and the favourable impression he produced upon strangers. Niebuhr became at once attached to him, accepted him as substitute to his secretary Brandis, who had to retire from ill health, and thus ushered him into diplomatic life; and more than this, very early in his acquaintance he vouched for his character and powers, and what these must do for his advancement on a very important occasion. Soon after Bunsen's arrival with Mr. Cathcart in Rome, at the age of five-and-twenty, he was introduced to the family of Mr. Waddington, consisting of father, mother, and three daughters, whom he thus mentions to his sister:—

'Rome, *8th February*, 1817.

'An English family with three daughters take an interest in me, and by them I have been introduced to the Duchess of Devonshire, and to other persons. A learned young Englishman (Mr. William Clifford) lodges now in the same story with me; I read German with him, and he corrects my English writing. I live altogether retired, to avoid interruption and loss of time, and am so absorbed in my own ideas and researches, that as to my susceptibility of heart, in every respect, you may be more at ease, if possible, than ever.'—Vol. i. p. 110.

Two months later he returns to the same subject:—

'Another piece of news is, that for about eight days I have almost been a little in love. Be not alarmed; only a little, and without consequences.

I visited the family mentioned in my former letter because they were very kind in inviting me, and I had frequent opportunities of intercourse with them. I conversed naturally with the eldest daughter most of all (the second being engaged, and the third a child of thirteen years of age); she understands German very well, besides French and Italian. . . . I read German with her with pleasure, and liked to discuss and dispute with her, as she makes the same objections to the principles of German literature that you do, and is a very earnest Christian of the Church of England. All this went on well until the time of their departure from Rome approached: and I yielded to my inclination to profit by the mother's extreme kindness in inviting me, almost daily, to walk and drive out with them. Having, at first, believed myself quite safe (the more so as I cannot think of marrying without impairing my whole scheme of mental development—and least of all, could I think of pretending to a girl of fortune), I thought there was no danger. But I have really fallen in love a little with the amiable character, and clear understanding, and good principles of this girl; and so, of course, I no longer go so continually to visit the family. I laugh at myself very often: yet, I am disturbed and uncomfortable when I have passed a day without seeing her.'—Vol. i. p. 113.

Upon this passage we read his widow's sad yet thankful comments:—

'During the following month of May, the circumstance mentioned in the closing words of the last sentence (*i.e.* the passing a day without meeting) became of rare occurrence. In the enjoyment of the innumerable objects of interest in and about Rome, in the finest weather and most beautiful season, daily and hourly opportunity was found, in common unconsciousness of possible consequences, for that intimate, unchecked, and uninterrupted intercommunion of thoughts and opinions, by which human beings are enabled really and actually, not superficially, to become acquainted with each other, and to ascertain the existence of that degree of sympathy and fulness of satisfaction in each other, which is known by instinct, rather than reflection, to be no transitory feeling, but a life condition; as in the present case was the blessed experience of forty-three years, looked back upon by the sad survivor with unmingled thankfulness.' —Vol. i. pp. 113, 114.

The marriage of Bunsen to Miss Waddington took place July 1st, 1817, and the young people took up their abode at Niebuhr's house at Frascati, from which place glowing letters of happiness are written, among others of admiration for our Marriage Service. The cordiality of his reception into his wife's family may be judged by the following passage in a letter to his sister. It illustrates his confidence of achievement in himself through a very engaging modesty.

'With my mother-in-law I am on a good footing, although I have been under the necessity sometimes to oppose her will. For instance—I found that she had written to Thorwaldsen (the greatest sculptor of the age) to make my bust in marble, for her to place in her house in England. This was a great compliment from her, and equally so from the sculptor, who is so much engaged with his own great works as to have been obliged to decline many proposals for executing portraits. But I at once desired Fanny to inform her mother that I should decidedly not consent to this; to my feelings there would be arrogance and presumption in suffering such

a dignified representation of myself, when I had not yet done anything worthy of being recorded.'—Vol. i. p. 119.

After this there could be no more thought of going to India. He fears that when his friends hear of his marriage they will suppose all his undertakings are given up. He assures them of his constancy to his plan, and trusts to succeed in forming a clear view of the earliest life of Oriental nations without crossing the line. We presently find him settled on the Capitoline Hill, where he resided twenty years, devoted to study, and taking a lead in public matters. Nothing came amiss to his activity. He and Niebuhr got up a Reformation Jubilee, Bunsen constructing a service for the occasion, after the model of our Liturgy, and reading a discourse. Niebuhr embraced him after the service. The Italians when they came to hear of it were angry; but as only forty Germans were present with closed doors, the incident was not politically important. His mother-in-law, upon his appointment as secretary of the Prussian Legation, urged upon the young people the duty of entering more into society. In his reply, vindicating his plan of keeping his time at his own disposal, he appeals to an experience remarkable, considering Bunsen's humble origin, and at the same time a testimony to his personal advantages. As one element of success, he, no doubt, saw everything that concerned himself in its brightest and most flattering light.

'I know I have it in my power to go every evening into company, pay attention to grandees and to ladies, and talk away time to the insignificant; and I have done it. I quitted University employment in 1813 on purpose to see and know the world. I have seen and known the most distinguished men in my own country, and, wherever I was, I frequented the circles of ambassadors, princes and ministers: I was reckoned *amiable* by some of their ladies, clever by the learned, and *bon enfant* by the men. This cost me some time, but has been a great lesson for me. Almost always in these societies I was liked and valued for that which I ridiculed in myself, and I could not go on in this way without scorning myself and my fellow-creatures too, and without losing that respect for human life and the human species which is indispensable to me; even (I fear when I consider my nature's frailty) without losing my natural horror of the custom, or rather disease, of talking without thinking and without interest.'—Vol. i. pp. 133, 134.

'Fortunately,' he says elsewhere to his sister, 'the Niebuhrs 'have a similar plan of life, and that is a great means of pre-'venting my being compelled to join in any artificial relations of 'society.' The first Christmas after his marriage he instituted the custom of the Christmas-tree. As we probably derive from Bunsen our adoption of this institution—one we have never felt thoroughly in harmony with our national character—it is worth notice. We are given to understand that he christianized a heathen custom derived by his countrymen from pagan

times, by placing a picture of the Madonna della Seggiola amid the tapers, so as to illuminate 'the loveliest infant representation of Him who brought good gifts unto men,' and thus to sanctify the ancient German custom of hanging gifts on a tree, dating from the time of heathen life in a forest. In Germany, the writer says, though Christmas Eve is the occasion of the festival, not a particle remains to indicate the sentiment which originally connected it with the memorial thanksgiving for the event. However, Bunsen's means of restoring the sentiment did not pass without blame, a late Crown prince of Prussia having accused the Bunsen family of Popish practices. At this time, as indeed always, Bunsen's letters and diaries are full of the most devout expressions, but characterised by that vagueness and detestation of dogma which is apparent throughout. He reads the Bible with zeal, 'that the kernel may be laboriously extracted and contended for,' *i.e.* not accepting any part of it simply as an external revelation. In his philological studies, 'the consciousness of God 'in the mind of man, and that which in and through that 'consciousness He has accomplished, especially in language 'and religion,' is in his case an idea of Divinity separated from distinct personality. It is *never* what God is in Himself; always what He is in the mind of man. Yet he prays, but in his prayer he asks for truth inwardly. 'Let me not enclose my heart with a factitious applied form of faith.' He never approaches the idea of religion in a teachable spirit, but as something to be found out of which he has the key. Yet prayer was a real thing with him, to the extent of being incompatible with his philosophical language concerning the nature of God. In a journal dated 1819, he writes these petitions, where it will be observed that the name of Christ does not occur :—

'Give strength, O Father, yet Truth first of all, and prayer to Thee above all.

'Preserve my fatherland, for its need is greater than can be helped by men.

'Preserve to Thy kingdom those whom Thou hast given me.

'Relieve, release my father, and console my unhappy sister.

'Strengthen my beloved wife, and preserve her to me and our children.

'Preserve Brandis, and enlighten him to become a light to many.

'Let Niebuhr increase in inward power and outward influence, that he may glorify Thee, and save his country.

'Strengthen Reck and Hey, and lead Lücke from the external to reality; to each and all grant what is best for them. Thy blessing on Schmieder.

'Fortify me, purify me, lead me to Thyself.'—Vol. i. p. 171.

Like others who have a dread of dogmatic theology, Bunsen's devotional instincts took refuge in hymns. Nor can we deny to hymnology an office of charity in reconciling and uniting the most adverse principles and convictions, and bringing them,

while under the spell of sanctified numbers and rhythm, into an actual union of feeling, and even of faith, which dissolves and dies as the measure ceases. There are noble Christian hymns in which the whole Christian world can join, and feel in union while they join. Something of this universality was achieved by Bunsen when he got the director of the papal choir to allow its members to come to his home weekly, and sing ancient German hymns—driven out of use, he complains, by modern ones, without power or spirit—to harmonies restored from the corrupt incrustations of the eighteenth century.

'The object of Bunsen was, as ever, to bring about a reformation in his own country; being fully conscious of the deteriorated condition, almost if not quite universal, of that choral harmony which yet is the pride of the Germans, and believing that a renewal of the spirit of other times could only be possible by reverting to the original fountain in its purity.'—Vol. i. p. 188.

The body of German hymns of his collecting is well known to the English public through the medium of Miss Winkworth's translations. He busied himself also about a German Liturgy, on which subject he consulted with 'his much honoured chief,' and with the chaplain,—an easy way of managing matters, illustrating his universal grasp of subjects, and confidence in his powers. However, as the King had his liturgy too, harmony did not result. Bunsen's Liturgy, as it is called, seems to have been a modification of the King's, adapted to suit his own ideas, and used at the Roman legation, somewhat to Frederick William's displeasure (see vol. i. pp. 256, 310), though he subsequently ordered it to be printed. Its plan is explained in a letter to Arnold in 1828, where we find this opening of a sentence, 'After 'I had sounded the depths of the Greek, Roman, English, and 'other liturgies, I began,' &c. The immense variety of the subjects which engaged Bunsen's attention, and which probably prevented his retaining a hold upon his countrymen in any branch of thought or science, was undertaken deliberately, and out of respect to his self-consciousness, a word, in his sense, which perhaps needs the interpretation his life gives.

'I had little, perhaps too little, of the instinctive inclination for following up any single science or branch of knowledge; I could never have resolved upon plunging into any single course of mental activity which should have compelled me to make that the calling of my life. Rather would I do nothing, than be absorbed in work to the stifling of all self-consciousness.'—Vol. i. p. 180.

The enormous range of his interests, and the effect of his universal knowledge, account for Bunsen's prestige in his lifetime, when manner, a magnificent exuberance of ready thought, a weighty appreciation of his own merits, not without a consistent and deliberate determination that others should know them as

well, together with a hundred adventitious circumstances, added weight to the amount of Bunsen's natural congeniality and intellectual power; but the man of a 'single course of mental activity' is the man to be an authority when these adventitious advantages are lost sight of. We can hardly suppose it possible that a man of *one* study should, for example, have thought himself called upon—inspired, we suspect, would have been Bunsen's word—to compose a liturgy for his countrymen, at the same time admitting what is admitted in the following paragraph, in his letter to Arnold :—

'It is my conviction that all communion essentially consists in a common belief in the facts of the redemption of the human race through Christ; but when this belief, roused by a sense of inward need and a feeling of sinfulness, begins to work among a set of men, and a congregation is to be thereby formed or revived, three points must be considered: first, agreement by means of a theological expression of the points of faith; then, by congregational discipline; thirdly, by a common form of worship. As to the two first points, they are for the present not to be thought of; discipline must be voluntary, and therefore must grow up and form itself from below; and the inquiry into the philosophical and historical foundations of our faith, on the other hand, is only for a few, and leads rather to disunion than to peace.'—Vol. i. p. 181.

To compose a liturgy in which the whole congregation is to join, no one thinking alike, and careful to hurt no one's prejudices, is just the work for a man with many irons in the fire; not that he was without a serious aim, but that he never allowed himself leisure for diffidence, or for what we understand by reflection. This very liturgy was begun and mainly got through in an illness which inflicted nineteen days of sleeplessness, an illness which would probably have proved fatal, but that the Italian doctor who came to bleed him found the operation needed more skill than he possessed. On the brink of eternity he pronounced theology the work assigned him, and at once set to work, composing from sixteen to twenty pages in a day.

And what *was* the theology of which he considered himself a doctor? It may be gathered from this book, perhaps, but we cannot find any statement, or any series of statements, that shall make it consistent or intelligible to others—and we are only reviewing this book. On other occasions we have in this Review once and again expressed ourselves, and freely, on his many flagrant and insolent heresies. We constantly find the most orthodox terms in use, but without any means of ascertaining the sense in which he used them. Of Redemption, for example, which he makes the central fact, he thus writes to Lücke:—

'That intoxication of self-worship, which, devoid of moral intensity of conviction, or of clear conception of the problems actually calling for solution, anticipated of late the attainment of unknown degrees of intellectual grandeur from a consummation of learning and science,—has begun

to give place to the barbaric delusion which casts all knowledge aside, and reckons upon the breathing of the Divine Spirit through the "waste and howling wilderness" of the empty mind, like the blast through the apertures of a ruined hall. . . ——'s conclusions, in general, can be admitted only by such as are convinced, as fully as he is himself, of the impossibility of the wonderful fact of redemption. I, on the contrary, am convinced that this fact is the especial foundation of religion and the essential object of faith; indeed, the sole unvarying one. All dogmas not concerned with facts may live out their term, but will have an end. I am convinced that all that is analogous to those facts in the inward history of every regenerate soul is but a single broken ray of the original light, proceeding from, and sustained by it. This is true, and the converse is not the truth. Whoever does not accept the facts of Christianity thus, but looks upon them as mere symbols of the true and essential ideas, originating in the individual human mind, is not a Christian, and still less a theologian. This is my line of demarcation; all discussion must begin on this side of it, for on the other side it would be absurdity.'—Vol. i. pp. 183, 184.

If our readers do not discern in this statement of opinion a mistiness, not only of style, but of ideas, we must compliment them on a keener intelligence than our own. It seems to us that even facts are wanting in sharp objective reality. We are to find something analogous to them in ourselves, and to rest our thoughts upon that. We would ask, too, what are the Christian dogmas not concerned with facts? In writing to a lady who had confided her difficulties to him, he again treats of redemption:—

'My conviction is, that faith in Christ is essentially no other than the solution of this enigma, which has oppressed the heart of humanity for so many thousand years. The mere looking up to Christ, as pattern and prototype, is as far from being Christianity as even Religion in any degree, —any more than gazing out of the swamp into which one has fallen, up towards another, standing safe and high on the bank, can prove the means of being drawn out of the swamp; and the attempt, in the strength of Self (that is, of the creature contemplating itself apart from God), to escape out of the swamp, is not in the slighest degree less irrational than the well-known assertion of Münchausen, that in a similar condition he pulled himself out by grasping his own pigtail.

'But that is not your religion: you believe in Christ; you lead a life of brotherly love for the brethren of Christ, and in His name; but the bridge which must be built between your conscience, and the decisions of reason as to the eternal consequences of evil, and the Redeemer, you cannot with your own reason construct. In other words, you cannot feel that in that consciousness of sin, and the self-condemnation therein comprehended, the transfusion of faith and penitence, lies the reality of redemption, which is the solution of the enigma, the being loosened from the curse of the law (that is, of conscience); from the "illusion of sin," as Novalis says. It is as if one in immediate danger of suffocation should wake up in the free air of heaven, and yet doubt the saving quality of the atmosphere by which he is renovated, because he can neither see nor grasp it.'—Vol. ii. pp. 301, 302.

Here redemption is not regarded as an *act* of Christ for mankind, but the *reality* of redemption lies in the heart of the penitent; the contests about the nature of redemption 'belong to the past.' That his use of theological terms, even when he

adopts them, has no connexion with the orthodox one, he would himself admit to his intimates, as in his letter to Lücke. We take our quotations without regard to chronological order, because there is apparently neither change nor growth in his opinions.

Thus on the Divinity of Christ :—

'And here, Christology claims attention in the first place. I start from this axiom : that Christology, as taught in the Churches, cannot be brought in union with the right interpretation of Scripture, with the historical views, the speculative thought, and the moral consciousness of the time we live in. Therefore, I am somewhat angered at the *second* edition of Dorner, and I do not agree with Nitzsch in his dogmatic writings.

'The question I desire to put to you is the following :—Does the doctrine of the Logos, as still understood by Origen, in connexion with the theory of identity, as founded by Schelling, but without losing the conception of personality, open a way of reconciliation with the ultimate results of that criticism of which Schleiermacher, in his character as Exegete, is an embodiment ?

'I placed this very question before Tholuck in August last year, and he admitted to me that he had arrived at the same point ; here alone, he believed, was the solution to be sought for. We must reduce the difference to that between the infinite and the finite, i.e. *infinitum in finito*, the Eternal in time.

'At the first attempt to carry through that view, I am encountered by the Gorgon-head of Pelagianism, which Nitzsch held before me in all its terrors when we first conferred upon my theory of self-sacrifice. My axiom, "Christ is deified by His unique and unapproached sanctity," they denounce as heretical. And yet this, and no less, is asserted by Luther's greatest teacher, the godly author of the "Theologia Germanica." To me it is quite clear that the entire theological doctrine of grace, as opposed to free agency, is a theological error and confusion; as incorrect as its opposite, but not a whit more true.'—Vol. ii. pp. 221, 222.

What follows is still more explicit :—

'The Father alone is free from the limitations of the temporary and transitory. The Son "was in the form of a servant" as long as His appearance on earth lasted. But is it less Divine to reveal the essential nature of God in the purest, most universally intelligible form of human reality, than in a (supposed) supernatural mode of appearance ? That which under the one supposition is attributed to the appearance, the other acknowledges as existing in the eternal cause of the appearance. Why may not both suppositions subsist together ? We have not now to deal with scoffers like Voltaire, or with negations like those of the Encyclopædists and Materialists ; but with a serious philosophy of the mind, and a critically-founded, positive system ; and, in great part, with minds honest and serious, who accept and honour the Scripture. Need we be impeded by the falsely so-called Apostles' Creed, or the pre-eminence therein given to the *mythical deposit* of the deep impression produced by the Divine revelation in Christ, which has become predominant in the Churches ? Must this so be, and can it thus remain ? Why should not faith in the Divine revelation be true and vigorous when it assumes that man is the highest exponent of that Divine revelation given to us mortals ?'—Vol. ii. pp. 222, 223.

After such statement, we do not wonder to read in another place his avowal to the same enlightened friend.

'The ancient forms no longer serve their purpose. Thus will the ultra-superstitious stamp even Neander with the mark of heresy on account of his statement of the Apostolic doctrine; in which, much as I admire it, I would have had him speak still plainer, but he was withheld by Christian charity from so doing. And with that consideration I often check myself, when inwardly chafing at the unreasonable proceeding of a party who are sincere, although narrow-minded disciples of Christ, in their own eyes faithful to the Lord, as were the Judaizing Christians at Jerusalem when attacking St. Paul. They are therefore still our brethren, as those were of Paul. But if they persist in stinting us in our birthright of freedom of thought, then must we drive them out of the field with the word of the Lord. The dead Rationalists are equally foreign to us, and still more inimical.'—Vol. i. p. 412.

This habit of checking himself is a satisfactory confession, considering that he wished it to be known everywhere, that 'he identified himself with the living evangelical piety of Britain,' and that his religious intercourse in England was with the more liberal members of this school, and with good people who were charmed and edified by his effusive piety, and his use of Scriptural and theological terms, but would have been appalled by his congratulations to Lücke on his progress on Bible criticisms, as a work of avowed demolition.

'With the exultation of friendship do I behold you, with Tholuck and others, in the forefront of the battle, for the renewal of Theology by means of a truly scientific system of interpretation. I agree with you beforehand as to the results, both practical and dogmatical. Much must perish; but I stand upon firm ground—the Rock Christ.'—Vol. i. p. 383.

And these friends would not have been less startled by his admiration expressed to M. Renan:—

'I admire the rare quality displayed, of courage in conviction, there where you are well aware of being about to wound self-love, both personal and national, to rouse bitter animosity on the part of those whose idols you are breaking, and occasion misunderstanding even among your friends and admirers.'—Vol. ii. p. 527.

And apart from much we read here, enough *was* written at the time which ought to have made Dr. Kaye, bishop of Lincoln, pause, before pronouncing, if he did pronounce, Bunsen one of the ablest divines of the day, at the time of the creation of the Jerusalem bishopric. Perhaps no passage in a short compass shows a greater separation between his use of familiar terms, and the English use of them, than the following, where the words 'godly' and 'godliness' are not made piety *towards* God, but an assumption of godhead in the godly man. He is writing to Miss Winkworth on the 'Theologia Germanica:'—

'Let me, therefore, my dear friend, lay aside all philosophical and theological terms, and state the principles of the golden book which you are just presenting to the English public, in what I consider, with Luther, the best theological exponent, in plain Teutonic, thus:—

'Sin is selfishness;
'Godliness is unselfishness;
'A godly life is the stedfast working out of inward freeness from self:
'To become thus godlike is the bringing back of man's first nature.'
Vol. ii. pp. 344, 345.

In fact, in the mighty self-consciousness of which we read so much, Bunsen really did see every subject of thought, and every object of it in himself,—every Divine effluence, every gift, he believes in, because he either is it or has it. Nothing seems to have an existence apart from his apprehension of it. It is this which makes him despise the received interpretation of the words 'prophet' and 'prophesy,' because nobody can be more of a prophet than he is himself. By a process of taking the place of the Old Testament prophets, he assumes as much of inspiration as he will willingly grant to any other. Thus, when writing on a system of Bible criticism, he judges by putting himself in their place:—

'The main matter is the foundation laid for the view of the *whole*, in all its bearings; and that, once obtained, admits of no break,—being the universal historical development of the consciousness of God in humanity, which in Christ has its personal centre. The magnificence of the Old Testament, when once one can understand it, is unique of its kind. I have begun to arrange the prophecies of the Seer of the New Jerusalem, and write them in order; he lived in the Babylonian exile, and, towards the end of it, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, preached and exhorted to the return from the death-doomed Babylon; and I consider him to have been no other than Baruch. These prophecies are contained in disguise as a beginning of the Book of Jeremiah (chap. ii.—xxi.), and in that of Isaiah (chap. xi.—xxvi.), and also in two passages of the real Book of Isaiah (chap. xiii., xiv., and xxi. 1—10). Reading these in connexion, and placing one's own soul in the midst of that period so full of terrible judgments, and yet of hope,—one is admonished to recognise the eternal laws of God in the ordering of the course of the world, even in our own time, and in our own days; and one perceives that a similar mode of world-contemplation may rightly belong to other and various dispensations.'—Vol. ii. p. 366.

Yet, in adducing all this testimony, we grant that it does not represent the state of mind which it would necessarily present in an Englishman. He had a contempt for our English logic, as compared with the higher methods employed by thinkers in his country, and certainly they leave them more liberty. He is never so bound by a statement as not to use its apparent opposite when convenient, or when his feelings require it. Thus we find frequent references to the 'Hand of God,' and similar expressions; and of the Creation, one of his children records a conversation, where

'He said, it was wonderful, when one tried to follow the different steps of creation, to find it impossible to give an explanation, as it were, of the creation of man; it being absurd to say it was a perfecting of the animal,

as though man was a complete edition of the monkey; or, on the other hand, that he should come from the earth, because in his mechanism he is 'intimately connected with the inferior animals: in short, that it was impossible to come to any conclusion, if one did not simply admit the incapacity of the human mind to measure the depths of Divine wisdom, and assign the whole impulse of creation to a Divine cause, towards which every created thing tends, as to its highest perfection, each at the same time being linked together in a chain of which *man* in creation is the last and highest.'—Vol. ii. p. 294.

Yet in philosophical argument, 'he was not sure about allow-'ing that God is a Being, and could not admit that God is a 'Person' (vol. ii. p. 473). Dr. M'Cosh, who has recorded his impressions of Bunsen in an important paper, tells this, and goes on:—

'The question will be asked, How was it possible for one entertaining such theoretical views to love his God and Saviour, as Bunsen seemed to love them, supremely? Having listened to some of the most devoted disciples of the school of Hegel, I think I can understand this inconsistency, though I would never think of defending it. Bunsen had been trained in the first quarter of the century, when Schelling and Hegel ruled in the universities, and he had so lost himself in ideal distinctions and nomenclature, that his words were not to be interpreted as if the same expressions had been used by another man. He was for ever talking, in Kantian phrase, of the forms of space and time, and of the manifestations of God in space and time. I laboured to show that there were other intuitive convictions in the mind, as well as those of space and time, and, in particular, that we all had an immediate consciousness of ourselves as persons, and that this conscious personality, duly followed out, raised our minds to the contemplation of God as a Being and a Person. One evening, in his house, I thought I had shut him up to a point, but the conversation was interrupted by the breaking up of the large company. We met the next day, by appointment, to resume the discussion; but amid the flow of his grand conceptions, I never got him back to the point at which we had broken off.'—Vol. ii. pp. 473, 474.

The same gentleman says, that during five days that he associated with Bunsen, ten minutes of conversation never elapsed 'without his returning, however far he might be off, to his Bible 'and his Saviour, as the objects which were evidently dearest to 'him.' This is striking testimony; but yet we must observe, that the words, '*his* Bible' have a peculiarly personal signification with Bunsen, and they mean constantly his works, his projects, and, in fact, himself. Dr. M'Cosh, who pronounces Bunsen one of the three great men he has known, Chalmers and Hugh Miller being the others, remarks upon what we scarcely call a great characteristic, though it may belong to great men:—

'I have referred to the fondness with which he dwelt on his contemplated publications. He was now, in his retirement, to give to the world the views on all subjects,—historical, philosophical, and theological,—which had burst upon him in their freshness when he spent so many of his youthful years in Rome. I confess, however, that interested as I was in his specula-

tions—as these came forth with such a warmth and radiance from his lips,—I had all the while an impression that he would require to live to an antediluvian age, in order to commit all his theories to writing; and also a very strong conviction that his views belonged to the past age rather than the present, and that some of them would not, in fact, promote the cause of religion which he had so much at heart.'—Vol. ii. p. 472.

The reader observes this growing passion for his own work, and faith in what it is to do for the world. Bunsen was profoundly convinced that he possessed the secret of the Second Reformation which was to save the world. With a simplicity that savours of flattered vanity, he exults in his success. 'I have never worked more successfully;' 'never had I worked more, perhaps never more effectively.' His *Bibelwerk* is, in his opinion, 'perhaps the greatest, at all events the most responsible, literary enterprise of the age.' (Vol. ii. p. 433). He refers others to his works with the confidence of inspiration. He perpetually takes himself by surprise, by the rapidity and brilliancy of his thought. Dr. M'Cosh observes that, while Bunsen was personally respected by his countrymen, his speculations, philosophical and theological, carried very little weight in Germany, nor are they likely to have further influence among ourselves. He does not reason, he has too much contempt for opponents to take the trouble. 'It *is* so; it *must* be so.' 'No other interpretation is adapted to the age; my inner consciousness tells me this:' these are his arguments. Very potent ones they often prove, backed by a powerful manner, but they collapse under his German-English. Indeed, such general influence as they did carry was due to a tone which seemed to nullify or hide the mischief of them. The reader cannot understand the contradiction between Bunsen's practical religion and his sceptical philosophy when they stand side by side on the page. In personal intercourse, the religious side would be so entirely uppermost, that the unsuspicious or favourably-impressed observer would pass the other by, or lay the imputation to prejudice. We suspect that the book will owe much of the popularity it wins from the general reader to the contributions from the letters and diaries of the female members of his family, most of them evidently from the pen of Baroness Bunsen herself, narrating the brilliant scenes of public interest in which his distinguished position brought them, and to the mention of names still prominent amongst ourselves. Yet his intercourse with our own worthiest notables,—Peel, Gladstone, Lord John Russell, and many others,—does not satisfy the curiosity it raises, being mainly allusions to meetings and conversations. He and Sir Robert seem to have been real friends; and it is said that, when on his death-bed, he called three times for Bunsen, who could not be summoned in time.

All that we have adduced from Bunsen's own pen will, we think, explain his part in the affair of the Jerusalem bishopric. That faith in external unity, that overriding of dogma, that patriotism which saw in England the one thing his country wanted—an effective and (comparatively) imposing Church, and a hierarchy that approved itself to him in its practice, and whose hidden strength he could ignore—all stimulated to that sanguine, confident determination to carry through the King's plan. His connexion with Frederick William began at Rome, in 1823, when the King and his two sons were making their Italian journey. It fell to Bunsen to assist Niebuhr in the task of lionizing Rome; and he so far recommended himself as to be appointed by the King, counsellor of legation, receiving many further gratifying assurances of favour. The intercourse became a friendship; they discussed politics and liturgies together, and in 1841 Bunsen was summoned, not unexpectedly, to Berlin on this notable scheme, his previous visit to England in a private capacity having pointed him out to the King as the person for unfolding his scheme to men of influence and authority there. Bunsen had evidently a natural taste for royalty, and the King's reliance on him was flattering.

'The mere fact of his being called by the King was a cause both of joy and triumph, when the circumstances are considered which interposed a barrier, seemingly impenetrable, to his return to Berlin; and could the image of his state of mind, throughout a condition of things the most gratifying to the best feelings, and calculated to be the most intoxicating to the natural man, be brought as distinctly before other minds as it exists in that in which it was habitually mirrored, the most indifferent or censorious observers could not fail to be struck and edified by the childlike acceptance and transfusion of all that was good, and bright, and desirable, which befell him during this new dispensation, without the slightest taint of bitterness towards groups or individuals, who had contributed to swell the current which had for a long time set so strongly against him. Bunsen's inner consciousness expanded and dilated in the genial atmosphere of the King's presence, and his eminent power of being happy had rarely been more fully called forth, than in the intercourse with the King granted to him during the five weeks to which his stay was extended. In the golden *Now* of the beginning reign, Hope ruled the hour and grasped the future; and the complications, the contentions of principles, the clash of highest interests, which were not long in making themselves felt, were "hushed in grim repose." The demeanour of the King towards him exemplified throughout the sentiment conveyed in his own original utterance previous to the meeting, "I hunger and thirst after Bunsen!" On the 2d May, Bunsen was received in the most affectionate manner in the Palace at Berlin, and conducted by the King into that same inner chamber, to the same spot which he had occupied at the last interview on December 2, 1837, where, after a few words of kindness, the King's voice was choked as he alluded to the death of his father, and the degree of emotion in both needed silence in which to subside; then there followed a concise indication by the King of the commision to be entrusted to him.'—Vol. i. pp. 596, 597.

The points of the King's scheme are familiar to our readers, and the arguments by which it was enforced are known, or can easily be guessed by them. Conscious of failure, his living biographer passes over the history as concisely as possible, making, however, admission of delusion on Bunsen's part :—

'The subject of the commission entrusted to Bunsen cannot here be passed over, as having been one of great importance, both at that time and afterwards; but the comment shall be as short as is consistent with the endeavour to give a true representation of the amount of Bunsen's own views, which were infused into the design of the King,—worked out by him with such earnest zeal, clung to through life as far as he felt them to be of real use to the cause of Christianity, but furthered in their very beginning by a strong breeze of delusion, which acted variously on the several participators in the scheme, but which naturally flagged when their time was over.'—Vol. i. pp. 597, 598.

But at the same time adopting his tone of assurance :—

'Into this noble purpose of the King Bunsen entered with all his soul's energy; and if the word *delusion* has been unwillingly used, it applies not to the design, but to the effect of the exuberance of hope, picturing a grandeur of result such as human imperfection, whether in circumstances or individuals, has as yet only delayed, not defeated. Abundant have been the blessings diffused from the centre of Christian life which it was granted to Frederick William IV. to originate in Jerusalem; but the more real, the more spiritual, the more belonging to the "deep things of God," that work has been, the less is that establishment calculated to be "a renown in the earth." The day which shall "reveal the thoughts of all hearts" will reveal the work of revival and of sanctification which it has been allowed to effect.'—Vol. i. pp. 600, 601.

He arrived in London at a time which proved favourable for his negotiations. Both Lord Melbourne retiring from office, and Sir Robert Peel accepting it, entered with readiness into the King of Prussia's plan; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London (Howley and Blomfield) came into his views with the entire Evangelical party, Lord Ashley (now Lord Shaftesbury) at their head. Even Mr. Gladstone made an 'exquisite speech,' giving the toast, 'Prosperity to the Church of S. James at Jerusalem.' 'Seeking some footing in practical realities,' Bunsen fraternised with Dr. M'Caul, head of the Jews' Society, which one is disposed to call an especial mistake, where all is a mistake. There was, however, one important exception to the general fusion, which gives a melancholy interest and prominence to a transaction which so soon sunk into the insignificance of utter failure. But the readers of the *Christian Remembrancer* in past years will scarcely require to be reminded of this melancholy episode in our history.

But if Bunsen was not happy in his schemes, his private and individual life is marked by a prosperity and felicity which constitute him almost an exception to ordinary humanity. His personal qualities all tended, without any clashing, to his

advancement; all were harmonized by a tact equal to the control of his exuberant nature and gifts. The mother of Mendelssohn writes: 'It is without example, I believe, that a man 'not belonging to the nobility should have enjoyed such favour 'from the highest personages as he has done. This favour is the 'more honourable to him, as he does not purchase it by flattery, 'but, on the contrary, maintains his opinion with the utmost 'frankness against one and all of the acknowledged authorities at 'court and in society.' The tolerance of society to his manner, she attributes to the claim of the abundance of his knowledge and animation of intellect. His mind seems to have been always present, always in force. He had the happiness of an immense variety of high interests, and the power to pursue them all. All that was most distinguished in European society was open to him in the sense of his being a leading member of it. He had a host of remarkable, world-known friends—beginning with Niebuhr, whom he regarded as the founder of his fortunes,—with all of whom he kept up close relations; and, more than all this, he was happy in an extraordinary degree in domestic life. His married life, from his own testimony, represents an ideal of what the conjugal union was meant to be, and among the most touching traits of his inner life are proofs of his gratitude for this crowning felicity. There is one letter where he apologises to his wife for the necessity for her being engrossed in social family cares, while his mind ranged as it were in the empyrean where hers was well fitted also to range, which shows how confidently he could leave these cares in her hands. Even pecuniary anxieties never seriously weighed upon him, though he was all his life in a position for which his birth and fortune made no provision. We read, indeed, a tender complaint of his aversion to insist on pecuniary matters with his royal employers, and also of incapacity for contemplating a large sum in prospect, as being otherwise than inexhaustible. As the head and father of a family he stands here as an example. All his children gather round him. The home circle is represented as a happy one, all looking up to him as the centre and source of their happiness. He had the gift worth so much, of appreciating happiness when he possessed it not, with the force so many only feel and express when it is passed. There is a constant joyous admission of his good fortune. He thus writes to the Duchess of Argyll :—

'My dear Duchess,—This is the morning of the fortieth anniversary of my wedding. Full forty years lie before me of as unmixed happiness as mortal can bear, passed hand in hand with one who would have made a paradise to me out of a desert, and now stands by my side, well and happy in our quiet and retired, but neither idle nor solitary life. We are sur-

rounded, near and far, but all within reach, by ten children, and, as yet, thirteen grandchildren, all happy; together with four daughters-in-law and two sons-in-law, all united with us as if they were our own children; all doing well in life, and attached to each other. Is it not a day to be thankful for, my dear Duchess?'—Vol. ii. pp. 432, 433.

He enjoyed, too, his relations with royalty in almost the same exuberant manner, and they were sufficiently intoxicating from the first. 'Nothing remains for his Majesty (Frederick William III.) 'to do,' said one counsellor to another. 'Nothing,' was the reply, 'unless the King means to adopt Bunsen.' He was full of a genuine enthusiasm for his patrons. He and the Crown Prince, whose name is subsequently closely associated with him, were from the first congenial spirits. When the old King lay dying, June 1840, he writes to Arnold:—

'The Crown Prince has sent me a letter of twenty-eight closely-written quarto pages, containing his whole creed and system of government as to the Church. My two vols. (MS.) have excited great sensation; he caused them to be read to him in a committee, of which three persons were in many points opposed to my views; this made him study the matter thoroughly, and moved him to write that letter, of which my wife observed justly, that of all the letters she ever read in any language it is the richest in matter. It is in all essential points entirely his own, and still agreeing with my views. But he has contemplated the subject as a king, and all practical points are worked out with a *βασιλικὴ σοφία*. Much as the clearness in all details delights me, and excites my admiration, still the spirit shown throughout of humility, patience, and living faith, is the subject of my greatest thankfulness.'—Vol. i. p. 566.

'This letter is a commentary on the voluminous communication of Bunsen at the end of last year,—inimitably clever, and satisfactory beyond anticipation, as showing the Prince's satisfaction: his deviations and modifications apparently constituting no essential difference of opinion, and the expression of general convictions and views being such as do one's heart good—to say nothing of the exquisite kindness of the whole.'—Vol. i. p. 568.

Upon this voluminous correspondence which subsisted between the new king and Bunsen for many years, Baroness Bunsen remarks:—

'There were many points of similarity, as well as of sympathy, in the minds of the royal writer and of him upon whom he bestowed the honour of his confidence and of his correspondence. Each possessed the power of manifold development and expansion of the matter which occupied thought and feeling. With King Frederick William IV., the deep-seated root of opinion would be continually growing and branching out into an almost boundless luxuriance of vegetation. Then Bunsen would seize upon some portion of this growth, and hold it fast, and, with his rare gift of combination, he would argue and demonstrate its connexion, whether seeming or real, with his own "heart of oak." He endeavoured to prove, that taking for granted the positions so brilliantly stated, and so eloquently elucidated, the results would be so and so, varying greatly from the deductions of the royal writer, who late, if ever, gave up his belief in the possibility of persuading Bunsen to adopt views as his own, or to co-operate in

measures which he himself best knew not to be those advocated by Bunsen. It seems due to the cause of truth, that the only surviving witness to the spirit and tenor of letters, to which reference is impossible, should give the testimony of her belief, that although the receiver was under deception, yet he alone was to be blamed : the sanguine nature of Bunsen bore him on for years over the difficulty of disguising from himself the fact, that from the opinions of the King, such results could never proceed as he had calculated upon, and as he considered essential to the well-being of Church and State.'—Vol. i. pp. 569, 570.

She admits more than once his tendency to be mistaken in men and means. In this case he was the means of recommending his 'future enemy,' Professor Stahl, to the new king as a man of capabilities, to carry on active opposition to the current of infidel writings and lectures then exercising general influence. In the end, we learn that Stahl laboured for the destruction of the union between the Lutheran and the Reformed Church which Bunsen had wished for; a matter in which our sympathies would probably be with the professor. All was *couleur de rose*, however, at first, and the position was a dazzling one. He is at a loss for words to convey the impression of completeness and of perfection in all the King said and uttered; and the King is not the less warm in his estimate of Bunsen's powers. It is not often that we notice so thorough a case of judgment of character and intellect being subject to the feelings and prejudices as in Bunsen. Everybody who accepts his opinions or falls in with them, is at once pre-eminent; and, on the other hand, he is utterly dead to intellectual merit when opposed to him. The King at this time stands topmost. He really anticipates wonderful consequences from every step he undertakes :—

'He is inexhaustible in his resources as in his own kindness and benevolence; and also full of *daring*. Only *he* could venture upon taking part first in the Protestant worship, and then attending the High Mass at the laying of the foundation-stone for the restoration of the Cologne Cathedral —in both with the Queen and in state. The Pope and the good people of Elberfeld will both grumble.'—Vol. ii. p. 32.

The Jerusalem bishopric is a case in point; but we find the same enthusiasm in minor matters: thus his standing sponsor for the Prince of Wales, perhaps, because it was protested against at the time by many Churchmen, is announced to his wife with a hint of the miraculous :—

'*London, Thursday, 9th December.*—The King *does* come! and, if necessary, in the middle of January. I am to go in an English man-of-war to fetch him probably to Rotterdam.

'The articles are signed to my entire satisfaction.

'God be praised eternally! He is a God of wonders now, as He was two and four thousand years ago.'—Vol. i. p. 632.

It is not difficult to understand the satisfaction with which the self-made man would announce his singular advancement to his mother-in-law; but he really appreciated promotion in a spirit of which he need not be ashamed:—

'WINDSOR CASTLE, *Tuesday, 28th December*, 1841.

'MY DEAREST MOTHER, . . I am at Windsor Castle—near the place where you lived in youthful years (although the house has disappeared, I make out the spot from your description),—I am there, where, I daresay, you wished I might come when you gave me your Fanny, and, thank God! I am here without having sought the position; on the contrary, after having begged leave to retire from public life. Thus I can feel thankful to be here, and hope I am so. Never was a reception more distinguished than I have here met with. I had my audience at eight o'clock, just before dinner; I was directed to conduct the Duchess of Kent to her place opposite the Queen, and then to place myself on the Queen's right hand. I had been told by Brunnow, that I had no chance of a place but by the side of the Duchess or of Prince Albert. In obeying the Queen's command, I thought of what the Popes say when receiving peculiar honour,—"Non mihi, sed Petro,"—"Not to me is this offered, but to St. Peter:" well aware that it is the King's present high position which has raised mine, wherefore I can really enjoy it much. The Queen is quite different from the representation I had heard of her; speaking with animation, encouraging conversation, relishing fun. We passed a cheerful evening; in playing at cards with the Queen, I won a *new shilling* of her Majesty's especial coin, which Fanny shall have to keep.'—Vol. i. p. 633.

That he should succeed Baron Bülow as Prussian Envoy was not, however, acceptable at his own court, though there were not a few willing to keep him at a distance from the new king. Frederick William, therefore, gave a choice of three to the Queen, who at once decided upon Bunsen. Indeed, with both the Queen and Prince Albert, he was in the highest favour, and, guided no doubt by her husband, she read his works, and selected passages from them for her particular approval. Both are pre-eminently interesting and attractive to Bunsen, who was, no doubt, the most flattering of all courtiers in being sincere in his highest praise. We cannot enter into German politics, which occupy a considerable space; indeed, we must content ourselves now with a few passages of general interest, selected at random, which lighten the speculation, and German profundity, and diplomatic correspondence which are the staple of the book. Here, for example, is a scene bearing upon the election of the late Bishop of Hereford, which would have excited at the time considerable irritation in certain quarters. He writes from Woburn Abbey, 31st of December, 1847, and, after speaking of Lord and Lady John Russell's affectionate manner and agreeable conversation he says:—

'Yesterday was a day of satisfaction for the house of Russell, the news having arrived of Dr. Hampden's election. Lord John had been much vexed in the latter days by the unreasonableness of the people he had to deal with; but yesterday at three o'clock, when we were collected in

expectation, and talking against time, in came little Johnny, escorted by his aunt-like sister, and stationed himself at the entrance of the library, distinctly proclaiming, like a herald, "Dr. Hampden—a Bishop!" We cheered him, and some one asked him whether he liked Dr. H.—"I don't mind," was his answer, "for I don't know him." His father came in afterwards, radiant with satisfaction. After dinner I suggested as a toast "The Chapter of Hereford," adding *sotto voce* to Lord John, "and he who has managed them." Milnes and Stafford gave "The Dean," in opposition, and we were just divided, like the Chapter, two against fifteen. Lord John took all very kindly; he talked politics all the evening, unreservedly, about France, Spain, and Portugal. What I admired in him most is his unvaried simplicity, and the absence not only of all boasting, but even of exultation, with the greatest openness. Lady John copies papers for her husband, and is a very strong Presbyterian and anti-Tractarian.'—Vol. i. p. 155.

The following pathetic mention of Sir Walter Scott, from a contemporary letter, is probably from the pen of a biographer :—

'We saw Sir Walter Scott often during the first week of his being here. The first time of meeting a shock was caused, as I was not prepared for his difficulty in speaking; but, though his animation is gone, his conversation is much of the same sort as formerly, therefore most interesting and original, and his expression of goodness and benevolence truly venerable, in the midst of physical decay. He one day dined with us, with his daughter, Sir William Gell and Miss Mackenzie being the rest of the party. Bunsen had taken into consideration what subject would be interesting to Sir Walter Scott, and knowing that popular poetry had always attracted him, he sought out the German ballads so enthusiastically sung during the "War of Liberation" in 1813, and after giving him an idea of the sense, made Henry and Ernest sing them. Sir Walter was evidently pleased, and observed of that noble struggle, quoting a verse of the "Requiem," "Tantus labor non sit cassus!" He called the two boys to him, and laid a hand upon the head of each, with a solemn utterance of "God bless you!" He gave us a kindly-worded invitation to visit him when we should come to England, saying, "I have had losses; much is changed; but I have still 'my two gowns, and all things handsome about me,' as Dogberry says." At taking leave, he said, "I hope your own feelings will be your reward, for all the kindness and hospitality you have shown me." Once after this, we found him at home, making a morning visit. I brought him a set of ordinary engravings, called devotional, relating of course to Madonna-worship, such as are universally spread about Rome, and he made the observation, "It ought to be a pure and mild religion, which finds its objects in a young woman and a child, the loveliest of human beings." . . . Sir Walter is to depart in two days, if not made quite ill by the excursion intended for to-day, when Sir W. Gell will take him to Bracciano, driving from ten o'clock in the burning sun twenty-five miles. He ought not to have remained so late in the South; but although those around him are nervously anxious about his state, no healthy regulation would seem to be enforced. One anecdote more of him, on occasion of a morning visit, when Bunsen found him alone, with his emaciated looking son Charles, silent and unoccupied, in a corner. Sir Walter asked questions about Göthe, and about his son, who died in Rome in 1830. Bunsen avoided giving the particulars of the manner of his death, caused by habits of intoxication, merely saying that "the son of Göthe had nothing of his father but the name;" and was startled by Sir Walter slowly turning his head towards his son, with the words, "Why, Charles, that is what people will be saying of you!" Alas! this wreck of a young

man is the same being that I remember such an engaging child at Edinburgh in 1810!'—Vol. i. pp. 374—376.

Here is Bunsen's notice of the Bishop of Exeter, and a characteristic notice of our liturgy:—

'Tell mamma she must send me to some good Whigs: this journey has made me more a Tory than ever I was. To return to Exeter:—on Sunday the Bishop preached: people said it was done for my sake, as he preaches but four or five times in a year, and had lately done so. His sermon was a Bishop's sermon, argumentative and full: it contained matter for ten ordinary sermons. I told him so after church. I thank him for it the more, as it has left me a soothing impression: I should otherwise only have had before me the eloquent and sarcastic statesman. There is more in him, I really believe. The service was beautiful, and moved me deeply. I know exactly now what I can adopt, and what are its defects.'—Vol. i. pp. 482, 483.

There is an anecdote of Lord Palmerston which does little credit to his prudence:—

'If the *ground swell* was strong in the mind of Bunsen during this occasion, of experiencing the accustomed gracious kindness of the Queen and Prince Albert at Osborne, his return from thence in company with Lord Palmerston was attended by serious commotion of the elements without. In the boat which brought them to the shore, Lord Palmerston was requested to take the helm, as it would seem, to enable all hands to help in rowing through the unusually rough sea. Bunsen observed, that he had not been before aware of the necessary connexion he now observed between *steering the vessel of the State*, and steering a common boat; whereto Lord Palmerston answered, "Oh! one learns boating at Cambridge, even though one may have learnt nothing better." They landed in safety, but the train was gone. Lord Palmerston declared that he *must* return to London on pressing business, and *must* have a special train. The railway officials protested that the risk of collision was too great for them to undertake. Lord Palmerston insisted, "On *my* responsibility, then!" and thus enforced compliance, although every one trembled but himself. The special train shot past station after station, and arrived in London without causing or receiving damage, the directors refusing all payment from Lord Palmerston, as having transgressed all rules in order to comply with his desire, and considering themselves overpaid by the happy result, and their own escape from serious blame.'—Vol. ii. pp. 151, 152.

Bunsen always enjoyed while he criticised English life:—

'I wish I could give you an adequate idea, what a power the intuition of English life exercises over me. Never have I felt it so easy and delightful to fly on my native *German wings* as in the elevating and buoyant atmosphere of English domestic and public life. At Munich I found, for the first time after many years, leisure and inspiration again for the highest speculative activity; but it is now only when the other *pole* of my existence has been electricised by England that I feel the new action which Schelling has given to my intellectual life. I wish I could now do something to embody this *vita nuova* in a worthy form.'—Vol. i. p. 494.

To which may be added his distinction between German and English thinkers:—

'In the breakfast conversation my father spoke of the rarity of meeting with *young* men who really took the trouble of *thinking* seriously—which he said was the point in which the English are behind the Germans;—

whereas, on the other hand, when once an Englishman has been induced to think, and to reason upon his thoughts, he also possesses the "ethical earnestness" to carry out his result into practice, just as surely and necessarily, he said, as that anything swallowed into the throat reaches the stomach and becomes nourishment; meanwhile, the German is too apt to stop short at the theory.'—Vol. ii. p. 296.

The following lament over the death of Niebuhr is a double testimony:—

'Could a father do more for a son than Niebuhr did for me? Whom have I to thank for my household happiness, for the blessing of home, never sufficiently to be estimated and acknowledged? Whom to thank for a position in the country towards which, in the days of common misfortune, my strongest wishes had been directed? And if these personal bonds of gratitude were not enough to attach me for ever to that great man's memory, who is there that I have honoured and admired like him, as the pattern of excellence and dignity of soul? All this passed through my mind while I glanced over your tale of woe. I sunk under grief as I have never sunk before; and when I roused myself to a consciousness of the loss experienced, it seemed as though it could not be a reality. To fancy myself without him—the fatherland without him—science, the world, without him—was what I could not take in, because it seemed *intolerable*. For so many years accustomed to do nothing, to decide *nothing*, without his counsel, or at least without considering what Niebuhr would say to it?—what his judgment would be? The mainspring of the soul's consciousness seemed snapped through.'—Vol. i. pp. 366, 367.

We have quoted these passages to give a general idea of the work before us. Perhaps it would have been more read if it could have been condensed into one volume; but there was so much matter with an equal claim to preservation, and in a long life—all spent in study and action—so much passed that a wife would not willingly let die, that in this record of a mind so prodigiously voluminous we do not doubt that the task of selection and exclusion has been a painful one, and carried to the utmost limits conscience and affection would permit. One omission we regret, the absence of all contemporary description of Bunsen in the maturity of his fame and powers. There are accounts of him in boyhood, and here and there an adoring, descriptive line. Dr. M'Cosh also writes at length of his visit to him in retirement; but we want to know the impression he made upon casual observers in society. To have him brought before us, in voice, manner, deportment, a very few lines from an able hand, not one of the family group, and permitting itself in a candour which would not be compatible with a daughter's or a wife's duty and reverence, would have shown us the man more distinctly than we now see him.[1] What he was to his friends and congenial intimates we know from the

[1] Since our words were in type a friend has chanced to send us a reminiscence, just of the sort we desire. He writes, 'I never met Bunsen but once—at that "two hours' breakfast," which he speaks of in the extract from his diary, given in the *Guardian*. He was full of life, wonderfully exuberant and overflowing, and of course took a large share of the conversation, because his great quickness of thought

extraordinary testimony of Arnold, which some of our readers may recall:—'I could not express my sense of what Bunsen is 'without seeming to be exaggerating. . . . He is a man in whom 'God's grace and gifts are more united than in any other person 'whom I ever saw. I have seen men as holy, as amiable, as able; 'but I never knew one who was all these in so extraordinary a 'degree, and combined with a knowledge of things new and 'old, sacred and profane,—so rich, so accurate, so profound, 'that I never knew it equalled or approached by any man;' and again: 'You met Bunsen, and can now sympathise with the all but idolatry with which I regard him.' That he was thoroughly understood by his wife, and his mind open to her, we believe. She knew him in some points better than he knew himself, as when after his recall from London (in 1854, when he was sixty-two), where he had spent thirteen years of official life, he proposes a life of retirement which she knew would be intolerable to him; but if there were any weak points open to her, we cannot desire to know them from her pen.

His death took place at Bonn, from an affection of the heart of some standing, in November 1860, in his seventieth year, three years after leaving England. The scene is given in loving detail, as a fitting and consistent close to such a life. He departed in great composure of spirit, and, if the vagueness which hung around his faith was not cleared, it seems to be lost in a glow of charity, piety, and devotion. To his wife he committed the charge of writing his life: 'Write yourself 'the history of our common life. You can do it; you have it 'in your power, only be not mistrustful of yourself.' This is a solemn charge upon what he believed a solemn, important task. The task has been faithfully performed, and it records one of the busiest existences that the brain of man ever worked through. But to minds of this order is given temporary weight and fame alone. While they live they are powers in the world; lasting fame is the tribute to a concentration of thought, such as was foreign to Bunsen's nature, and impossible to his ambition for universal knowledge and influence.

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suggested one point after another, and he was anxious to follow everything up. He had a way, too, of collecting replies and objections from the countenances, or incipient objections of the others, and holding up his finger to the person who seemed to be about to interrupt him—which meant, I know what you are going to say, and I will notice it presently. So he continued flowing on in one stream until the subject came to a pause. But it was a thoroughly natural vivacity, and he took immense interest in other people, their views and opinions. The subject of the Eucharist came up, I remember, and he was arguing from a particular view of it—a high view—but modified in some way which I do not recollect. He had a quick eye, as well as tongue, and seemed to watch faces round the table, if I remember, as he was talking: not from any conceited wish to see the impression he was making, but because he wished to be in a kind of communication with all the party. On the whole, one's impression was favourable. I think he very much coincided with the idea of him his diary and letters give.'

ART. IV.—*An Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles.* By A. P. FORBES, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin. Oxford: Parker. 1868. 2 vols.

IT is difficult now to imagine the excitement created by the publication of Tract XC. The storm which began in the University of Oxford extended over the whole country, and the commotion was all the greater, inasmuch as the tract, so far as it went, was unanswerable. It had literally shattered to pieces a favourite idol. Up to that period ultra-Protestant theology had been in the ascendant. It was the inherited teaching, endeared by sacred associations, and identified with the clear dogmatic teaching of the Church. The Articles, it was assumed, were especially the symbol of this teaching: they had inaugurated it, expressed it emphatically, and, so long as they continued the standard of doctrine, all who raised their voice for opposing and long-forgotten Catholic truths were but mere traitors. We can well imagine the surprise and indignation with which the country learned that all this was a delusion; that this ultra-Protestant teaching had been imported into the Articles, was not really found in them. Yet this was the net result of Tract XC. In truth, the ultra-Protestant gloss put upon the Articles was the result of sheer ignorance. Neither the historical circumstances under which the Articles were originated, nor an accurate theological examination of their contents, could justify it; and the revived study of theology was sure, sooner or later, to put an end to it. Dr. Pusey has told us how, as the writers of the 'Tracts for the Times' became more acquainted with antiquity and the Fathers, these glosses were gradually and independently laid aside. So far had this process advanced in his own mind, that he could feel nothing but surprise at the excitement occasioned.

Looking back to that time from the point to which we have now attained, our feeling is one of surprise at the moderation of Tract XC. It practically left ultra-Protestantism in possession of the citadel. All that it protested against was the exclusion of Catholicism. The position it took up was to this effect: that, by the providence of God or the moderation of the framers, the Articles were so worded as not to exclude the Catholic view. They might be drawn up in the Protestant interest, they might primarily be the expression of that view; but they had certainly not expressed it in such wise as to exclude its opposite. In the literal and grammatical sense,—and to that alone the subscribers were held,—they were not inconsistent with Catholic belief. Since those days the study of theology has advanced further,

and we are better able to form a right judgment. The result has been that the Articles have assumed a different light. We are gradually giving up those depreciating sayings which were natural to the Catholic party, so long as they believed that on the whole the Articles made against them. One thing is now very evident, that, whatever be the merit or the demerit of the Articles, they at least are not Protestant. In fact, it may now be maintained that not only are they not repugnant to Catholic truth, but they are irreconcilable with any other system. They are essentially and fundamentally Catholic; and all that can be said by way of depreciation is, that they are rough and defective in statement, and that Catholic theology, as exhibited in them, presents us with one or two wounds, the result of over-castigation.

In estimating the fundamental character of the Articles, there is one fact which strikes us, and which has thus been stated by the Bishop of Brechin:—

'There is no one Christian confession that they absolutely make for. They cannot satisfy the pure Calvinist (however often they are ignorantly claimed for them, even by so great a writer as Möhler), for not one of the five points of Calvinism is expressly stated in them, and some, such as Perseverance and the Indefectibility of Grace (Art. XVI.), are actually contradicted. They cannot be said to symbolize with the Confession of Augsburg, inasmuch as they give no countenance to the crucial doctrine of Luther, justification by mere imputation, or by that faith which believes itself justified. The High Church party have never concealed their depreciation of them in comparison with the *lex supplicandi, lex credendi* of the Book of Common Prayer, while they are silent on, if not contradictory to, many of the Shibboleths of modern Evangelicalism. The name or idea of sensible conversion does not occur from beginning to end; neither is there mention of the renouncing of our own merits as the formal cause of our justification, or of assurance, as the end to be sought for in the spiritual life. The Articles give no countenance to the idea that if a man dies happy (as the saying is), he is safe.'—Vol. i. p. 10.

But we believe the case may even be put in a stronger way. It has hitherto been mostly the custom to look at the statements of the Articles in a disjointed way. They have been taken as so many sentences to be interpreted literally and grammatically, each by itself. Men have not looked enough at the theological bearing of each separate statement—at what it excludes, and what it implies in other departments. The more systematic study of theology has tended to correct this mode of judgment. Theology is now better understood, as a whole, and the student is able to appreciate better the background of each separate statement. It is in this point of view that the exclusively Catholic character of the Articles is most strongly and clearly made out. A good illustration of what we mean is supplied by the Sixteenth Article. We have there a statement to the effect that there is

such a thing as *deadly sin* after baptism. That is well understood by every student to be a crucial statement, in the department to which it belongs. It involves necessarily a whole background of allied dogma. It is, in fact, a statement which directly excludes Calvinism on every one of its five points. It indirectly excludes Lutheranism and every form of ultra-Protestantism, inasmuch as it postulates the Catholic doctrines of the fall, free will, justification, and sacramental grace. Once admit that there is deadly sin after baptism, and we cannot, if we are logical, escape this conclusion. It would, therefore, follow that whatever difficulties (if any) in a Catholic point of view there may be in respect of the doctrines named, they must be subordinated to this dominant statement.

No doubt the imperfect statement of many doctrines in the Articles is that which will jar most upon many minds. They will feel that this is trifling with the truth of God; and undoubtedly this imperfection has given a halting turn to Anglican theology upon many points. But it is not without its advantages in the present condition of the Church. Our state of separation is an abnormal condition, and, should it please God in His time to deliver us from this, it will leave fewer questions between us and other branches of the Church. There will also be less difficulty in the way of reception of what may, in the judgment of the universal Church, be matter of faith. How different would it have been if we had had a compact system-like Calvinism reasoned out in minute detail to suit the wants of the sixteenth century! But there are vast advantages in view of the present intellectual condition of Europe. There is no doubt but at the present moment society is going through a great intellectual revolution. Not only has physical science opened up a new world to the contemplation of the mind, almost infinite in its vastness; but the very forms of thought, the modes of looking at things, are undergoing a change. It is easy to see that the deposit of faith, itself unchangeable, will need a new form of expression; just as it was adapted to Aristotelian modes of thought during the Middle Ages, so must it be adapted in the present day to modern ideas. In view of this, it is a great advantage that we should not be saddled with antiquated forms applicable to a different phase of human progress. What a disadvantage to the Roman Communion is the dogma of Transubstantiation! That definition, an accurate expression of the Real Presence in view of the Aristotelian physics, simply needs to be explained away in presence of modern ideas. And in the same way it will be found that the bitter warfare which the Ultramontanes wage against modern thought is occasioned in a considerable degree by the form rather than the substance of their dogmas.

At any rate the Articles cannot be passed over. However they may have originated, they are now the heritage of the Anglican Communion. They have passed into all branches of the Church, and have to a great extent formed the minds of our people. Their existence is a fact, and as such it must be taken into account; especially by all those who feel the evils of a divided Christendom to be well-nigh intolerable, and look forward to future unity, must they be estimated. It is in this point of view that the Bishop of Brechin has approached the consideration of the Articles, and the result is the two valuable volumes which form the subject of this notice. In many respects the Bishop is eminently qualified for the task which he has undertaken. Great antiquarian attainments are in him united to deep and systematic theological knowledge, while his judicial calmness, his literary powers, and graceful style, will attract and conciliate many readers who might otherwise have been repelled. The estimate which he has formed of the Articles is that they are on the whole Catholic; and, if we mistake not, this estimate has rather grown than decreased in his mind with the careful study of them.

Nothing can be more happy than the method which he has adopted. Instead of confining his attention to the statements in the Articles, he has taken those statements rather as a text, and given a concise summary, historical and theological, of the doctrines treated in them. This has not only been the means of giving us many valuable and deeply interesting tractates on various theological subjects; but we believe on reflection it will be seen that this is the only possible method of treating the Articles with fulness and truth. The definitions in the Articles are confessedly imperfect. They do not deal with doctrine as a whole, but only with certain salient points which were matters of controversy. They are rather statements about, than statements of, doctrine. They do not profess to be a system: many of them refer only to matters of local and temporary interest. They presuppose the doctrines about which they remark to be already known and received in the Church; and all they profess to do is to limit these doctrines. He therefore who would confine his attention simply to the propositions of the Articles, excluding as foreign the body of doctrine which they profess to castigate, would give a perverted view of Anglican theology. The true method is the one adopted—to reproduce as far as possible the traditional and generally prevalent faith on the points in question, and then to examine how far that is modified by the statements of the Articles.

We have said that fundamentally the Articles are Catholic, not Protestant, and in proof have pointed to their contents, which, when duly weighed by the theological critic, will be found to

agree with no other system. But this fact is also abundantly proved by historical considerations. In the 'Epistle Dedicatory,' which has a touching personal interest, we have from Bishop Forbes an interesting account of the historical movements during the period of the Reformation, tending to show that the Church in its constitution, its worship, and every-day life was, in the first instance, much less altered than we might suppose. Many circumstances contribute separately to elucidate this point. The original movement under Henry VIII. was a national rather than a Protestant movement. The Act of Supremacy was passed by men many of whom ended their days in communion with Rome. The Protestant movement, though it had many keen supporters, made little way in the country down to a late period. Even down to the end of Elizabeth's reign it had made small progress beyond a few of the chief towns. The great body of the clergy and people remained implicitly Catholic. Evidences of this are collected from many quarters. The utterances of the Lower House of Convocation; the religious ideas revealed in the writings of Shakespeare, which the Bishop of Brechin supposes to represent the popular sentiment; the curious diary of Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant tailor in London,—all point to the fact that the Reformation made little change in the every-day religious ideas of the people. Then we have the evidence of the Homilies. However inaccurate occasionally in detail, however sweeping in some of their invectives against abuses, no one who knows the difference between the Catholic and Protestant standpoint will for a moment doubt that they are fundamentally Catholic.

'These works, written in the interest of the "new learning" and not without some of the Shibboleths of the Reformation—authorized by Cranmer and Jewel—are yet full of testimonies to the continued prevalence of many of the ancient doctrines. The inspiration of the Apocrypha, the authority of councils, and of the Primitive Church, as well as of the ancient Church doctors and Catholic saints and Fathers, the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the recognition of order and matrimony as sacraments, the reign of the saints in heaven with God, the purifying and cleansing effect of almsdeeds, the power of the keys, are all assumed as principles. How could it have been otherwise? The Marian clergy were not exterminated: they conformed, partly in hope of better times, partly from fear of the Government, partly moved by a sincere desire for reformation; but still the traditions of a whole lifetime cannot be destroyed in a moment, and any great shock to their feelings would have led them to act as the eighty rectors, fifty prebendaries, fifteen masters of colleges, twelve archdeacons, twelve deans, and six abbots and abbesses, actually did—that is, abandon their preferments. We are left to the dilemma that either the great mass of the lower clergy were a set of unprincipled self-seekers, or that the changes, interpreted by custom and previous usage, were so small, that no real violence was done to their consciences.'—Vol. i. p. 20.

The first four Articles, which treat of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and other fundamental doctrines of the Faith, afford

little matter of comment in relation to other branches of the Church—a fact deeply significant in view of Christian unity. Whatever controversial interest they possess has reference chiefly to modern scepticism, and here all Christian bodies find themselves ranged on one side in opposition to a common enemy. On the First Article the Bishop has given a useful summary of theological definitions and proofs with regard to the Being of God, His Attributes, and His Providence. It is very observable that, though scepticism does not attack belief in God in the first instance, yet all the difficulties raised with regard to the Incarnation, miracles, and special providence attach with equal force to the idea of a Personal God. Many persons, it is true, who allow themselves to be swayed by these difficulties, would shrink back with horror from the gulf of Atheism; but they are illogical in that regard. The mystery in which all other mysteries are contained is the existence of an Infinite God, yet One who wills, knows, and loves. The human heart craves after such a God. One who did not subsist after that mode of being, even though infinite, would be no God to man. Hence the greatest intellects have striven by proof to justify this innate desire of the soul.

Ever since the criticism of Kant, the proofs of God's Being and Attributes have had a certain amount of discredit. There are some who discard them altogether, and rest the proof of God's Being on feeling. But such an amount of depreciation is hardly warranted by the fact. After all, Kant's criticism only showed the imperfection of the common arguments; and this may readily be allowed even by those who lay the greatest stress upon them. Our arguments are imperfect, both as failing to reach the conclusion aimed at, and also as failing to express in all its fulness the mental process by which we arrive at the conclusion. But they do express it to a certain extent, and so far are useful. Even Kant, after showing the deficiency of the argument from Design, acknowledged the overwhelming power that it exercises over the human mind.

May it not be that the argument from Design, as commonly given, very imperfectly expresses what the soul of man feels in the presence of nature? May there not be many processes, unexpressed in our formula, by which, from the visible world as a basis, the reason of man rises to the contemplation of God? The very fact of objectivity itself may contain some of these unexpressed processes—we mean that fundamental law by which knowledge is only possible under the distinction of subject and object. Before man can know, he must separate himself, as the subject knowing, from the outer world, as the object known. Without such separation, knowledge is impossible; and it matters not whether the object known is the material world without us,

or any idea or representation in the mind. Such representation, to be known, must be set before us as an object distinct from the mind. It should seem as if we had here the origin of that profound conviction which has possessed mankind from the beginning —a conviction which it is impossible to get rid of—that the soul is a spiritual existence distinct from nature. But does not the same fact imply the existence of a God distinct from nature? For we cannot in thought separate existence from knowledge. A world like that in which we are placed existing *unknown* is an impossible thought to man. Whatever exists must be known. The two spheres of knowledge and existence are coextensive. This fact seems to necessitate the existence of an Infinite Subject, a Being who knows all things. It has often been remarked that the sense of God's Presence is most deeply felt in the wilderness, or in places remote from the haunts of men. May it not be that the mind, in such circumstances,—in the presence of nature, feeling deeply its limited knowledge as it turns with difficulty from one thing to another,—feels also most strongly the presence of the Being who knows all things? For, it unconsciously reasons, these things must be known; the idea of their existing *unknown* is absurd.

Then, again, this infinite or universal knowledge we cannot think as existing otherwise than in a subject or person, one who also wills and loves—knowledge being only possible on that condition. No doubt the objections brought against the possibility of such an Infinite Personality, both on the part of the Pantheists and the followers of Kant and Hamilton, are very strong. Nor do we see clearly how they are to be obviated. But enough has not been made of the fact that the same objections apply with *equal strength* as against the existence of the human personality. Whether we approach the existence of man from a scientific point of view—from the point of view of physiology and biology, or from the point of view of abstract reason—his personality and freedom are inconceivable and impossible. Yet all this goes for nothing in practice. We cannot think a single thought, or do a single act, as reasonable beings, without presupposing both. It is very ludicrous, in reading Buckle or Mill, to find in every sentence some passages which most strongly deny human liberty, that liberty actually postulated. We believe that those who have paid most attention to such discussions are the persons who feel most keenly the vanity of human reason beyond a certain point. The idea, therefore, of an Infinite God, who is also our Father—an idea which has ever been present in greater or less perfection in the soul of man—cannot be laid aside on any such grounds.

But, whatever may be thought of this attempted solution, there

is no doubt but there is in the human soul a fund of argument inexpressed, possibly inexpressible, by which it rises to the contemplation and knowledge of God, and hence the great power which always resides in appeals to the feelings. Passages like the following will always find a response in the heart of man :—

'He must have a distorted vision who in the visible creation sees not the hand of God. Such, alas! there have been, and will be to the end, but they have not been the highest intelligences. One must lose one's reason, and abdicate one's senses, not to acknowledge that the eye was given to see with, the members to move with ; not to comprehend that a profound knowledge and goodness, sustained by infinite power, has made our bodies and the world, and left its mark and signature, not only on the whole, but on each detail. Who can study the infinite strength, delicacy, and beauty of the structure of any of these parts of our own constitution, and not say, This is the work of God? Or take the world, and think how out of nebula it has gradually, through countless ages, been prepared for the habitation of man, ages passing and yet a constant advance to perfection, without confessing, not merely the cold abstraction of an overruling Providence, but the work of a tender Father, who made me, loves me, guards me, who reads my secret thoughts, rules the beatings of my heart, trains me for heaven even in the smallest details of my life? Thus it is with all men. Such is the providential work of God in the history of humanity. He awaits the harvest. Even death in His hands is the light that transfigures all here below, and gives it an eternal sense ; for it is the prelude of eternal life in the presence and enjoyment of God.'—Vol. i. p. 13.

If we hold firmly and consciously the faith regarding God, we shall be prepared to embrace and entertain the great mystery of the Incarnation. The latter is very deeply related to the former, so much so that the mediæval Divines conjectured that the Incarnation might have had a place in God's counsel beyond the reparation of the fall; and it has been proved in modern times that all religious thought tends to that mystery. The higher theologies of India and of ancient Greece were partial glimpses of it; the Indians seizing more on the idea of Divine condescension, and the Greeks on that of human elevation. The doctrine of the Incarnation in all its fulness is that which alone can satisfy the human soul ; yet there is no doctrine which is liable to such severe assaults when tested by the logical understanding To that inferior faculty of the human soul it appears but a bundle of contradictions ; and in the present day, when the understanding is so much cultivated in the pursuit of science, to the exclusion of the higher faculties of knowledge, the difficulties of the Incarnation are deeply felt. The reader will find some very thoughtful remarks with regard to the Incarnation itself and some of these difficulties in the Bishop of Brechin's work (vol. i. p. 34).

Another consideration bearing on the Anglican Communion is, whether we with our controversial inheritance have not failed in our estimate of the Incarnation in another point of view.

'The exaggerated and daily intensifying language of Roman divines on the subject of the present office of the Blessed Virgin—(language peculiarly significant when we are assured on very high authority that we may be sure that "Whatsoever is prevalent in the Church under the eye of its public authority, practised by the people, and not censured by its pastors, is at least conformable to faith, and innocent as to morals")—such as that all graces come through her as the neck which unites Christ the Head with the Church the Body, or that she is our "co-redemptrix," the "authoress of our everlasting salvation," have prevented Anglicans doing justice to the position of the Holy Virgin in the order of grace. They have shrunk from looking the doctrine concerning her fairly in the face. They have not allowed their minds to dwell on the incomparable singularity, on the incommunicable prerogative of Divine maternity. While they freely dwell on the gifts of God in other saints—in the patriarchs under the old law, for instance—they shrink from resting on the sweet and holy images which surround the name of Mary. This is in every way wrong. A theology that is afraid of possible consequences is sure to err. We must state the absolute truth, and leave consequences to God. To eliminate from our moral theology the idea of the Blessed Virgin, is to strip it of some of its most delicate bloom. What does not civilization, what does not woman owe to the sublime and tender conception of Mary, which has done more to tame the rude social life of Europe in the Middle Ages than any other idea? And what more constraining motive to purity of soul—next, of course, to the thought of Him who is the great Exemplar of all the virtues—can there exist, than the idea of such perfect spotless womanhood as a grateful Christendom recognises in Our Lady? But there is a still more serious thought. After making every allowance for the reaction against the distressing language of certain popular Roman devotions, there is a danger lest the shrinking from a due appreciation of the dignity of the Mother may not generate an imperfect belief in the Divine Personality of the Son, and no error is so deadly as that which seeks to touch the Person of Jesus. For, just consider how much is bound up in the thought expressed in our Article, that "the Word took man's nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, of her substance." It implies all those tremendous consequences in the term Θεοτόκος, "Mother of God," a term asserted to be of Apostolic tradition, certainly employed at a very early period in the Church, and endorsed by the sanction of a General Council. That term (the underlying truth of which was denied by the Ebionites, by Leporius, and the Pelagians, and by the followers of Nestorius, and shared also by Eutyches from a different point of view, by Felix and Elipandus, the Adoptionists, and lastly, by some ill-instructed Protestants) implies that Mary, not by the power of nature, but by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, brought forth in the flesh the true God, the Son of God by nature, so that she is just as truly and as properly Θεοτόκος, as Christ is truly and properly Θεός.'—Vol. i. p. 31.

That would imply an amount of reverence for the Blessed Virgin greatly in excess of what, as a matter of fact, is given in the Anglican Communion. It would imply such thought of her in connexion with the mystery of the Incarnation as has been encouraged by our great divines, but which people have shrunk from, owing to our unfortunate controversial position. No one who brings home to his mind in a real way the great mystery, can fail to see this. But still such reverence would have the character of a *personal* tribute paid to the Blessed Mother of

God. And it must be acknowledged that in this respect it is of an altogether different nature from that which is contended for by the extreme section of the Ultramontanes. Mary is elevated by them into an *official* position in the Church within the veil. She is said to be 'the neck' of the Church, the medium through whom all graces come; she is our 'co-redemptrix,' 'the authoress of our everlasting salvation,' &c. This new teaching is confessedly an inference, 'a development.' Holy Scripture is silent regarding it, and the Church for many ages knew nothing of it.

Archbishop Manning assures us that 'Whatsoever is prevalent 'in the Church under the eye of its public authority, practised by 'the people, and not censured by its pastors, is at least conformable 'to faith and innocent as to morals.' That might have been a probable conclusion had there been proof that the matter in question had *semper et ubique* remained so. Confessedly, however, it has not; nor can we conceive the intellectual blindness which is unable to perceive the enormous danger to the mystery of the Incarnation involved in the new doctrine. It necessarily attributes to the Blessed Virgin qualities more than human. We know that the more sober among the Roman divines repudiate as exaggerations certain sayings, which especially shock the religious sense of Anglicans. But does not the *office* assigned to the Blessed Virgin require all that has been said, nay, *more than has yet been uttered?* And what will be the consequence? Must not this tenet as effectually destroy the mystery of the Incarnation as any of the old heresies, had they prevailed, would have done? It may indeed be said that all that Mary is, she is because of her Son; whatever privileges or graces she possesses are communicated. But the attributes of God are essentially incommunicable: there must be an infinite difference between the Incarnate Son and any creature however exalted. Now, this new teaching *practically* puts Mary on the same level with Him. What then must be the effect of it on simple souls unaccustomed to theological thought? If one who is not God is made almost equal in attributes to Him, must not this tend to lessen their idea of the amazing condescension of God in the mystery of the Incarnation? On the course of theology it must have a most potent influence. Two lines of possible thought seem to follow from it: either a tendency to bring our Lord wholly within the sphere of humanity—the popular tendency manifest in the phrase 'Jesus and Mary Churches,'[1] or else to regard Him as retiring wholly within the Godhead. Of this latter tendency we have a pregnant indication in the words of M. Olier, quoted by Dr. Pusey. 'We are very

[1] Eirenicon, p. 107.

'unworthy to draw near unto Jesus, and He has a right to repulse '[*rebuter*] us because of His justice, since *having entered into all* 'the feelings of His Father from the time of His Blessed Resur-'rection, He finds Himself in the same disposition with the Father 'towards sinners, i.e. to reject them, so that the difficulty is to 'induce Him to exchange the office of Judge for that of Advocate: 'and of a Judge to make Him a suppliant. Now, this is what 'the saints effect, and especially the most Blessed Virgin.'[1] It is but right to add, that it is understood an apology has been made for the above statement. But that such should be needed, only manifests more strongly the tendency above mentioned, and the unconsciously felt difficulty the writer had in reconciling this view with the mystery of the Incarnation.

But there is another serious objection to this new development. It is argued from the relation of the Θεοτόκος to a present office in the Church within the veil. A transcendent function is assigned to her and her place, and the order of the invisible Church is mapped out in accordance with ideas derived from the Church on earth. Now this is a development precisely in that direction where development is illegitimate. We can only deduce a conclusion with perfect accuracy where the premisses and conclusion belong to the same sphere: but here they belong to different spheres. The argument is from the visible to the invisible, from earth to heaven. Because certain ideas are valid on earth, they must, it is argued, be valid in heaven. But what if heaven is an altogether different order of existence? No doubt the Incarnation, our own personal existence—indeed, all the mysteries of the faith—belong to heaven as well as to earth. But what if we only 'know in part'? What if only one side of the Incarnation—the redemption, the mystical body, and other mysteries—is presented to us? Would it be safe to argue from such partial knowledge? Would it not rather be certain to lead us into error? Is it not certain that the best picture we could form of what is behind the veil must be quite different from the reality? While therefore we reverence the Blessed Mother of God—while we think of her with unspeakable feelings of love, and joy, and awe—while we can see clearly that, so far as she is personally concerned, she is indeed blessed—we must hesitate to argue as to any 'present office' in the Church. That argument assumes that the Church in heaven, if not alike in all respects, at least belongs to a like order of existence—to an order cognisable

[1] Eirenicon, p. 104. Surely it is bad theology to speak of our risen Lord as a 'suppliant;' and worse to speak of God the Father as finding Himself in the disposition to reject sinners who turn to Him. It is thus seen how the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the saints, when it is viewed as having an end beyond the idea of 'the communion of saints,' necessarily tends to destroy the analogy of the faith.

by our present faculties. But on grounds both of Scripture and of reason such a view is untenable.

S. John says, 'We know not what we shall be.' S. Paul speaks of our present state as a childhood in respect of what shall be, and of our only knowing in part and seeing through a glass darkly; and if the passage, 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, 'neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, the 'things which God hath prepared for them that love Him,' is to be referred to heaven, he would say that such knowledge is above us.[1] So the more we think of heaven, the more are we impressed with the idea of its incomprehensibility. It is said, we shall see 'face to face:' we shall 'see God;' yet God is pure Spirit. What a change in ourselves ere this is possible! A change, yet we are the same personal beings, for that is of faith. Such a change implies a change in all around us; and that is simply inconceivable. It supposes an order of existence incognisable by us. And surely all the difficulties which bristle around the doctrine of the last things are so many testimonies to the incomprehensibility of the invisible world.

The Bishop of Brechin has directed attention to these difficulties as connected with the Resurrection:—

'The difficulty as regards the Resurrection-body is no doubt very perplexing, for we know nothing of the conditions of such bodies. Enough is revealed to show that something ineffable and mysterious attended upon all the apparitions of the Son of God after His resurrection. On the one hand, He appeared among them suddenly when the doors are shut, His Sacred Body passing through matter without sustaining any let or hindrance thereby. He has the faculty of rendering Himself invisible, and of moving from place to place with supernatural speed. He is so changed that one least likely of all to mistake Him supposes Him to be the gardener. On the other hand, He is so palpable that He invites the touch of S. Thomas; and He eats, in proof of the abidingness of His humanity, fish and bread by the fire of coals on the shore of the Sea of Galilee.'—Vol. i. p. 69.

It appears that there were two schools, or rather lines of thought, in the Church with regard to this point. Irenæus, and those who follow him—the Millenarians—held the risen body of our Lord to have been flesh and blood in the exact sense of our own. It would be a consequence of this doctrine that the invisible world is perfectly comprehensible, being, in fact, the same in all respects as the visible. But on the other hand, there was the Alexandrian school, who, according to Neander, distinguished from the outward phenomenal form the proper essence lying at the foundation of the body, holding that the latter rises at the Resurrection, and is developed into a nobler form.

If we suppose that the glorified body and the invisible world

[1] It is so referred in the Liturgies.

are simply unknowable by us, then the two sets of narratives of our Lord's appearances might be reconciled on the supposition that after His resurrection He appeared to His disciples not in the glorified but in the natural form. On this view we escape all discussion as to His body passing through matter. It is not necessary to suppose that it did so. He assumed the natural form for the purpose of appearing to His disciples, and laid it aside when it was His will to withdraw. On this supposition it should seem as if the Transfiguration, the appearances to S. Stephen, S. John, and S. Paul, although forms of glory, were not the proper form of the spiritual body, but only the highest that man can know. They were given, as well as the visions of the Apocalypse, not as exactly representing what is behind the veil, but as the nearest approach that we can make to it. However this may be, it is certain that the difficulties on the other supposition are insuperable; and this may serve as a warning against developments in a sphere which is quite beyond our knowledge. We may receive with thankfulness what is revealed regarding the Church in heaven, but those who are wise will take care how they draw inferences from it. Much more is it dangerous and delusive to construct a complete scheme of that which is behind the veil, assigning offices and transferring analogies which are only valid here below.

In view of the reunion of Christendom there is no point more important than those definitions which relate to the basis of the faith—the relations subsisting between Holy Scripture and the Church. It cannot be denied that there is a far wider practical difference between members of the Roman and Anglican Communions than is warranted by the definitions of the two Churches. While the Anglican Church, through the influence of the ultra-Protestant party, has practically seized hold of Scripture, leaving the Church in the background, the Roman has taken a course exactly opposite. It has exalted the Church, leaving the Bible in the background. And while the extreme Protestant school in the Anglican Communion, dwelling exclusively on the Bible, has erected on it the tenet of private judgment, a parallel extreme in the Roman is developing on the Church the principle of Papal infallibility. But both these extremes are one-sided and without justification in the symbolism of their respective communions. The Bishop of Brechin has shown that the tenet of private judgment never entered the minds of the compilers of the Articles. It may truly be said, that in those days 'no one dreamt of a 'man in his study sitting down to evolve for himself out of Holy 'Scripture a system of belief.' That is as modern a notion as are the various theories as to the extent to which infallibility attaches to Papal utterances.

He must be intellectually very blind who cannot by this time see the mischief involved in the tenet of private judgment. So long as a real reverence for the Bible existed, its destructive tendency was veiled. It never occurred to our forefathers that the very idea of a Bible at all involved on the part of the Church a tremendous act of authority; nor were they at all aware of the glaring inconsistency of accepting the dictum of the Church as to what is the Bible, and denying its dicta as to what is the faith. The present generation is better aware of the real state of the case; and the consequence is, that where the tenet of private judgment is admitted, the Bible is being gradually deposed from its position of authority and supernatural faith excluded. Will the extreme tenet of Papal infallibility fare better in the end?

A true consideration of the nature of the case, we believe, will show that Holy Scripture and the Church are not rival authorities, whose respective spheres are to be carefully defined and jealously guarded: rather, they are unseparated and inseparable. They are the complements the one of the other. Neither can exist alone; neither can act alone. Without the Church there is no Bible; and without the Bible there is no Church, or she is dumb. If we were to search for a simile of the interdependence of the one on the other, that of knowledge to the human will seems to express the relation. The Bible is to the Church what knowledge is to the human will. And just as it is impossible for the human will to determine itself to action without knowledge, so is it impossible for the Church to speak or act without the Bible.

In view of apologetics, there is no vicious circle in maintaining that Holy Scripture proves the Church, and the Church proves the Bible. The Bishop remarks, 'An ambassador comes 'to a king, bearing his credentials in a letter. He himself is 'the authority for the genuineness of the letter: when the letter 'is opened, it is found to define the powers, plenipotentiary or 'other, of the messenger who brought it. Thus it is with Holy 'Scripture.' (Vol. i. p. 93.) So far as apologetics are concerned, the Bible is not, in *the first instance*, assumed to be inspired. It is taken in the same category as any other book: it is not supposed to be different from other ecclesiastical monuments. The first task of the apologist is to define the living Church, with its supernatural life and supernatural claims. Then he traces it back in history to its origin, and that origin he finds to be miraculous. It owes its existence to One who claimed to be the Incarnate Word, the perfect Revelation of God, and who proved the truth of His claim by rising from the dead. On studying the details of the history of the origin, it is found that He communicated the faith to the infant Church; that He

promised the Spirit, who should bring it all to their remembrance, and guide them into all truth, and that He should abide with them for ever. The Spirit's coming and presence was in like manner manifested in miraculous signs; and the Church, in possession of this gift of inspiration, was enabled to produce, in the first instance, the books of the New Testament, and afterwards to recognise their supernatural character when produced; the books of the Old Testament having previously been given her under the sanction of her Lord. Thus there is no vicious circle; that being obviated when it is seen that the inspiration of Scripture is the last stage in the argument. We do not assume the inspiration of Scripture to prove the supernatural claims of the Church, these being well enough established historically.

Theology has its source in the Incarnate Word. He is the objective revelation of God, the function of the Spirit being purely subjective. And it is on this truth that the important definition as to all matters of faith being contained in Scripture rests. Our Lord communicated the faith to the infant Church; therefore the written word which is the record of that communication contains the faith. And, inasmuch as He promised the Holy Spirit to bring *all things* to their remembrance, new dogma in subsequent ages is excluded. The utterances of the Apostolic Church have thereby a different character from those of later times. They contain the substance of the faith, while the subsequent function of the Church, guided by the Spirit, is to enounce and to guard it. This principle has ever been held in the Church, as is manifest, not only from particular testimonies, but from the very form of theological treatises from the earliest times downwards. The reader will find ample proof of this in the authorities quoted under Article 6.

The following reconciliation of Anglican and Roman belief on this point, by one eminently qualified for the task, is interesting:—

'The opposing parties [Roman Catholics and members of the English Church] attach different meanings to the word "proof," in the controversy whether the whole faith is or is not contained in Scripture. Roman Catholics mean that not every Article is so contained there that it may thence be legally proved, *independently* of the teaching and authority of tradition: but Anglicans mean that every Article is so contained there that it may thence be proved, *provided* there may be added the illustrations and compensations of the tradition. And it is in this latter sense I conceive that the Fathers also speak. I am sure, at least, that S. Athanasius frequently adduces passages as proofs of points in controversy, which no one would see to be proofs, unless Apostolical tradition were taken into account, first as suggesting, then as authoritatively ruling, their meaning. Thus, you [Anglicans] do not deny that the whole is not in Scripture in such sense that pure unaided logic can draw it from the sacred text: nor do we [Roman Catholics] deny that the faith is in Scripture in an improper sense, in the sense that tradition is able to recognise and determine

it there. Anglicans do not profess to dispense with tradition: nor do Roman Catholics forbid the idea of probable, secondary, symbolical, annotative senses of Scripture over and above those which properly belong to the wording and context.'[1]

With regard to the authority of the Church, some weighty observations will be found in the exposition of Article 20. It is observable that neither in that Article, nor in the subsequent one on General Councils, is there any proposition enunciated in derogation of the authority of the Church. What is there predicated is, for the most part, axiomatic, of such a nature as, when properly understood, could be objected to by no one. There is not one word in derogation of the tenet that the decisions of the Œcumenical Church are the voice of the Holy Ghost.

The authority of the Church the Bishop grounds ultimately on that inner sense which is the work of the Holy Ghost. The Scripture is God's unerring word, but *we* are liable to error. Being so, we may mistake the voice of Christ speaking to us in Scripture. How is this to be prevented? How is the revelation of Christ to be secured from error in its transit from the Scripture to the human mind? This is the work of the Holy Spirit. In His union with the human spirit in the Church, there is created in the soul a peculiarly Christian tact, a deep, sure-guiding feeling, whereby it is led to the truth. Such an inner sense is the gift of those 'who do His will,' who are members of the Body, who partake of the Sacraments, and live the Divine life. In such case, 'by confiding attachment to the per-'petuated Apostolate, by education in the Church, by "hearing," 'as S. Paul would say, a deep interior sense is formed, which 'alone is fitted for the reception and acceptance of the written 'word, because it entirely coincides with the sense in which the 'Scriptures were composed.' (Vol. i. p. 278.)

But this sense in the individual is subordinated to the sense of the general body. Where misunderstandings or differences arise the Church must interpret and decide. For 'the Church 'is the Body of the Lord: it is in its universality His visible 'form, His permanent, ever-renovated humanity, His eternal 'revelation.' He dwells in the community. It is to it, not to the individual, that His promises and gifts are bequeathed. This general sense of the Body has been recognised from the earliest times, and appealed to as the witness of the truth. It is the ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φρόνημα of Eusebius, the *ecclesiastica intelligentia* and *Catholicus sensus* of Vincentius Lirinensis. But even it is not without its limit. The general sense of the living Church is limited by the sense of the Church in times gone by; in other

[1] Newman's 'Letter to Dr. Pusey on the Eirenicon,' p. 14.

words, by the tradition of the faith. The Church can never contradict herself, nor, inasmuch as she has received the faith objectively from her Lord, can she originate any new dogma. Hence the rules of antiquity, universality, and consent. In short, when we would arrive at the true sense of the Church, we must enlarge our minds to take in the whole Church, historic as well as living.

When we examine more closely this general sense, we must take care that we do not regard it as a mere outward mechanical faculty. That would be a very inadequate view of the function of the Church, which would limit her to the giving of a mere harmony of Scripture. However much men may dread the danger of illegitimate developments, still such a view would be a practical return to Judaism. The work of the Holy Ghost in the Church is in the spirit, not in the letter. Hence the Church, in the plenitude of this gift, has given definitions of the faith, such as those regarding the Trinity and Incarnation, which are justified only on the supposition of this inner spiritual enlightenment.

Such being the function of the Universal Church as the witness of God's truth, it must be acknowledged that, under present circumstances, her voice is only partially heard. We have to deal with the lamentable fact of a divided Christendom. But here the extreme Roman steps in with the reply: Is not a divided Christendom an impossibility? Would not that imply a failure in Christ's promises? No doubt there are divided communities claiming to be the Church of Christ; but that claim can only be valid in the case of one: the others have no corporate existence. Thus, antecedent to all examination of the merits, the claims of the Greek and Anglican are set aside. But is this *à priori* argument a valid one. There are two very sufficient replies to it. In the first place, too much is made of the rupture of outward communion. Outward communion, important though it be, is not of the essence of the Church's unity. That is rather an inward essential organic unity whereby all parts and members of the body are one in Christ. Dr. Pusey has said, 'No one, in the face of Church history, can or does maintain that 'all interruptions of intercommunion destroy unity. For Church 'history records too many such interruptions, which (although 'never probably without fault, on the one side or on both) yet did 'not exclude either side from the Body of Christ.'[1] It is simply impossible to get over that fact. But there is another important consideration in view of this *à priori* argument. Are the promises of Christ and the work of the Holy Ghost of such nature

[1] Eirenicon, p. 59.

that they are independent of human faithfulness? The argument is only valid if they are; if not, it falls to the ground. In reference to this point the following observations are very weighty:—

"As man is the microcosm of the universe, so the individual, faithful man is that of the Universal Church. As in the individual the faith whereby he believeth unto salvation is, as we have seen, a faith informed and animated by love; and as his faith stands in relation to, and is profoundly affected by, his moral nature (so that love and good works are an integral part of vivid faith, and, correspondingly, faith is quickened by a holy life and expires under the indulgence of certain sins) so something of this kind, limited of course by Christ's promises of indefectibility and the Holy Spirit's guidance, must take place in the Church. There must be a similar process. The Divine perception of truth will be quickened in the body of the faithful in periods of revival and refreshment. The eye of the Church will wax dull when the moral state of society, and especially of its teachers, is at the lowest. Is it impious to believe that the Christianizing of the empire, by increasing the material interests, by silencing the delator's tongue, by bringing into the net plenty of bad fishes, weakened the spirituality of the Church? Is it not in the nature of things that when the old society, before the fresh blood of the barbarians gave it new youth, was actually dying out, the Divine ray should become dimmed by the fetid exhalations from a putrifying civilization? Would the great schism ever have been permitted, had men not lost their sense of the necessity of Christian unity, and of the transcendental truth in the Divine nature, on which that Christian unity depends? Surely, as under the old law we find a shortening of God's merciful hand caused by the sins of His people, so even in the dispensation of the Spirit in the Catholic Church of Christ we may believe that the depraved use of man's free will may have worked to the distinct detriment of her teaching office, if faith and works be different aspects of the same habit.'—Vol. i. p. 280.

When we come to examine into the merits of the case, the facts are found to be of such a character that the extreme Roman theory cannot be admitted. Fortunately for us the controversy is not only as between Rome and ourselves, but as between Rome and the East, and the great fact of the Eastern schism stands in the way of the Ultramontane theory:—

'We cannot dispose of this fact as we can of the casting forth of Nestorianism or Eutychianism, or even of the Novatian schism, in earlier times. On the one hand, no heresy can be charged against the orthodox Easterns: and, on the other, the position of the East was founded in no negation of unity or Catholicity. Novatianism had a theory of its own—a false one. The Greek Church became separated by circumstances over which it had no control. From the time of the establishment of the empire at Byzantium, the elements of the future scission began to work—the human passions of the Popes and Patriarchs gave force to a dissidence which probably had its roots in the totally different temperaments and minds of their respective subjects: and in the final quarrel about Bulgaria, which occasioned the actual split, it is very difficult to award the meed of praise or blame to either party. If the Easterns, on the plea of the decrees of the councils, arrogated for the Patriarchs a power to which they had no right, the Westerns were equally bold in asserting the prerogatives of S. Peter. The establishment of the Latin emperors, and the aggression of a Latin Church at Constantinople, were not to be justified. In short, it is impos-

sible to say that either side was quite right, or that either side had not much to say for itself: and, therefore, we cannot aver that either party is cut off from the true vine, or that either section has ceased to be a part of the Catholic Church of Christ.'—Vol. i. p. 283.

But as a matter of fact the corporate existence of the Greek Church has been repeatedly admitted by Rome:—

'And this assertion has not only been held by individual doctors of the Western Church, but actually has been admitted by its most authoritative organs. On no other theory could the Councils of Lyons, Sienna, Ferrara, or Florence ever have been held. If modern theories be true, the Church can only deal with the individual members of the separated communities. In the eyes of the Church such communities, according to those theories, have no corporate existance at all. It was not so in those great councils, and it was not so in any of the prior attempts at reconciliation, some of which from time to time were actually successful. One must deny history if one would assert that the Latins never treated the separated Greeks as a Church. Except by the Ultramontane school, the Orthodox Eastern Church has ever been regarded as a Church with orders, sacraments, miracles, and jurisdiction, which has never fallen into heresy—in short, a real Church, the schism notwithstanding.'—Vol. i. p. 284.

If these are facts, surely no words can express the responsibility which those incur who desert the communion in which they are placed for that of Rome. If the Greek Church is part of the Mystical Body (and that cannot be denied by any one amenable to facts), the Anglican is demonstrably the same also, and it has the visible seal of the Spirit's work. What, then, is the import of the step mentioned? If Christ is with us, if His sacrifice is celebrated on our altars, what word would express the act by which one turns away? What word would express the tenet which regards both Greek and Anglican Communions as 'shams'? Too often, secessions are gone about with deplorable levity, and it is very needful that attention should be called to their real character. Let a man open his eyes to the issues really involved, and he will see that the responsibility he incurs is truly awful. Is he prepared to anathematize both Greek and Anglican Communions as the work of the devil? Nothing short of this will justify the act mentioned. If, as we believe, God is preparing the way for the reunion of His Church, it is saying the least of such secessions that they are directly contrary to the designs of the Spirit for this end.

We are indebted to the Bishop of Brechin for pointing out a misconception, apparently trifling, but which, when not eliminated, is calculated to exert a very powerful influence on the general argument. It is often assumed that the authority of the Church is dependent on its unity. Must not, therefore, the Anglican theory of broken unity be impossible? How can we conceive such a thing, if it is at the expense of an essential function of the Church? 'And yet,' as the Bishop points out, 'it is infallibility, not authority, of which reception by the

'whole Church is the test, which reception is hindered when 'intercommunion is suspended. There may be many degrees of 'authority, adequate to guide us to the faith, short of absolute 'infallibility. When a heresy had been rejected of old in a 'local Church, there was guidance enough for its members, before 'the universal adoption of its decrees stamped its judgment with 'infallibility.' (Vol. i. p. 285.) The voice of authority is therefore not silenced by the rupture of outward communion. The estranged portions still speak with authority. They declare with absolute authority the whole faith already defined and received by the Œcumenical Church; and, in dealing with the rising movements of human thought, we must reverently believe that each, in proportion to its faithfulness, will be guided by the Spirit. The only abatement to be made is, that such separate conclusions are not final. As inerrancy is the gift of the Œcumenical Church, they must wait, as many essential definitions of the faith have waited in times past. The conclusions of particular Churches can only be the data on which the whole Church shall, in God's time, decide. But will there not be much in each separated branch that will be stamped with the seal of infallibility? Is there not even now an interchange of faith and of life? Are not the various Churches of Christendom acting and reacting powerfully upon each other? The might of God's Spirit is in truth stronger than the wilfulness of man.

There is no article which, in the eyes of the ultra-Protestant, contains more important matter than the Twenty-second. According to his interpretation, it is an entire condemnation of the Roman Church, and of all the doctrines mentioned in it. Purgatory, pardons, images, relics, the invocation of saints—all are banished from the Reformed Communion, and every doctrine regarding them condemned and excluded. Yet, obvious and popular as this interpretation seems, the moment we come to apply it it is seen to be impossible. Is every doctrine on these points excluded? Then the Anglican Church condemns the Primitive Church—those Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops to whom she appealed as against Rome. They, as well as the 'Romanenses,' had a doctrine on these points—a doctrine, too, based on Scripture, and which, in fact, revolves around certain texts. To suppose that the Article meant to censure that would be perfectly suicidal. But neither can the censure apply to the definitions of the Council of Trent: for they were not in existence when the Article was published. On other grounds, indeed, it would be difficult to believe that the Council of Trent was aimed at. For the definitions on all these points given by the Council are remarkably moderate, very far below what was popularly taught and believed previous to the Reformation.

Hardwicke says that the words *Romanenses* and *Romanistæ* were already used as far back as 1520, by Luther and Ulrich von Hutten, to designate the extreme mediæval party. If so, the article is aimed, not at the Roman Church, but at a party in that Church. One consideration which makes this view very probable we might perhaps be apt to overlook. In those early days the exact import of the Reformation was not seen as we see it in the light of events. It was not as yet seen that the movement then begun would end in the final separation of Christendom into opposing sects and Churches. England was still one Communion, and undoubtedly regarded herself as a part of Christendom. The quarrel with Rome was not considered hopeless. There was a deep inherited feeling of the oneness of Christendom, and hence the controversy was conducted more as the contention of rival parties in the same Church than as a war of opposing Churches. There must have been a very graduated scale of doctrine on these points, among those who first accepted the Articles. If the extreme party—those whom we may call the *Romanenses*—resigned, there was still the great body of dignitaries and priests who had said mass under Queen Mary. Among these, there must have been many who sympathized in doctrine with the moderate divines of the Council of Trent. There would, in fact, be a scale of doctrine from these downwards, to those who sympathised with the negations of Luther and Calvin.

Under these circumstances, it is obvious the Article ought not to be strained beyond its letter. And, probably, this will be more easily seen if we imagine a parallel example. Suppose, instead of the reading of the Article, the following were proposed for subscription: 'The Ultramontane doctrine of Papal infallibility is a fond thing vainly invented.' Is it not obvious that such a proposition would command the assent, not only of Anglican divines, but of many eminent theologians in the Roman Communion? And if so, is it not evident that it could not be interpreted as condemning every doctrine of Papal infallibility, but only that view of it which was peculiar to the party mentioned?

That this is not a strained or evasive interpretation is evident from the fact that it presents exactly to the theological mind the reprehensible points. That every doctrine as to purgatory, pardons, &c. ought to be condemned is, to the theological mind, simply monstrous. There are doctrines on these points which were held by the Primitive Church. There are doctrines which are held by the more learned of Protestant divines. On the other hand, there was a reprehensible doctrine which had become popular at the period of the Reformation, and was advocated by the extreme section of the Roman Communion—those whom

Luther termed the *Romanenses.* This will be better seen from an example.

With regard to purgatory the Bishop remarks:—

'The doctrine of purgatory, against which the Article excepts, is that which is made patent to the eye of every traveller as he passes from Germany into Italy. The wayside shrines which so edify him still continue, but the subjects are changed. In place of the affecting representation of the sufferings of the Eternal Son, and the touching impersonations of the Lord crowned with thorns, with the purple robe and the reed in His hand, which speak to the soul of the wayfarer, terrible representations of the holy souls in flames appal him. They are the predominant, although not the exclusive, subject. Sometimes the Madonna is placed in relation to those souls, but oftener still they are by themselves, appealing for a few pence to the awakened sympathies of the passers-by. They say, "Have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, O my friends: for the hand of the Lord hath touched me." The popular doctrine thus symbolized prevailed in England at the time of the Reformation. Probably, as is believed to be the case in New Spain, it had come to take the place of a living faith in the eternal pains of hell in the case of most men. It was also mixed up largely with interested motives on the part of the clergy. There was a perfect traffic in masses for the souls, and men fancied that by leaving money to the Church at the hour of death, and at the expense of their heirs, they might purchase mitigation or exemption from pains which in degree, though not in duration, were said to equal the pains of hell.'—Vol. ii. p. 307.

Here we see the practical abuse of the doctrine. It led to an infamous traffic on the part of the clergy, which threatened in its effects to upset the foundations of morality. It led to debasing superstition, and to equal doctrinal abuses. No doctrine or practice can be exaggerated without injuriously affecting other parts of the deposit, and so this extreme purgatorial doctrine injured the doctrine regarding the eternal punishment of the wicked and the passion of Christ. The effect of it on the former doctrine is estimated in Tract XC. as being 'that the punishment of 'unrighteous Christians is temporary, not eternal, and that the 'purification of the righteous is a portion of the same punish-'ment;' and the Bishop reminds us that there was a strong feeling at the period of the Reformation that the doctrine as then taught invalidated the power of the Passion of Christ, it being supposed to be implied that the sufferings endured in purgatory did their work independently of the merits of Christ.

Setting aside, then, this exaggeration condemned by the Article, we have a very full and important account of the doctrine regarding purgatory held by the ancient Church; in fact, materials for forming a judgment regarding it. The first fact which stands out clear and indisputable is that of prayer for the dead. The Jews prayed for the dead at the time of our Blessed Lord as they do now; nor is there in the Gospels a single word in condemnation of the practice. S. Paul prayed for Onesiphorus after he was dead: 'The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy

of the Lord in that day.' We have next the unanimous testimony of the Liturgies to the same effect; and in regard to them it is to be remembered that they are in their substance undoubtedly Apostolic. It is almost certain that S. Paul quoted the passage, 'Eye hath not seen,' &c. from some of the Liturgies: and such a passage as Rom. xv. 16 could hardly have been written had not a liturgy been in use substantially the same as those we have now. In these liturgies we have such passages as the following. That of Jerusalem prays: 'Remember, O Lord God, 'the spirits and all flesh, Thou of right faith whom we have men-'tioned, from Abel the just to this day. Do Thou Thyself give 'them rest [or refresh them] in the region of the living, in Thy 'kingdom, in the delights of Paradise, in the bosoms of our holy 'fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whence sorrow, grief, and 'lamentation are banished away, where the light of God's coun-'tenance visits and shines continually.' That of Alexandria prays: 'Rest [or refresh] the souls of our fathers and brethren 'who have fallen asleep before us in the faith of Christ, remem-'bering the forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, 'martyrs, confessors, bishops, saints, just, every soul perfected 'in the faith of Christ, and those whom on this present day we 'commemorate, and our holy father Mark, the Apostle and Evan-'gelist, who showed us the way of faith,'—[then after reading the diptychs of the departed]—'and of all these rest [or refresh] 'the souls in the tabernacles of Thy saints in Thy kingdom, grant-'ing them the good things of Thy promises, which eye hath not 'seen,' &c. 'Refresh their souls, and vouchsafe to them the 'kingdom of heaven.'

In the liturgies the central prayer is for rest or refreshment, not as implying that their normal state is unrest, for it is said in the Apocalypse 'they rest from their labours.' Rest was the abiding image under which the Primitive Church conceived the intermediate state; and the going forth of love towards the departed was in prayer to God that they might rest. But there are also prayers that they may be blessed with all good things. S. Paul's prayer for Onesiphorus is that he may have a merciful judgment. Other prayers are to the effect that God would 'save their souls from hell,' 'from the judgment of vengeance,' 'from the mouth of the lion,' 'from the hands of the enemy,' 'that they endure not everlasting punishments,' 'the fire of Gehenna and the flame of hell.' Other prayers are 'that they may have part in the first resurrection,' or 'have a blessed resurrection,' or 'that they may obtain eternal felicity in the congregation of the saints.' (See authorities quoted vol. ii. p. 313.)

There is some difficulty in combining all these into one consistent conception of the intermediate state:—

'Perhaps it may not be an improbable conjecture that the Church at first prayed for all the departed in one tenor, without discriminating, leaving it to God to hear her in whatever way He knew best for each; and so that the prayers for deliverance from hell related to souls on whom the particular judgment was not yet passed; those for the saints were for "increase of their glory," as was expressed in words in a Gothic missal, before the close of the eighth century: on which also Innocent III. at the beginning of the thirteenth says that "very many thought not unworthy." The more common explanation was that they were thanksgivings, which suits the forms in which they were commemorated, yet does not fit in naturally with those in which they were prayed for. S. Epiphanius explains that these prayers were intended to mark the difference between the highest saints and God. S. Cyril, of Jerusalem, in explaining the liturgy, apparently arranges the departed mentioned in it into three classes: (1) Those that are commemorated and not prayed for—"patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that at their prayers and intercessions God would receive our petitions;" (2) the holy dead prayed for—"then also in behalf of (ὑπέρ) the holy fathers and bishops;" and (3) of all universally who have fallen asleep among us, believing that it will be a very great advantage to the souls on behalf of (ὑπέρ) whom the supplication is put up while the "holy and most awful sacrifice lieth there."'—Vol. ii. p. 316.

The Bishop thus summarizes the testimonies of the Fathers:—

'When we turn to individual writers in the early Church, we find various statements with regard to the conditions of the souls of the departed—and those not only in different writers, but in the very same; and yet some of these writers are ordinarily so consistent that their sayings have to be reconciled. Then, too, as to other minds, a concurrent language has great weight as representing some common tone of thought or belief in their period. Now, on the one side, we have broad statements, which assume that there are but two abodes in the intermediate state, the one for the saved, the other for the lost; and that the abode of the saved is one of rest and refreshment. They anticipate for the departed the same comfort and peace which people commonly do now; they console under sorrow for losses with the same topics, not only that those departed rest from their labours, and have no more strife with sin, but that they are in peace; they speak absolutely of those being at peace for whom they pray for rest; they so speak, not of individuals only, but of the great body of believers.

'This is the light, bright side. There are to be adjusted with this two sets of statements, both founded on Holy Scripture. 1. The one which unquestionably relates to the day of judgment [whether the general judgment of all, or the particular judgment of the single soul, when it parts out of the body], S. Paul's description of that fire which shall try every man's work, when they whose work shall be burned shall escape, yet so as by fire. 2. The other, our Blessed Lord's words of that prison into which they who shall be "cast shall not come forth till" they have "paid the uttermost farthing," which, while some interpreted of hell, others conceived to be a temporary prison: the debt being paid, not by anything which we can do, but by suffering.'—Vol. ii. p. 320.

We can but refer the reader to the valuable catena of authorities which bear out this summary. They well deserve an attentive consideration. If they are very difficult to reconcile in all their details, still there is a great deal that is common to all,

and which may be considered as the settled opinion of the Church. So far is quite plain. There is an intermediate state for those who die in a state of grace as there is a place of detention for the wicked. Of this intermediate state the leading idea is that it is a place of rest, refreshment. Yet it is not one of stagnation, but of progress: so much is implied in the fact that the departed are to be prayed for, and that they are benefited by our prayers. Such progress we may safely conceive as the being set free from sin, the being built up in good, in fact as a continuation of the work of renewal begun on earth. S. Paul says, 'He which 'hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of 'Jesus Christ.' With this are darkly connected S. Paul's trial of judgment and the prison of our blessed Lord. We may reverently believe that this is the utmost we can know, and that it is dangerous to proceed further by way of development. The mediæval theologians did so, and gave forth to the ignorant and the vulgar a compact system, which they speedily corrupted. Assuming that we are freed from sin through suffering, very gross images of purgatorial pain were spread abroad and were generally prevalent at the Reformation, as indeed they still are in the more ignorant portions of the Roman Communion. We apprehend that it is against these gross ideas as connected with a system of traffic in masses, and against nothing else, that the Article is directed.

It is right to add that in the Roman Communion far more elevated ideas are now admitted. We give with pleasure the following quotation by the Bishop of Brechin from the treatise of S. Catharine of Genoa:—

'When the soul by interior illumination perceives that God is drawing it with such loving ardour to Himself, straightway there springs up within it a corresponding fire of love for its most sweet Lord and God, which causes it wholly to melt away: it sees in the Divine light how considerately and with what unfailing providence God is ever leading it to its full perfection, and that He does it all through pure love: it feels itself stopped by sin, and unable to follow the heavenly attraction. I mean that look which God casts on it, to bring it into union with Himself, and this sense of the grievousness of being kept from beholding the Divine light, coupled with that instructive longing which would fain be without hindrance to follow the enticing look; these things, I say, make up the pains of purgatory. Not that they think anything of their pains, however great they be; they think far more of the opposition they are making to the will of God, which they see clearly is burning intensely with pure love to them. God, meanwhile, goes on drawing the soul to Himself mightily, and, as it were, with undivided energy: this the soul knows well; and could it find another purgatory greater than this by which it could sooner remove so great an obstacle, it would immediately plunge therein, impelled by that conforming love which is between God and the soul.' 'It is true that the overflowing love of God bestows upon the souls in purgatory a happiness beyond expression great: but then this happiness

does not in the least diminish the pain, rather the pain is constituted by this love finding itself impeded ; the more perfect the love of which God makes the soul capable, the greater the pain. In this manner the souls in purgatory at the same time experience the greatest happiness and the most excessive pain : and one does not prevent the other.'—Vol. ii. p. 349.

Exquisitely beautiful is the conception given in the 'Dream of Gerontius : '—

> 'It is the face of the Incarnate God
> Shall smite thee with that keen and subtle rain ;
> And yet the memory which it leaves will be
> A sovereign febrifuge to heal the wound ;
> And yet withal it will the wound provoke,
> And aggravate and widen it the more.
> When then (if such thy lot) thou seest thy Judge,
> The sight of Him will kindle in thy heart
> All tender, gracious, reverential thoughts.
> Thou wilt be sick with love, and yearn for Him,
> And feel as though thou couldst but pity Him,
> That One so sweet should e'er have placed Himself
> At disadvantage such as to be used
> So vilely by a being so vile as thee.
> There is a piercing in His pensive eyes
> Will pierce thee to the quick, and trouble thee,
> And thou wilt hate and loathe thyself ; for though
> Now sinless, thou wilt feel that thou hast sinned
> As never didst thou feel ; and wilt desire
> To slink away, and hide thee from His sight :
> And yet wilt have a longing aye to dwell
> Within the beauty of His countenance.
> And these two pains, so counter and so keen,—
> The longing for Him when thou seest Him not,
> The shame of self at thought of seeing Him,—
> Will be thy veriest, sharpest purgatory.'
>
> *The Dream of Gerontius,* pp. 43, 44.

Still both these pictures must be regarded as having only a subjective value. They are not to be held as objectively true of the intermediate state, but as supplying a conception, the best that we can have. It is only if so received that they can be considered edifying. This seems a very trite and obvious warning : but unhappily it is one which is very much needed. It is too much the fashion to dogmatize beyond the sphere of human knowledge. Of the intermediate state, as it is in itself, we know and can know nothing ; and people forget that by such over-dogmatism they put a fearful stumbling-block in the way of the faith of others. These conceptions of saintly and highly cultivated minds are indeed beautiful ; but may they not fall as far below the reality as the conception of the rustic falls below them ? On what ground can we accept as objectively true the one, and reject the other ?

'The rustic likewise saw near the entrance of the town-hall, as it were, four streets : the first was full of innumerable furnaces, and caldrons

filled with flaming pitch and other liquids, and boiling of souls, whose heads were like those of black fishes in the seething liquor. The second had its caldrons stored with snow and ice, to torment souls with horrid cold. The third had thereof boiling sulphur and other materials, affording the worst of stinks for the vexing of souls that had wallowed in the filth of lust. The fourth had caldrons of a most horrid salt and black water. Now sinners of all sorts were alternately tormented in these caldrons.'—*Purgatory proved by Miracle*, by S. Johnson, pp. 8—10. (Quoted in Tract XC. p. 29.)

We regret that we cannot follow the Bishop through the remaining treatises in which he has dealt with the other points mentioned in the Article, and are sorry to have been able to give but a very imperfect account of the book as a whole. We heartily commend it to our readers: it is full of valuable information on almost every branch of theology, while some of the tractates have a deep antiquarian interest. On the subject of the Sacraments and the Eucharistic Sacrifice it is especially full, and had our space permitted we should have wished to follow. We can, however, only give the following, which seems to be a careful and well-considered statement regarding the Sacrifice:—

'The Sacrifice of the Eucharist is substantially the same as the Sacrifice of the Cross, because the Priest is the same in both, and the Victim is the same in both: just as the Sacrifice which Christ the eternal Priest is now presenting to His Father in heaven is the same which He offered upon the Cross, because He Himself is the same Victim and Priest, both in one. But there is a difference. There is a difference in the manner of offering. In heaven Christ is not offering Himself in the same manner as He did upon the Cross.'—Vol. ii. p. 607.

ART. V.—*Histoire Administrative: Frochot, Préfet de la Seine* (1789—1815). Par LOUIS PASSY. Paris: 1867.

'THE revenues of the State,' according to Montesquieu, 'are a 'portion of his property which every citizen gives up to possess 'the remainder in safety, or to enjoy it in an agreeable manner.' The well-known maxims of Adam Smith apply to another side of the question. 'The subjects of every State ought to con- 'tribute to the support of the Government, as nearly as possible 'in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion 'to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the pro- 'tection of the State. In the observation or neglect of this 'maxim consists what is called the equality or inequality of 'taxation. . . . Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to 'take out and to keep out of the pockets of the people as little 'as possible over and above what it brings into the treasury 'of the State.' These remarks refer in the first instance to the taxation levied by the Government of every country; but, besides these imposts, the internal requirements of each city also compel funds for local purposes to be raised everywhere. These requirements are not likely to be less, but to be greater, in the course of time, in proportion as the value of improved sanitary conditions becomes more widely understood. When people once understand that improved drainage means improved health, they are not likely to complain unduly of local burdens. A good system of local taxation is therefore of no slight importance. Some places are exceptionally situated, and such charges are partially or entirely defrayed from sources which other towns are not privileged to possess. Thus London raises a revenue from a coal-tax and a tax on wine. The Mersey dues perform the same kind office for Liverpool. Some small boroughs follow these high examples with envious and imitative steps, and mitigate the severity of paving and lighting rates by somewhat similar means. Town estates are of great service in some cases: we know an instance in which the property of the town, carefully administered, suffices not only to defray the modest expenses of the municipality, but to pay all the poor-rates of the little burgh. Other cases doubtless exist. The ordinary methods of raising the requisite resources in less favoured localities are well known. The poor's rate, the local Board of Health rate, the rates whatever they may be, are a charge on grounded or fixed property, the ability of the burgess being assessed according to the estimated rent of his

dwelling. In France the local revenue is raised in a different manner. Those who are familiar with the subject will excuse the explanation, that the principal portion of the required sum is obtained in many places by what is called an *octroi* duty, levied principally on the main articles of consumption. Some variety exists in the articles selected to bear the burden. Wine and beer, for example, are taxed in some places, coals and wood in others. Paper is taxed at Bordeaux and Nice, salt is taxed in Paris alone. Sugar, which has to pay an excise duty to the Government, is taxed over again in more than two hundred places in France. Wheat is taxed in some places, and the fact that chestnuts compete with various 'farines' in certain towns as food for the poor is duly noted down as a cause exceptionally facilitating taxation on the cereals in those localities. By way of illustration, the duty on various kinds of flour in Marseilles recently produced more than 600,000 francs. But it is not the large cities alone which are thus situated. If the principal commercial port of France, containing 260,000 people, has to tax bread, Quimper—which, though boasting the title of capital of the department of Finisterre, scarcely numbered 10,000 inhabitants in 1842—was reduced to as undesirable a resource, being compelled to make up a deficiency in its local revenues by taxing the meat exposed for sale in the market. From the nature of the articles mentioned, it is obvious that the incidence of such a tax will fall very unequally on different classes of society, in the direct ratio of the proportion which the requirements of mere sustenance of life bear to their total expenditure. The manner also in which this description of tax must of necessity be levied tends to increase its inconvenience. The duties have to be levied as the articles subject to them are passing into the city. Many English persons are familiar with the appearance of the keen-eyed guardians of the municipal revenues, who, clad in a neat semi-military uniform, sometimes with the mystic letters 'S.P.Q.' on their caps, make their appearance while the traveller's vehicle is delayed at the barrier. To many, doubtless, besides ourselves has the appeal been made not '*déclarer*' the fresh cheese or the basket of fruit which the driver, mindful of material comforts, has purchased in the country, while his fare was investigating the monastery or the ruin. To the chance visitor the inconvenience is but temporary, but to the regular inhabitant this prevention of free traffic must bring vast inconveniences. In a fortified town, of course, the pathways through the circuit of defences must of necessity be few, but to have to endure such a limitation to traffic and to freedom of locomotion in an otherwise open city, must bring with it great evils. These are enhanced by the great difficulty

of preventing smuggling, which has continually compelled the enlargement of the district within which the *octroi* duty is levied; an enlargement, the objections to which are marked in the strongest manner, by the fact that the Government will, in France, allow portions of the '*banlieue d'une grande ville*' to be included even without the consent of the district affected. The system by which the municipal revenues of France are raised may satisfy the somewhat superficial condition imposed by Montesquieu which is quoted above, but our readers may judge for themselves whether, according to the higher standard of Adam Smith, that system would bear away the palm: a system which enhances the cost of indispensable articles of consumption, while allowing luxuries to escape almost scot free; which fetters trade, which imposes a double burden on the artisan, both by raising prices in his kitchen one-eighth or one-fourth, and by fettering the free action of the employer of labour, whose profits it diminishes; fettering some trades to such an extent, that to correct the severity of the tax, a drawback on the exportation of the manufactured articles would seem to be justly required,—a tax which weighs lightly on the rich while it weighs heavily on the poor,—a tax which increases the distress of the half-starved in the garret,—cooking their taxed food over their taxed fire, while it is scarcely felt by the luxurious occupants of the drawing-room,[1]—a tax which divides each district of the country from its neighbour by a system of petty domestic custom-houses, necessarily causing a restraint on freedom of locomotion which is far more easily endured on the frontier of a kingdom than in the interior of a country,—a tax, the levying of which is so costly, that the expenses of collection amount in many instances to ten per cent., in some even to twelve per cent. of the produce,—a tax, the working of which is so inconvenient, that, as we have been informed, an owner of a vineyard may find the trouble of paying the dues on the cask or two of wine which he might desire to bring into the town for the use of his own

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[1] 'Moins grand est le gâteau et plus fortement le fisc le rogne. C'est vrai encore et surtout de l'impôt de consommation. Le fisc ne tient presqu'aucun compte ni de la qualité ni du prix. Le "petit bleu" qui empoisonne le maçon "contribue" autant que le Château-Margau dont se délecte l'entrepreneur; ainsi pour la marée, les viandes, les liqueurs. Personne n'ignore, de plus, que les dépenses sujettes à l'imposition prennent une part autrement large sur le budget de la mansarde que sur le budget du premier étage. A supposer, par exemple, que les impôts et octrois sur les liquides, les comestibles, et les combustibles les renchérissent de vingt pour cent, cette sur-dépense de vingt pour cent absorbera peut-être le cinquième et au-delà du revenu de l'ouvrier; elle n'augmentera pas d'un vingtieme la dépense totale du fabricant.'—*Le Bilan de l'Empire*, par J. E. Horn (second edition), p. 10.

household so great, and the difficulties interposed by the administration so many, that he is compelled to abandon the attempt, and to buy from the regular importer (no other term is applicable) instead of making use of the produce of his own land. A tax like this might seem to be impossible in modern Europe. Does the foregoing list include all the defects? By no means. The unequal distribution of the various octrois over the country produces other inconveniences besides those which have already been indicated. For example, in 1850 there were about 1,450 octrois in France. Of these more than 800, that is to say more than the half, were situated in twenty of the eighty-six departments into which France was at that time divided. This of itself implies a considerable inequality, which when it is more closely examined becomes still more striking. Thus the department Le Finisterre, which includes poverty-stricken Brittany, and possessed in 1851 a population of only 617,710 persons, little more than one-fiftieth part of the total population of the country, contained no less than 153—more than one-tenth of the octrois. On the other hand, the rich department of Le Nord, containing Lille and Valenciennes, and the most important coal-field in France, with 1,158,285 inhabitants, and a density of population equal to 565 persons to the square mile, a proportion greatly exceeding that of England and Wales taken generally, possessed only forty-four, about the thirty-third part of the whole number. It is, of course, a great disadvantage to manufacturers and traders in some places to have burdens imposed on them which their compeers elsewhere escape; burdens so heavy, that they appear even to outweigh the benefits offered by crowds of customers and proximity to great markets.

The objections to the system being so many, what are the countervailing advantages? The most obvious one is that the tax is at the moment lost sight of in the price of the goods when sold. 'What the eye does not see, the heart does not grieve for,' is an old maxim wide as human nature, narrow as much of what for want of a better term we must call Feudal Taxation. Unlikely as it may seem, the very narrowness of the range of the impost appears to be the main recommendation; can it be called an advantage?—the truth being that the State, having taxed almost everything it could lay its hands on, magnanimously made over in this form to the municipalities the power which it was itself unable to wield. Nor was this privilege, such as it was, conceded on too easy terms. Municipalities from an early period had to drive bargains with the State, and the State was not slow to twist these bargains to its own advantage. In 1352 the town of Compiègne for the first time obtained permission

to levy an octroi for its own benefit, but only on condition of making over to the royal treasury the fourth part of the sums thus raised. Compiègne in the nineteenth century enjoys a more important privilege in possessing the hunting palace with its severely classical front, the work of the First Empire—now again occasionally the seat of Imperial festivities; but the proportion of the terms of taxation is probably not more favourable altogether to the municipality than it was five hundred years ago.

The difficulties of levying these local revenues have always been very great. 'War,' said the first Prefect of the Seine—his soul vexed with some thousands of lawsuits in the year—'is declared between the taxers and the taxed.' Perpetual attempts at evasion, perpetual petty smugglings, appear to be the inevitable accompaniments of an octroi system. A power on the spot, a local authority, may enter on such a contest, and carry it on successfully; but could the greatest authority of the State wage such a little war and be the victor? The municipal power, whether bearing the venerable name of the 'Mayor,' or dignified with the title of 'Prefect,' may, by his representatives, pry into the basket of eggs, or tax the butter and the fowls; but would this be seemly, would it be possible, for the Government official, the immediate servant of the Emperor? Causes like these have made over these sources of revenue to the local authorities, whether, as in Labrevalaire (department of Finisterre), the produce is fifty-two francs a year, or, as in Paris, the revenue is counted by millions sterling. The queen city of octrois indeed possesses a budget which, as M. de Parieu reminds us in his excellent 'Traité des Impôts,' exceeds in importance that of many States, while the municipal buildings vie with the palaces of most powerful sovereigns in magnificence and luxury. The octroi of Paris in its present form dates from the 18th October, 1798. Imposts of such a nature were, as has just been mentioned in the instance of Compiègne, early naturalized in France, and, like most of the taxation before the Revolution, had been accompanied by a great number of exemptions to privileged classes. In the days of Liberty and Equality such exemptions of course were not things to be thought of. Revolutionary fury therefore first attempted a rearrangement, and then becoming rapidly dissatisfied with its own work, swept away the reconstructed yet unconsolidated edifice. But it is one thing to abandon a revenue because it is levied on a vicious system, and another to leave unconsidered, unassisted, all the wants which that revenue had been intended to supply. Abolished in Paris in 1791, the octroi was re-established seven years later. This interregnum, during which no sufficient substitute appears to have been found for the

supplies raised by the octroi duties, was in consequence attended by a complete disorganization of the whole municipal system. A vigorous chief was therefore required for the post. It became the task of M. Frochot, the history of whose life we desire to make our readers acquainted with, to endeavour, and by no means vainly, to reduce to order these accumulated evils.

At a time like the present, when the local government of London again attracts public attention, when no less an authority than the member for Westminster occupies himself with the endeavour to infuse some kind of order into that administrative chaos, the history of the life of the first Prefect of the Seine has a special claim on our attention. In doing this, the fairest course to pursue will be to consider the labours of the prefect, as municipal head of a great city, and one specially difficult to govern, on their own merits, apart from the system of administration which he was called on to organize. Whatever the merits or demerits of the system of municipal government organized by M. Frochot may be, the working of it has continually been confided to able hands. Many Englishmen are aware from personal observation of the vast changes in the appearance of Paris which are connected with the name of the present Prefect, but they may learn from these pages how complete were the reforms, and how thorough the re-organization, introduced by the first of that dynasty. As our countrymen lounge along the new streets, and make themselves acquainted with the *spécialités* of each boulevard, they are apt to concur too hastily in the opinion that 'such things are better done in France.' The life of M. Frochot will tell them how bitterly the weight of the burden imposed was already felt by the taxpayer in the early years of the century, a period which now receives by comparison the praise for economy from that severe censor, M. Horn. The office of Prefect of the Seine, and the first appointment, were both due to Napoleon I. That great man—who, had he known how to pause in the career of his ambition, had he not merely sought in peace for the means of carrying on war, might have been as celebrated as an administrator as he was as a general—was usually skilful in his choice of agents for important posts. Frochot was already a well-known man. Elected in 1789 deputy for the bailliage of Aignay-le-Duc to the Etats-Généraux, he had joined in the brilliant procession which crossed the streets of Versailles on the 4th of May, and had performed no unimportant part among the stormy scenes which followed. The signs of the times had not been thrown away on him. Already, at his election, in the calm atmosphere of the provincial gathering of Burgundy, he had, by a kind of prophetic feeling, described the

body to which he was sent as the 'Assemblée Nationale.' Once there, the same quality of mind which enabled him to foresee not only the change of title, but the changed position which the States-General of the realm would hold, stood him in good stead. He became an intimate associate of Mirabeau, who had a very high opinion of his judgment. It was Frochot who, after the death of that fiery tribune of the people, urged on the Legislative Assembly the payment of his debts. Frochot's speech on that occasion was a proof of deep friendship, as well as of courage. Many are the hitherto unpublished letters of Mirabeau cited in this work, which, ending as they not unfrequently do, with the sentiment 'Vale et me ama,' testify how close was the intimacy between the two men. Close as was their friendship, their characters were nevertheless almost diametrically opposed to each other. Earnest, upright, able, but not brilliant, plodding and unimpulsive, Frochot was exactly the man for his post; he vigorously applied himself to reduce to method the disorganized administration of the city which he was summoned to rule.

In so short a notice as this it is impossible to do more than hint at the chief labours of an office which, as the author reminds us in his preface, only yields in importance and in responsibility to that 'd'un Ministre du Trésor.' It was in due accordance with such a feeling that Napoleon, then First Consul, but already assuming a fully regal style, received the first batch of prefects on March 5, 1800. Frochot, as representing the capital, took precedence. 'Je sais qui vous êtes,' were the words with which he was greeted, 'et je divine ce que vous serez; mais, entre tous 'les motifs qui m'ont déterminé à vous confier la Préfecture de 'Paris, il en est un que je dois rappeler en ce moment; c'est 'qu'ayant été maltraité par la Révolution, vous n'en êtes pas 'moins resté constamment attachés à vos principes, et qu'étant 'devenu administrateur de votre département après avoir été 'longtemps persécuté, vous n'avez persécuté personne.' With his assembled brethren, he was reminded that administration was the arm of the Government. An injunction equally characteristic of Napoleon was added by way of encouragement and warning: 'Il faut que la France date son bonheur de l'établissement des préfectures.' A strong right hand was indeed required in Paris, and a stronger power still, both of head and hand, stood close at the Prefect's back. Napoleon, whether as First Consul or Emperor, was ever ready to control or urge on a man whom he never ceased to regard rather as a minister than as a municipal authority. Nor did Napoleon ever omit any opportunity of identifying himself with his 'good city of Paris,' but he sorely begrudged her favours being lavished on any one

else. A curious instance occurred soon after the appointment of the Prefect. It was proposed that the city should present a sword to Junot; the First Consul objected at once: 'La ville 'de Paris n'aurait lieu de donner une épée qu'à quelqu'un qui 'aurait sauvé la ville.'

But to return to M. Frochot's labours. Almost the first task which the Prefect had to undertake was that of raising the needful revenue. This was not easy to be done. The disturbances of the times—the scarcely hidden, much less repaired, devastations of the Revolution, had impaired the resources at the disposal of the municipality. Meanwhile the carelessness or the indifference of the assessors, and the independence of the assessed, brought about so grave a crisis, that Frochot had to declare, in his 'Conseil Générale,' 'La guerre est déclarée entre le gouvernement et les contribuables.' A sharp contest it must have been. In three years no less than sixty thousand complaints were made against the tax-collectors and the assessing commission. A heavy deficit was the natural result, while the vast number of defaulters testified to the badness of a system which raised against itself so determined an opposition. Frochot set himself to remodel the form of assessment, the arrangement being faulty in the extreme. Incredible as it may seem, the expenses of collection and of legal proceedings caused the net revenue to be in some cases but the half of the gross taxation. 'Les frais de perception et de poursuites étaient si élevés que 'les cotes étaient parfois doublées. Pour couvrir leur mauvaise 'gestion, les percepteurs se montraient impitoyables.' By a watchful attention this state of matters was remedied. A sense that justice was done contributed to smooth matters, and the 'Conseil Général' of the department recognised the improvement by the eulogy, 'Le Préfet a l'amour de l'ordre.' But Frochot did not limit his efforts to endeavouring to do justice between man and man. He essayed the more difficult task of endeavouring to see justice done to the department which he ruled. So unequally had the Revolutionary Government of 1790 apportioned the taxation, that they had fixed the contingent of the department of the Seine at one-twentieth of the whole burden, while the proportion which the population of Paris at that time bore to that of France was less than one-fortieth. A considerable diminution in the assessment was the result of the labours of the Prefect; a result which naturally did not fail to increase his popularity. But the justice of the case required more than this. The representative of the individual interest of the capital of any great country will often have sharp contests with the representatives of the interests of the State itself as to the proportion in which expense is to be divided between the two

powers. It was less easy for Frochot to prevent expenses (not strictly departmental) being charged to the departmental budget, than to prove the unfairness of the incidence of taxation. The State, especially with so powerful a sovereign as Napoleon, was likely to hold its own at least in the struggle. Thus we find continual evidence in these pages of the endeavour of the Government to relieve itself of its own share of many burdens; at the same time its hold on the direction of departmental matters was by no means relaxed. Curious questions arose. Were the foundlings received in the asylum for *les enfans trouvés* to be considered the children of Paris, or the children of France? From the year II. to the year X. the Government paid the charges; in the latter year they were placed to the departmental account. But it was one thing to decree that these outcasts should be supported by the city, and another thing to provide the requisite funds. The resources of the department were unequal to the burden. What was to be done? Humanity would not allow the service of the hospitals to be neglected; but the equilibrium of the Prefect's budget was sadly deranged. Nor was this by any means the only grievance of the city: the Prefect had to complain that the expenses of prisoners convicted or accused of crimes against the State were charged to local funds. Was the department of the Seine alone to bear the weight of a burden which rightly belonged to the whole country? At the same time serious disorders existed among the prisons. The code of 1795 had settled the tribunal before which the different offences were to be tried, but the State had made no proper provision for the reception of the prisoners, either before or after sentence. Not only were the prisons ill arranged so that no suitable division of the different classes of criminals was possible, but the buildings themselves were overcrowded. Frochot set himself to organize a better state of things. His reports testify not only to his zeal, but to the difficulties he had to encounter:—

'"De là, ce mélange si funeste du crime avec la faiblesse, de la débauche avec la paresse, du scélérat consommé avec le coupable d'un moment. Une oisiveté complète régnait dans ces maisons, où aucun travail n'était régulièrement établi; en un mot, toute prison était un foyer de corruption et d'infamie;" et il ajoutait en l'an X.:—"Les choses sont à peu près aujourd'hui ce qu'elles étaient avant la Révolution. La confusion des moralités, la confusion des sexes, la confusion des âges entretiennent tous les vices."'

A real reformer of prison discipline is never satisfied with mere classification; this is the groundwork, the foundation, without which the *ordre et accord* so much to be desired are alike impossible. But Frochot desired to attain far higher results

than these; he desired that the prisoners should leave their cells better citizens than when they entered them, less likely to return thither, more able to obtain a sufficient livelihood by honest industry. 'Le point essentiel est de faire prendre aux détenus dans les maisons de détention l'habitude du travail.' To organize so vast an undertaking was no easy task, but by allowing the prisoners a portion of their earnings their co-operation to a certain extent was obtained: and an amelioration, though not a thorough reform, of the *morale* of the prisoners appears to have been the result. M. Passy intimates that more might have been done, had the regulation of the prisons been confided to the undivided authority of the Prefect of the Seine. Powerful as that functionary might be, he did not reign alone, or by any means supreme; the Prefect of Police was in these matters at least an equal authority. He it was who appointed the jailers, the turnkeys, the porters; the Prefect of the Seine, on the other hand, governed the general administration—the inspectors, controllers, physicians, surgeons, chaplains, architects. The first class included the real masters of the prisons. Differences between the rival authorities were not unfrequent. It is typical of the complete centralization of the Empire to find that a quarrel between two jailers and the contractor for the maintenance of the prison, was brought under the notice of the Emperor himself. This rivalry impeded the thorough reform of abuses. Still Frochot appears to have done much, and to have laid the foundation for more. *Tulit alter honores* will often be the feeling of the zealous servant of the public. Frochot's biographer claims for him the applause which others have appropriated, and considers that improvements carried out in 1819, long after his retirement from office, were really planned by him in 1802. Besides striving to diminish the number of criminals by affording them the means of improvement, the Prefect waged war against crime itself by endeavouring to diminish the number of the ignorant. Education, which had nestled so long round the knees of the Church, experienced much of the bitterness of that storm which had well-nigh withered up religion in its fury. The Revolution had destroyed without replacing. The pre-existing organization for inspection of private schools had been swept away, while nothing was established in its place. A board of examiners was therefore instituted. Far worse, the central schools had fallen into decay. These schools were now reorganized. Whether directed by 'Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne,' or under laymen as teachers and directors; whether supported by private individuals, by grants from the authorities, or by the clergy, Frochot welcomed and assisted all. 'Je prends le bien où je le trouve,' was his motto. Could a better

one be found for a Minister of Education? But soon the Prefect of the Seine felt the controlling hand of the Emperor. The instruction of the youth of Paris was too important a matter to be confided to any one but an immediate servant of the Government. Much as in the case of the prisons, the maintenance was left to the Prefect, but the superintendence was placed in different hands.

'Les décrets de 1808 et de 1811 enlevèrent au préfet l'administration directe pour ne lui laisser que la surveillance de l'instruction secondaire. L'Université impériale forma un corps enseignant sous un chef unique et indépendant de l'administration. "Nos préfets," disait l'Empereur dans le décret du 15 Novembre, 1811, "ne pourront donc rien ordonner, rien changer à l'ordre administratif des lycées ou colléges, ni rien prescrire, mais ils seront tenus d'adresser à notre Ministre de l'Intérieur les informations qu'ils auront recueillies, et ils les accompagneront de leurs observations et en instruiront le grand maître." Les droits comme les devoirs des préfets furent reduits aux droits et aux devoirs d'un simple inspecteur général.'—*Frochot*, p. 321.

The hospitals, too, required the fostering care of the Prefect, and found in him the friend they required. Firmly, yet kindly, he appears to have dealt with

'All the vagrant train:
He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain.'

As in the case of the prisons, every point was disorganized. Ruin, despair, want, marked the condition of institutions which ages of piety had destined for the benefit of the poor. The funds had been misappropriated; in many instances the endowments were lost.

'Le désordre qui régnait dans les finances se traduisait dans l'aspect des bâtiments. La Révolution n'avait pas épargné les asiles de la pauvreté. Les murs écroulés, les toits enfoncés, les chapelles abattues, signalaient son passage. Ces édifices desolés, ces hôpitaux, que l'anarchie avait livrés à l'avide domination des entrepreneurs, était le réceptacle d'une foule de jour en jour plus nombreuse. Les uns entraient sous prétexte de maladie et restaient sous prétexte de pauvreté; les autres couraient d'hôpital en hôpital, et cette course éternelle s'appelait un pélerinage. Les sexes étaient confondus comme les maladies! Plusieurs malades dans le même lit! Toutes les maladies dans les mêmes salles! Et quelle encombrement, quelle licence, quels désordres dans les hospices! Comment la corruption des mœurs n'aurait-elle pas triomphé d'une discipline illusoire, et transformé en lieux de scandale des maisons de bienfaisance?'—*Frochot*, p. 461.

As with the schools so with the hospitals. The Revolution had sadly devastated their substance; before it, they possessed an income of more than eight million francs, derived from their own property. The year X. saw this really magnificent revenue dwindle to less than one quarter of its previous amount. A charge

upon the octroi duties enabled Frochot in some measure to supply the deficiency. Some assistance, too, was afforded by the profits of the pawnbroking establishment, the Mont de Piété, which appears to have been organized upon such a system as to be of real benefit to the poor. Doubts have sometimes been cast on the successful working of this institution, but it may be observed that it receives full praise in the pages of the artisan reports to the French Exhibition of 1867, from one of a class likely to be a good practical judge of such matters. In other ways, also, Frochot did good service, especially in one less conspicuous than many, but peculiarly characteristic of a good departmental head, in establishing a system of retiring allowances for the *employés* of the prefecture. It would seem that the doing this must have caused the Prefect some self-denial, as well as personal labour, for he appears to have started the fund with the handsome sum of 39,000 francs, 'd'économies par lui faites sur son abonnement des frais d'administration.'

This slight sketch will enable the English reader to understand some portion of the labours, troubles, and successes of the first Prefect of the Seine. He is described as being a zealous yet prudent man, indefatigable in his work; prosperous in carrying out the improvements which he planned. But all his zeal, all his labours, all his success, did not avail him for one instant when his conduct failed to be approved by the Emperor. The wild conspiracy of Malet incidentally involved the Prefect of the Seine. There was not the slightest suspicion of complicity. It was enough that his sagacity appears to have failed him at that anxious moment. To doubt, to hesitate, were unpardonable faults in the eyes of the Emperor. Frochot was deprived of his post, and the Prefecture of the Bouches du Rhône was assigned to him. This included the government of Marseilles. 'Bright and fierce and fickle is the South,' and the descendants of the Phocœans have not always been the most orderly of citizens. Frochot showed his good sense by not rejecting the inferior post to which he was appointed. At Marseilles, as at Paris, his character soon won him general respect, and he was able to do the State good service in the dangerous risings in the year 1815. The Restoration finally consigned Frochot to retirement. His biographer draws, with affectionate solicitude, a charming picture of the old official *en retraite*, cultivating a farm on the borders of the Côte d'Or, the district of his early associations. A pleasure in the pursuits of the country, which we are apt to think impossible to a Frenchman, formed the solace of Frochot's retirement, while a pension from the municipality of Paris smoothed his declining years. He died in 1828. The good city of Paris desired that their

first Prefect should be laid among them. Consistent in death as in life, the funeral *cortége* was marked with more than republican simplicity.

Much besides what is noticed here will be found in this volume. Sketches of Mirabeau, of Sièyes, and Talleyrand, of the National Assembly, of the terrible days of 'la Terreur,' of the time of reaction, of the stealthy steps with which 'l'ordre absorbait la Liberté,' will reward the reader. There is a graphic description of the excesses of the Revolution in the provinces, and of the triumphal installation of the Proconsul of Sans-culottisme in the hotel of the former President of the Parliament of Dijon. Frochot's efforts to preserve order, the dangers he incurred, the devotion of his wife, whose exertions saved him from imminent peril, tell a story of troubles and sorrows and escapes experienced by many at that epoch. Perhaps the simplicity of character which appears to have marked the first Prefect of the Seine during life may have been deepened by the remembrance of those sad days. This volume gives few reminiscences of what both in Paris and London is frequently considered as at least one of the most important of civic duties. The festivities of the Hôtel de Ville were beyond question in keeping with the requirements of the time, but the Prefect would seem to have presided over them as a function which it was his duty to fill, not as revelries which he desired to encourage. There is no catalogue in these pages of the magnificence of feasts, of dresses, of decorations, of fruits, and bouquets of camellias, counted as now by the hundreds of thousands. Doubtless the flowers of the present *régime* are even more full blown than those that bloomed in the early days of the century.

M. Frochot's biographer speaks with a warmth of praise, doubtless well deserved, of the personal character of the man whom he celebrates: 'J'ai commencé ce travail avec l'esperance 'de remplir un devoir de famille, et je le termine avec l'assurance 'd'avoir fait une bonne action.' We may well believe that the first of the Prefects who brought to his official position the remembrance of the sorrows of the last years of the monarchy, of the yet more bitter agonies of the Revolution, straightforward in conduct, and simple in character, evoked order out of chaos, and reformed many abuses. The appointment of a Prefect of London has sometimes been urged. But no success in administration, however great, no organization of municipal government, however perfect, should deter us from desiring that, if London is in these points more closely assimilated to Paris, it should be done with that consideration to the taxpayer which is only likely to be preserved when the contributors to the revenue possess a direct control over the disposal of the funds

so raised. Nor should the venerable fabric which now exists be rudely swept away by an undiscriminating hand. The best of the old work should be preserved; the best modern work that can be found should be carefully adjusted to the ancient substructure:—

> 'So let the change which comes be free
> To ingroove itself with that which flies,
> And work, a joint of state, that plies
> Its office, moved with sympathy.'

ART. VI.—1. *The Case of the Established Church in Ireland.* By JAMES THOMAS O'BRIEN, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin. London: Rivingtons. 1868.

2. *Facts respecting the Present State of the Church in Ireland.* By the Rev. ALFRED T. LEE, M.A., LL.D. London: Rivingtons. 1868.

THE one absorbing topic which during this session has swamped every other, has many peculiar features about it, which, on calm reflection, will assuredly modify both the decisions of the present House of Commons, and also the heated expressions of fear and of triumph that for some months have now agitated the world outside. The most striking feature of the discussion has been its sudden and personal character, so very suggestive of political exigencies, and, as following from this, the small amount of clearly or truthfully stated argument in defence of so gigantic a change in the whole constitution of the country: no unfair charge against the party which has thus, with unseemly haste, pushed the measure forward, and has even grasped at its conclusion by at once, at all hazards, anticipating its confiscation powers by means of the Suspensory Bill. We cannot but discern a singular fitness, though at the same time a painful display of political skill, between this sudden obtrusion of a constitutional question, that ought to have been approached with a singular calmness, and the two great actors in this drama. No one can be more aware than Mr. Gladstone of the utter mistiness that exists on all matters of Church government and order in the mind of the great mass of even educated English laymen, and consequently in the House of Commons. His own long training in ecclesiastical matters must have brought this ignorance very forcibly to his attention on the part of many friends and political partisans recently formed. If it was objected to Mr. Disraeli that he had educated his party, it can at least be answered that Mr. Gladstone led a party which he knew to be grievously *un*educated on the very delicate subject he so vehemently thrust before the House. Strong and overwhelming convictions were his plea; but the individual antagonism that has marked the whole of the debate at once suggests to any candid and reflecting mind, that convictions may in their character be *personal* as well as strictly *rational;* and that such, in fact, is the true analysis of much worldly vehemence in forwarding any desired object. The divisions of the House were indeed against the Government by what is justly considered a large majority; but

as Mr. Gladstone addressed the opposite side of the House, must he not have been conscious that those whom he saw in front of him knew far more about what the Church is than the ill-assorted majority behind him, composed of every sect and party, including a large section of utter destructives whenever the word 'Church' is before the *public;* we do not say *House*, for happily the House of Commons does not very willingly make itself the arena for the discussion of Church politics. But, politically, there was a peculiar fitness in the introduction of a question this session about which the great mass of the Liberal party were wholly *uneducated*, but which yet is a very good cry at all times for calling together the sectarian and unbelieving elements of the British public. Argument, otherwise than declamation, was thereby guarded against. Mr. Gladstone's friends not being capable of talking rationally on the union of Church and State, were the more content to follow their leader (strange that that leader should have been the Gladstone once looked on as the champion of Oxford churchmanship!), and the more disposed to do so, because they had not time to learn the subject better before their coming dissolution, nor inclination to appear before their constituents, in the hot struggle so near ahead, with any chance of an incipient regard for Church and State being thrown against them on the platform of a general election. Such was the grand inchoate mass which Mr. Gladstone, standing in the forefront of the battle, had immediately behind him, ready for him to seize, after the fashion of an Homeric hero, and hurl across the table of the House of Commons. But if this warfare became a personal contest on the one side in the massive majorities Mr. Gladstone had at his command, there was a fitness also, of an equally personal character, in the adroitness and the stedfast resolution of the leader of her Majesty's Government in dodging these assaults, evading these missiles, and thus binding his own friends together with renewed confidence in their leader; a confidence that became mutual, from the ability displayed by the leader, and the value attached to the opinion of his followers, though numerically less than the other side of the House.

Another peculiar feature of this debate on the Abolition of the Irish Establishment is the relation it bears to the wild excitement on the Papal aggression question of sixteen years ago, lately revived in a somewhat contemptible manner for the purpose of repealing the Ecclesiastical Bill, the most inoperative of all parliamentary efforts, the keenest satire on a popular religious clamour. Most warmly did we sympathise at the time with the noble stand made by Mr. Gladstone for the toleration of the Romish system in its completeness within the United Kingdom

of England and Ireland. Subsequent events have proved, with humiliating confessions on the part of many then actively engaged in what we thought at the time a work of intolerance, that any attempt to interfere by legislation with any religious body separating from the Established Church, was a political error of the greatest magnitude; but it does not follow from this that the principle of a national Established Church should be interfered with. Let the Romanists have their assumed ecclesiastical titles and arrangements, but do not allow the English Constitution in Church and State to give away in all its reality before this assumption. A great principle is here involved, which it must be confusion to violate. Mr. Gladstone has shown, by the gradual development of his opinions on many points, that his strong convictions at any one time are often dictated by more advanced ideas than he acknowledges to himself, or avows to others. There has ever, if we trace his career, been the seed within him of future and as yet unformed ideas, for the growth of which he has at all times been instinctively preparing. His strong line on the Papal Aggression question was so mixed up with a withering denunciation of the conduct of the English bishops at the time,—to whom it was but natural to be officially jealous of an assumed hierarchy, so far as to claim some tenderness even from those who did not go with their protestations,—as to suggest the idea of a somewhat ruthless severity in dealing with the claims of Established Church dignities. Again, whenever consulted on the question of Church endowments, he very early acknowledged great confusion of mind; his avowal being expressed with that personal humility more suggestive, on second reflection, of an unsympathising than of an incapable intellect. Avowed difficulty in solving any questions is the common medium between an existing profession before the world, and a future change of position. But while thus discerning the elements of Mr. Gladstone's non-Establishment bias so far back as the Papal aggression,—a bias in which his connexion with the Scottish non-Established Church added force,—and tracing his conduct then to something more than a consistent toleration, we cannot but acknowledge that this view of the case places Mr. Gladstone personally in a position that contrasts most forcibly with that of Lord Russell, to the moral credit of the former, and the humiliation of the latter. Lord Russell's boast is consistency; but how is that quality shown in the man who wrote the Durham letter,—who brought in the Ecclesiastical Titles' Bill, in defence of the Irish Established hierarchy against Romish invasions of their dignities; or, if he did not act solely from this motive, at any rate claimed credit as a champion of Protestantism, throwing down the gauntlet to all comers; and in the same man who now

humbly supports Mr. Gladstone in his too bold development of principles which then were so hostile to himself—who now would abolish what then he so jealously defended, and who would now eat his own Protestantism by handing over Ireland at one swoop to the tender mercies of the Pope himself. What a strange conversion must this appear to the Pope or Antonelli, judging from naked facts, or from the interpretation of them, that Irish Catholics in Rome would give!

But another feature belonging to this struggle within the House of Commons, though outside it, deserves special notice; we mean the way in which this sudden onslaught has been received by different parties in Church and State. Much wonder has been expressed at the seeming indifference of the English clergy, or rather at the want of excitement manifested, and the failure to arouse the wild anti-popery cry so familiar to all who remember various epochs of our history. We think the conduct of the clergy, and of Churchmen generally, admits of easy explanation. It must be ready-formed sympathy with an old cry to cause a sudden outburst of feeling. If the grievance is felt to be in any way new, men watch each other and take their time, especially on points which they understand well enough to fear any precipitate action. It is silently felt by Church people that an anti-popery *furore* would but very partially hit the present emergency. Churchmen in England do not wish to be converted into Orangemen, neither do they wish their own hard-earned progress in the cause of the Church to be imperilled by too cordial a sympathy with the personal tone of the Irish Church. The defence of the Irish Church, as we undertake it, is, we cannot but confess, a very generous effort on our part. The general tone of the Irish clergy has not been in accordance with the sentiments of this Review,—to the great revival of Church principles they have contributed either direct hostility or culpable indifference,—and it might, therefore, seem to be Quixotic thus to plead their cause. But a great principle of Church and State is involved, before which we are content to merge many ecclesiastical differences, in hopes that by the bond of union which a common constitution affords, we may in the end be promoting the unity of Christians in this country. It is very remarkable among ourselves in England, how the searching after, and the appreciation of, this common ground has already softened many asperities and brought diverse minds more or less together. Those who are commonly supposed to represent the Erastian school have received this shock with considerable surprise, and it seems to us with a certain degree of humility. They have been working steadily and conscientiously for a certain ideal of Church and State,

which has gone in the direction of sinking the distinctive government, doctrine, and discipline of the Church in subordination to a State religion, more comprehensive in its nature than the independence of the High Church theory would seem to encourage. The Irish Church question, however, shows them that the House of Commons does not seek or desire the absorption of a modified churchmanship into the government of the country, but that its inclination rather is to drive the Church away into its own machinery and its own poverty. Men of this school avow a great change in their minds on all questions affecting Church property, even Church rates, and have asked very ingenuously whether a changed feeling has not come over the clergy within a very few weeks, and whether the constitutional character of Convocation itself has not after all some value in it as affording a solid guarantee against total and immediate dissolution.

There is, however, another party in the Church, or rather we would say there are individuals, whom we would here address with a friendly but an earnest caution. It is a remarkable sight to find zealous, laborious men, who have all their lives been developing Church views, defending Church government, and opposing the hostile attacks of the Liberal party, at once siding with their old enemies in the work of destruction, the object of their dislike being a most ancient branch of the Church Catholic, one united by the closest bond with our own, being in fact one with us, and equally with our own, *established* in our common Constitution. Let us ask their motives. These, we would suggest, are twofold—personal, and arising from a spirit of impatience; personal also under two heads, and impatient under two heads. We will consider the former motive. There is an obstinate feeling of loyalty to Mr. Gladstone, which blinds many minds to a real perception as to the tendency of his actions and avowed principles; but we have all of us in the present age learned many a lesson, in public and in private life, against putting our faith in man. Times of change and of active fermentation, if so we may speak of public affairs, seem specially to bear on their very surface great and conspicuous warnings against any blind following of individual leaders. Such times work through the activity of individual atoms rather than the conflict of well-organized parties, permanently arrayed against each other. However we respect an individual's past career or past character, we yet have the responsibility ever before us of carefully watching their guiding principles, and their common susceptibility with the rest of the world to the common motives and common tempers of humanity. If Mr. Gladstone's own history has taught one thing more than another, it is the noble

free independence of individual convictions, and *they* but tamely follow him who give up any single principle from personal regard or confidence. There is a ruthlessness about his mind which, at the same time that it betokens intellectual strength, shakes off from him the softer marks of personal reliance. The personal motives, however, under our present consideration, have another and quite a different aspect. The theological world of Ireland has presented to the jealous, and specially to the imaginative High Church mind, a very great trial. The clergy of Ireland, as a rule, belong to the ultra Low Church party, and are advocates of a rabid Protestantism; while, on the other hand, the Romish system can point to Ireland as a witness of its power over the masses of a people. We bring no commonplace charges of sympathy with Rome, but *this* picture and *that*, seen by the persons we are considering, stir up a personal bias under which the *Establishment* theory sadly quakes. And this brings us to the motive of impatience under its two heads—impatience at the very long trials under which the Church of Ireland seems ordained to suffer, at the hands of her unestablished but more popular rival; and an impatience that comes nearer home in the general desire of enthusiastic minds to see their principles have a fair and open trial, without being hampered by the State, which to their minds does practically impede the free action of the Church. There are many, in fact, who rather hail a free Church in England, and would demolish the Irish Establishment as a step towards it. To such we would earnestly commend a little serious thought on the responsibility they incur as Churchmen in forming an individual opinion, as to the good position of the Church with reference to the world and her influence over it, different, to say the least of it, from the historical and the common-sense view of the question; viz. that the word 'Establishment' means and implies that reception by the State which is in itself a most desirable state of things, and the happiest recognition of the Church by the world we can hope for. Of this, however, more in its place after concluding our part of the subject that concerns the reception of the proposed measure by different parties in the Church. It has occasioned a curious split in the Broad Church party. The conduct of that section of it which unites simple Erastianism with breadth in doctrine, we have already alluded to as having shown great toleration and some humility. But a mischievous alliance has been formed between a more bitter section of the Broad Church party which unites personal intolerance with anti-dogmatic principles, and, on the other hand, semi-Ritualists; that uplifts its voice with a confused and uncertain cry, more significant of wishing for a row than of having

any definite policy whatever. Of the extreme Low Church party, from which the no-popery cry might have been expected, pure and simple, little can be said that reflects to their influence or consistency, at a time when other sections of the community, not hitherto very sympathising with it, naturally looked for some help. It seemed as if its function and speciality had found their opportunity of action. Was its inactivity the result of decreasing confidence in the old cry? Was its feebleness the inevitable result of thinning ranks? No doubt this party constituted a large element in the spirit of S. James's Hall at the well-known meeting of the 6th of May, but it so depended on other elements as not very directly to appear, except in the tumult of the masses. The honest and genuine influence of the meeting was in the legitimate direction for which it was convened—the support of the Church and State principles.

But now we address ourselves more directly to the question itself; the facts on which the disestablishment of the Irish Church is urged, and the great principles violated by the proposed legislation.

The *history* of the Irish Church has an important bearing on the constitutional nature of the question, and Mr. Lee's summary of its chief points as they affect its connexion with the Papacy deserves a place here:—

'The Church in Ireland is the only religious body in that country which can rightly claim to be the true successor of the Church of S. Patrick. It was more than 700 years after Christianity was first established in Ireland before the supremacy of the Pope was fully exercised there. S. Patrick landed in Ireland A.D. 432, but the papal supremacy was *first formally acknowledged* in the Synod of Kells, A.D. 1152. At the time of the Reformation the continuity of episcopal succession was not broken; the bishops then in possession of the Irish sees continued to exercise their function in the Reformed Church, and thus the regular and ancient succession of bishops from S. Patrick has descended continually in the Church in Ireland to the present day. The ecclesiastical ancestors of the present Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland were not consecrated by bishops of Ireland. They were not of Irish creation; they derive their orders from Italy and Spain, and not from the Irish Church. The present Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland is therefore a new episcopate introduced from abroad, and set up in that country in the 16th century in opposition to its ancient and lawful episcopate, and has no connexion with the Church founded by S. Patrick. The Established Church, therefore, is not a new Church introduced into Ireland from England in the 16th century, as is commonly, but most erroneously, believed, but is the only old Catholic Church of Ireland.'

We have not space to follow Mr. Lee's able investigation into the details of the question: the statistics which prove that, in proportion to other sects, the Church has increased of late years—the confusion which is thrown over the statistics commonly brought forward by the distinction which he explains between

secular, parochial, and ecclesiastical parishes; but the following conclusion of his arguments we commend to our readers:—

'From the foregoing it will be seen that the Established Church in Ireland is the Old Church of the country: that it is the same in doctrine, discipline, and government as the Church founded by S. Patrick; that it is the rightful possessor of the tithes of Ireland; that it has been ecclesiastically one with the Church in England for nearly eight centuries; that the two as now by law established must stand or fall together, for that an attack on the one is virtually an attack on the other; that the Church in Ireland has not lost ground in that country since 1834, but has relatively increased; and that, if it has absolutely lost in number, it has lost much more of its revenues in proportion; and that, instead of being a source of weakness or discontent to the Irish people, as is stoutly but most erroneously asserted by those who seek her destruction, the Established Church is in reality the strongest bond of union between the two countries; and, in the words of Edmund Burke, "a great link towards holding fast the connexion of religion with the State, and preserving the connexion between England and Ireland"' (Burke's Works, vol. vi. p. 72. Bohn's Ed. 1861).

No charges were, probably, ever brought forward in Parliament against an ancient institution with such gross exaggerations as in the present case. The Bishop of Ossory enters fully and with crushing effect into this part of the question. The present position of the Church in Ireland is far from satisfactory. The current of dissent compels, however, the same assertion to be made with reference to ourselves in England. But an important question is here forced upon us: Is stock to be taken at certain periods of the religious feelings and sympathies of the majority, and is legislation at such periods to be ever reconstructing its religious dealings with the population according to passing ideas, and regardless of fixed truth? The thought of the Church's antiquity, the ebbs and flows of prosperity and activity, which affect the Church in common with all human institutions, suggest a more patient and, therefore, a more faithful line of conduct. Reform and renewed culture are the remedy suggested in the parable for the tree that for a time was disappointing in its fruitfulness, and was condemned by its owners.

It is really curious in the history of rash statements to trace the exaggerations with respect to the Irish Church which have passed current for some years.

'In the year 1822, when the well-known economical reformer, Joseph Hume, undertook to prove rigorously the enormous wealth of the Church in Ireland, with the view of inducing Parliament to bring it within more reasonable limits, his demonstration was very simple and easy. The Church revenues he set down at 3,200,000*l.* per annum. And the proof of the correctness of this estimate consisted of two items only. The revenues of which he took account consisted of See Estates and Tithes The former

he valued at 2,500,000*l.* per annum; the latter at 700,000*l.* The sum which he set down for the Tithes exceeded the actual amount derived from that source of Church revenue by something less than 100,000*l.* per annum. And if he had confined his exaggerations within such limits, it might have been doubted whether he was quite qualified to carry on the warfare against the Church on the time-honoured plan. But the other item was quite enough to remove all doubts on that head. For the value which he assigned to the Bishops' lands was more than twenty times the amount that the Bishops had ever derived from them.'—BISHOP OF OSSORY, *Case of the Established Church.*

Lord Althorpe, who investigated the subject most honestly for the reformation of the Irish Church, stated, 'I can say conscien-'tiously, that a greater exaggeration has prevailed on this sub-'ject than has prevailed on any political topic which I recollect.'

But it was reserved for Mr. Dillwyn, five years ago, to commence a definite system of numerical misrepresentation hardly credible, in his celebrated motion upon the Irish Church, 1863: '"In England there is one clergyman to every 2,612 people, 'whereas in Ireland there is one to every 325." This would 'give 490,750 as the whole Church population of Ireland, while 'it would give to England—supposing the number of parishes to 'be only 10,620—above *twenty-seven millions and a half!* This 'reduces the Church population of Ireland by 202,250, nearly 'one-third of the entire. How much it adds to the Church 'population of England, it is hard to calculate.'

The mode, however, of calculating dioceses is far bolder:—

'At the outset of the speech from which I have taken the foregoing statement, a doubt is raised as to whether the gross number of Church inhabitants in Ireland is 670,000, or 690,000. The dispute has been since authoritatively settled, as I said, in favour of the larger number. But we may put the question entirely aside for the present, and, for argument's sake, fix the number at 600,000. It is plain that, upon an average, this number would give 50,000 as the average Church population of an Irish diocese. But in the speech to which I refer, it is fixed at 5,000: and, throughout, the number is spoken of again and again as 5,000, and the true number is never even once mentioned.'

Was this a mistake of the reporter or printer? Thrilling appeals were founded again and again on this number which prove its literal use by the speaker. And the Bishop continues, 'So far 'as I know and believe, the reiterated misstatement, which reduces 'the average Church population of an Irish diocese to less than 'one-tenth of its actual amount, was nowhere noticed until I 'pointed it out to my clergy, in a Charge delivered in the month 'of October in the same year, and published early in the following 'year.'

Another remarkable statement deserves notice: 'The united 'dioceses of Kilfenora and Kilmacduagh, in which there are

'about 686 Protestants, have a Bishop and the usual staff. 'And the Bishop actually receives £4,000 a year for looking after 'those 686 people.' The explanation follows:—

'The actual diocese over which the Bishop presides is the united diocese of *Killaloe, Kilfenora, Clonfert, and Kilmacduagh*, and so it is always written when his title is given in full. But as he is commonly called the Bishop of Killaloe, if the population of that diocese were given as the number of people, *for looking after which he was paid* 4,000*l. a year*, though it would be a great misrepresentation, it would be so far venial, that it might be supposed to have been the result of haste and inadvertence. But the same account can hardly be admitted of what has been actually done, which is this:—the second and the fourth of the four dioceses are taken out and given as the Bishop's diocese, omitting the first and third, which together contain more than two-and-twenty times the number in the two which are extracted, to provide him with a diocese of 686 souls! And to put the case beyond all possibility of doubt, it is added:—"And the Bishop actually receives nearly 4,000*l.* a year for looking after those 686 people."

'If there be in the whole history of party warfare a falsification at once so gross and so deliberate, I must confess that I am as yet unacquainted with it.

'And that great and most unscrupulous power, the *Times*, not only affirmed expressly almost every one of these misstatements, including this notable one concerning "the united dioceses of Kilfenora and Kilmacduagh" in detail, but put its *imprimatur* on them in the gross, as *facts* which furnish the true representation of the case of the Established Church in Ireland, and as forming the basis of future legislation.'

But we must refer our readers to Bishop O'Brien's pamphlet itself for further details of the gross ignorance and wilful use of figures that crop out in the whole discussion, forming the groundwork of the popular declamation so often repeated. His own conclusion, founded on averages of population and income, is as follows:—

'And the conclusion to which it leads is confirmed, I think, by comparing the case of Ireland with that of England. There are no means of arriving at the same perfect accuracy in the latter case as in the former; but so far as I can ascertain, and I am quite sure that there is no considerable error in the result, the average population of an English parish is under 1,000, and the average income under 400*l.* per annum. That is to say, the Church population of an Irish parish is a little less than one-half of that of an English parish, and the income of the clergyman about two-thirds of that of his brother in England. And unless the English clergy are underworked or over-paid—and the reverse is notoriously the case—the charges against the Irish Church as a richly endowed sinecure, and against her clergy as over-paid drones, can hardly be regarded as well grounded.'

And all, in fact, who have gone into the subject arrive at the same result that, if the property of the Irish Church, as a whole, be fairly estimated, it is not too much for the purpose of giving a very moderate income to its clergy for the oversight of its members.

Yet Mr. Gladstone comes forward, endorsing all these misstatements, gathering round him the strange religious elements of the Opposition side in the House, and proposes a bill opening the way to confiscation, simple and pure. He appears to love the thought of confiscation for its own dear sake, and not because he wants the money to devote to other purposes. The property of the Irish Church, it is well shown in 'Short Papers' (printed for the Church Institution), had very little existence before the Reformation, and, therefore, all claim for giving it back to the Church of the people is void of historical justice. A statement of the case is thus clearly and concisely made:—

'How then did the Church acquire her present property? In a great measure by gifts made to the Reformed Church by Protestants since the Reformation.

'In four years Archbishop Bramhall recovered from lay impropriators no less than 40,000*l.* *a year* to the Church. How much of the tithe rent-charge would that produce annually now?

'Primate Boulter left 30,000*l.* for the augmentation of small benefices and the purchase of glebe lands.

'At the plantation of Ulster in the seventeenth century five-sixths of the glebe lands belonging to the beneficed Clergy first came into the hands of the Church. The whole of the glebe land in Ireland is only 132,756 statute acres, and of these 111,151 acres are situated in Ulster.

'It was not till the accession of William III. that tithes were paid throughout Ireland (see Bishop Doyle's Evidence, p. 293). So that, after all, the tithe system throughout Ireland is of comparatively modern date, not two hundred years old at the present time.

'Tithes in Ireland are of the nature of a reserved rent, which never belonged either to landlord or tenant. In 1838 all mere occupiers of land in Ireland were freed from the payment of tithes, and the payment transferred to the owners of the land.

'No clergyman, therefore, in Ireland can compel any occupier (unless he is also *bonâ fide* owner of the land) to pay him rent-charge.

'The rent-charge of Ireland amounts to 401,000*l.* a year. Of this 356,000*l.* a year is payable on land the property of Protestants, and 45,000*l.* a year on land the property of Roman Catholics. In other words, only one-ninth of the rent-charge comes from land in the hands of Roman Catholics.

'What then is the present grievance of Irish Roman Catholics with regard to Church property?'

All the property of the Church, we would repeat, is wanted in Ireland for the Church population, if that property is fairly and equally distributed—the Church has *developed* that property for herself, and in great measure created it: nobody wants the property, for the Roman Catholic Church would be the loser if once it gave up its dependence on voluntary support; the feeling of the country is against an avowed secularisation of it; the division of it among contending sects is obviously fraught with insuperable difficulties; the confusion that hangs over any interpretation of moral, educational, and religious objects, stated in any general terms, plainly prohibits

the dissipation of it into so misty and uncertain a direction; and yet the property, it seems to the wisdom of a majority of the House, is doomed to be taken—must be confiscated by an inevitable fate. Mr. Gladstone proposes that two-fifths will be required for compensation, but compensation is not restoration, or is not leaving it in possession of the Church; it is simply handing it over to individuals to make up for personal losses. The uncertain destination of the other two-fifths; the utter want of security that Mr. Gladstone, having set the ball rolling, will have any power to guide the avalanche of destruction, or the *will* to make the result conform with his professed opinions as to right and justice now,—all point to a dispersion of the property without any good whatever resulting from it. The important feature of the whole discussion as regards this view of it, is that the carelessness about the Church's money is significant of reckless dealing with other property also, and also points to other causes as to the real motive. This is not the place to charge the Opposition benches of the House of Commons with indecent haste to obtain office, and with making use of the Irish Church for this end; there is no doubt that this question has been brewing up some time, and has of late extended beyond its old bounds of the Radical party, into a section of the religious world which has been anxious to try experiments on the union of Church and State. We commend the wisdom of those who are troubled with doubts on this question, for seeking their solution in experiments; our own argument on the whole subject rests and depends on our faith in a certain strength about the order of events which defies theory. The Irish Church is being made the *vile corpus* on which the question is to be worked out. The colonies have done their share in giving illustrations of the various relationships that may exist between Church and State. But these are all new. Experiments in a new costume do not show the real and essential power of these external features, in their bearings on the inner soul, with near so much intensity as the attempt to put off an old and long-accustomed manner of dress, especially where such change is connected with reverse of fortune. Our Colonial Churches try pretty little experiments in the patriarchal and metropolitan theories, in free Church, and Erastian ideas. Much, indeed, may be elaborated as step by step various systems feel their way, become settled or dispersed; but it remained to catch a good old orthodox Established Church, and see how it can bear the process of being knocked down and her purse rifled, to reverse the newly-invented phraseology of the *road*, 'to disestablish a man's legs and disendow his pockets.'

S. Patrick was a venerable name associated with ecclesiastical history, enjoying even now his share of secular dignities—*specially* an established Church in public estimation his was, for lack perhaps of some other tokens of vitality; somewhat, in fact, *down* just now from the overwhelming rivalry of the Pope, and from an unhappy confusion in the national mind as to the respective rights of the two. It was, consequently, in a well-adapted position to be fiercely baited in order to enjoy the sweet experience of not only barking at a Church in the distance, but going in for a life and death struggle.

It is to the real nature and probable issue of such a struggle that we now would call attention. What, to begin with, is the real power of the State, through its Parliament, to disestablish a Church? We asked just now, when addressing some sections of the Church, whether the word 'Establishment' did not practically represent the hold which the Church as such possesses over the world; and whether aiming at a theory of Church freedom was not, for a mere bubble, giving up the real substance, which is all the time the real and the common object of desire. So now we ask of the State a correlative question, whether the establishment of a Church is not so strong a fact, is not so deeply rooted in the Constitution as such, that, by the unconscious roll of history, it will continue, in more or less prosperity of existence, but still continue to represent the national mind (however anomalous some features of it may appear) in *common with* the Legislature, and not only *through and by* the Legislature. Religion can never be reconstructed on a model, according to the volition of a debating society, be it Parliament or otherwise; it is that which forms Parliament as much as is formed by it. The strength of Parliament is to feel its groping blindness, its faltering weakness, as it progresses, or rather is pushed forward, but slightly ahead of the country and the people's existing institutions. The Irish Church is considered to be in an anomalous position, because, although an Established Church, it is outnumbered by the Roman Catholics; but the world, and specially the government of an ancient free country like England, is full of anomalies. The Government itself of this country is an anomaly, consisting of a vast system of royalty, and of titled aristocrats, where the real power, as at present, may be wielded by a plain *Mr.*, wholly outside the fashion and the pomp of rank. The only question both in Church and State is *this*—which anomalous position, in a particular case, is the least dangerous; which has most counterbalancing elements; which rests on some sure footing of the Constitution; and which, on the other hand, though perhaps more popular, is yet far more explosive in its nature? We do not deny that a national Church in a

minority is a position of affairs in itself anomalous; but look to Ireland, and consider the alternatives. The government of this country would be in an anomalous position, if it so far yielded to the force of Irish Popery, as to abandon in Ireland that support of the United Church which in England so boldly asserts its superiority over the sect of Romanists. The Constitution of this country does, as a fact, commit itself to an opinion on abstract truth, in favour of a national Church over ultramontane Popery. It would, therefore, be an anomaly to preserve this in England, and deny it in Ireland; an anomaly which the destructive party do not purpose to retain if they get their way now. The Scotch Presbyterian Establishment is not to the point; for, in the first place, it is presented to us as an anomaly, inherited from past days, which we are not called on to reconcile with theory; and, in the next place, it does not in popular estimation and this is a point of view practical people must acknowledge) so violently offend the political feelings and prejudices of the English Church as does the Church of Rome.

But in Ireland, as now proposed, there will not only be the anomaly of actively withdrawing constitutional support from a certain view of Christianity sworn to in the Coronation Oath by the Queen, and in the Oaths of Supremacy by the clergy, but there is the further anomaly of having no established Church at all, and that in a country full of political, legal, social traditions, interwoven with such a Church for ages. What a strange parody on the talk of the House of Commons was the installation of the Prince of Wales, at the very same time, as Knight of S. Patrick in Dublin Cathedral! How can that building, just restored by private munificence, be otherwise than national? The very stones, till swallowed by an earthquake, will stand as unconscious witnesses to the fact, that, do what you will with an established Church, it will remain so in the ideas of the people, even of those who separate from it. For Government wholly to cut off an establishment from its ancient union with national customs and associations, will imply a far greater and deeper revolution than the advocates of the idea in the least enter into, except those who wish for any amount of confusion they can bring about. In the first place (let *Churchmen* remember and take warning), it will imply the surrender on the part of the Church of every farthing and every stone, as well as every right and privilege; for as long as *anything* remains it must be held under the ordinary conditions of a public grant, made more and more stringent as the recipient becomes more and more powerless. Now, if confiscation to this extent is impossible, which we think it is, disestablishment is also impossible, and means in its ultimate issue just the reverse of what is imagined. It means, that so far

as the State deprives the Church of its income, so far will it destroy its independence, and absorb it into a department of itself, on that Erastian type which we hold to be philosophically false, and politically inconsistent with any union of Church and State that can exist in real life with advantage to a people. Thus much for the Church's freedom; but the lovers of freedom may say, 'By our inner life we shall get on better without these external privileges than with them.' This is the very theory we most combat. External advantages are given to the Church for it to cling to as the gifts of God, in answer to her prayers, and not for her to abandon. Any willing abandonment, from individual impatience at the conditions that seem to be attached, is throwing off the very yoke and trial that has been given in the eye of the world as the test of men's faith. The spiritual character of a Church ought to be judged by the faithfulness of its members in the position God has placed them in, not by its supposed power of standing in any other or an ideal position. Christ did *not* pray for His Church to be taken *out of the* world, but to do its part *in* the world.

We have shown the anomaly that would result from any possible disestablishment of the Church, and the repudiation by the State of any such idea as establishment; and the other alternative would seem to be this, that the establishment be transferred to the Romish Church. This is hardly suggested, and in the present state of the controversy it is unnecessary to argue it. Roman Catholicism may be the religion of the people of Ireland, but it most essentially is not of the State, and can never be the medium through which an English government communicates with the higher and spiritual wants of people committed to its charge. Changes of this kind must work into a constitution by their own slow processes of growth, and it is most clear that the Romish system cannot even begin thus to grow within our Constitution. The Romish Church holds in rigid exactness the very principles of independence, of personal authority, of State defiance, which excite the extremest jealousy when shown in the humblest manner and in the smallest degree by any party in our own Church. It is this particular aspect of Rome which prompts the existing movement, and appears to offer a solution of the difficulty; the impossibility of Rome being an Established Church, as we understand that expression. The feeling seems to be *this*, as expressed by a large section of the Liberal anti-Church party: 'We don't want a Church; we 'have nothing to do with religion, and cannot undertake to 'manage these affairs; but if you will be religious there is 'Rome, which manages its own affairs, and don't trouble us.' How would it be when the medium, the buffer, between the

English state of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, which is at present afforded by the Established Church, were removed? The constitution in State as well as Church would be dissolved into air. Ireland would be in revolt, for a mysterious element in her political existence would suddenly be found missing, and paralysis would be the consequence. The anomaly of the present state of things is better than any alternative we can discern, and it has the advantage of hope in the future, as well as a history in the past, connected with much good that has cheered up at times the chequered life of Ireland.

It is quite beyond our power or will to enter upon any description of the exact state of the Irish Church. We have already seen how gross the exaggerations are on which her enemies have grounded their attack; but one thing is obvious, that no legislation common for the whole country could possibly be adopted without great local injustice. The South is Roman Catholic, the North Presbyterian; but the wealthier part of the population all over, and the inhabitants of the better class of towns, are still supporters of the National Church: and congregations in many parts, as Dublin, Belfast, &c., show increasing zeal and interest in all that affects the Church's work and position. The clergy generally of Ireland have large scattered parishes, or unions of parishes, through which their social influence, even where their spiritual authority is slighted, is nationally of immense service, specially in times of trouble and distress. They are a resident class of gentry, and as such of peculiar value. Numerically their congregations may be small, but so widely scattered as to involve very great labour in visiting; and if it be alleged that many of the clergy are unworthy men, we can answer that such has been the condition of England also, and that a striking improvement is manifest in Ireland as here, going far to wipe away old scandals. As Churchmen, it is clearly our place to say: Cleanse and renovate a Church, reform its position, redistribute in some measure its temporalities, but do not rashly talk of destroying it. They are the enemies of God that destroy His churches and His people, even where judgment is merited. God's friends are the restorers of old breaches, the bringers to life again of waste places.

The present movement with regard to the Irish Church is indeed a great experiment in many ways. It has been abundantly shown by the friends of Church and State in England, that the step would be very easy from Ireland to Wales and Lancashire, and an impartial estimate of Church congregations in London, side by side with the population, would hardly support the bold assertions which the *Times* and *Pall Mall Gazette* make just now, with such very doubtful signs of friend-

ship, that the Church of England is the Church of the English people. The great differences between Wales and Ireland are, that the Nonconformists are recent separatists in the one case, and the claimants of an old Catholicity in the other. The great difference between London and Ireland is, that the Nonconformists to the Established Church are a combined and a bigoted mass in the latter, and in the former a very heterogeneous mass, with a vast element of open infidelity.

The arguments used by the *Times* have throughout been more prophetic than rational. The word 'doomed' has been a satisfactory answer to all arguments, rendering any further reply a mere waste of time. No examination of the practical results, or rather of the possibility of disentangling Church and State, has ever been attempted. All *that* is left to the solution of future events. There is a recklessness in the line adopted by this paper, which suggests the prompting of political objects and aims, in the narrowest sense of the phrase, rather than of any deep-laid resolutions about Church matters; it goes in for the popular rush on the subject, and is content with the simple, easy, but woful cry of the angry Sybil. But the British public itself, and the *Times* as its voice, are very easily made penitent; there is little obstinacy in their war-cries, as soon as in the first place they get tired of them, and in the second when it is quietly shown, after the heat of the struggle has subsided, that they have been talking nonsense; when it is obvious that the national habits and constitutions of a country, founded on the interest people unfortunately will take in their own affairs, do not all turn and twist like the arguments and fancies of a daily paper prompted by immediate political aims. The *Pall Mall Gazette* has more cunning, for it has aims more immediately connected with religion and the Church than its daily contemporary. It is very marked, almost pathetic, in its love for England's National Church, as contrasted with her troubled sister in Ireland, the *immediate* object of criticism; but in the arguments incidentally and on general grounds brought forward, there is a depressing and a grinding down of the Church as having any claims to an independent existence, that forebodes an evil day for ourselves, if ever such arguments gain strength by success in Ireland.

The bearings of the present question on the general rights of property are a subject which it is not our duty primarily to discuss, for we are accustomed very justly to imagine that property, in a private sense of the word, will take care of itself. Still, as a moral question, the wholesale confiscation of property proposed by Mr. Gladstone is a very novel inroad into the sanctity hitherto preserved on the subject. It is a mere fiction

to say that the Roman Catholic Church has any claim on that property. Since the Reformation, the whole character and value of it is so entirely altered, such large additions in money, land, and buildings have been made to it, that but slender identity can be preserved between the ill-formed rights which existed among the half-savage people of Ireland more than 300 years ago, and the definite legal property now belonging to that Church. It is not, however, proposed to hand the property over to the Romish priests, and it is only a few of that party who have the boldness to claim it as their rightful inheritance. But what is to be done with it? Confiscation is a very significant word, and a very dangerous one. To disestablish a Church is a very indefinite expression, admitting of many shades and degrees of meaning; in fact, if you disestablish a Church on one footing you will have to establish it on another, for it is wholly impossible at once to eradicate the connecting ties which centuries have created. With confiscation it is different: Parliament can pass an Act which will cause certain definite possessions to be sold by auction. The proceeds can be deposited in the hands of Commissioners, and Commissioners, as experience shows, can spend a great deal of it and keep the rest locked up a very long time, till it is almost forgotten. Let us imagine this to be the case. These Commissioners will be holding money, not knowing what to do with it, when it has been ruthlessly taken from an organized Church system, that will be seen then to want it—all of it; that has had the State's guarantee for its preservation; that has no rival claimants with a shadow of right on their side; and that will present every aspect of having been deliberately and dishonestly robbed of its property. Parliament may redistribute Church property in Ireland, reform its conditions, in the same manner it has done in England; but confiscation, pure and simple, is an experiment which has not been attempted since the Reformation, and which, in the present state of the law, will be a great shock to property in every shape, private as well as public. It is very easy to prove that private individuals have too much money, or that they abuse their responsibilities connected with property,—then why suffer such evils to go unreformed? The present security for private property is, in fact, far more artificial than is commonly imagined. History, in the long run, has more to do with the violent destruction of private rights than with their creation or growth. Again, is there any absolute fixed line between public and private property? The one shades off into the other through a long vista of corporate bodies and trusteeships. Interference with the rights of property is a question also in itself wholly incapable

of being defined as to its rights and powers. A 'hard and fast' line can never be laid down, either between the property that may or may not be interfered with, or to mark the extent of interference in any particular case; but, viewing the subject calmly and unimpassionately, as it bears upon the Irish Church, we cannot but discern in Mr. Gladstone's proposals a very bold stride which, as a precedent, will be taken by Communists and Socialists as an advance towards their own theories on the subject of property. It must be remembered that if property is confiscated, somebody must receive what others lose. Now, as a *moral* question, it is, perhaps, easier to judge of the rights of a case by looking to the receiver than the loser. And for this reason: it is no sin to be robbed, the misfortune of it is the prominent feature of the transaction as viewed from that side; but when the purse which has been taken out of one man's pocket is seen in the hands of another, then it is a moral question, viz. the sin of robbing, that rises up in the mind. To judge of the present case by the same rule; imagine any person or persons holding the property of the Irish Church: and according to existing *prejudices*, if we cannot call them abstract rights, would not such possession appear to be a very questionable holding? These things have a warning in them which it is well all parties should consider for their own interests as well as for the interests of the Church.

And what, in conclusion, is to be the result of all this? We are not great alarmists, and if we have traced the natural results of certain principles and of certain legislation with regard to the Irish Church, it has been partly on the principle of a *reductio ad absurdum*. The movement will draw or be drawn up before these consequences take place. In spite of open attacks on the Church, and her outward position; in spite of mistaken friends and theorists; in spite of those many threats which, though originating against the Irish Church, sound as if one truth at any rate was felt by their utterers, viz. the union between that Church and England; in spite of all these things, and, indeed, on account of their very number and comprehensiveness, we have great confidence in the future of this united Church. The growth, the increased activity of the Church both in England and Ireland, naturally point to the present time as one of attack from her enemies, but not of decay or collapse. The true principle of Church and State implies, from the independent position from which the one views the other, a perpetual readjusting of details; implies that seeming struggle, that ever arranging of terms, which is the best possible security for life and vigour, and for the greatest amount of peace and concord destined for us to enjoy. Life is

a struggle in all things, and if one element of a constitution overpowers every other,—if the Church, for instance, with all its sacred independence, that teaches of a living influence from the spiritual world, is absorbed and swallowed into a department of State,—there may be peace for a time, but the peace of death. A wholesome shaking together of various elements and opinions, both political and spiritual, pertaining to the Church, may be destined by Providence to be the issue of what seems so alarming. The Establishment may be so far passed under review, even in this country, as to afford a favourable opportunity for the return of many separatist bodies; and property may be so far threatened, as to stimulate its holders to a sense of its responsibilities; but we do not see in the present growth of the Church's work, and the hold she is gaining by it over the minds and hearts of the people, any signs of approaching dissolution, or of a severance between Church and State. The bond which unites them is grounded on the solid and lasting witness to the cause of Christ given by a Christian people to the spiritual influence of Christ's Church on earth.

ART. VII.—*Celebrated Sanctuaries of the Madonna.* By Rev. J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE, D.D., President of S. Mary's College, Oscott. London: Longmans. 1868.

A MONOGRAPH is certainly one of the most useful kinds of publication common among us. It is generally the product of one who has thought much and long on a favourite subject; he is slightly enthusiastic upon it, and often he throws himself into it heart and soul. There is, no doubt, always a temptation to make too much of it, to give it an undue prominence, to put out of sight things that make for the other side, and might detract from its importance. It is much the same with a biographer, who, set to work to write the history of a personal friend, or of some public character whom he esteems a hero, unconsciously suppresses facts which make against his idol, and dwells principally on those which give him lustre. In fact, all warm-hearted men have their hobbies, which they are inclined to trot out in not the most judicious manner. This is the case with Dr. Northcote in the book before us; a convert to the Roman faith, he has very naturally imbibed an enthusiasm in the articles of his new creed, which he is particularly anxious to display, to revive a reverence in others such as he now feels in himself. He has seen in his own country once famous sanctuaries now in ruins, often horribly desecrated; the memories of their former glories faded out of mind; the very histories forgotten; and the faith, which, as it were, belonged to them despised and contemned. The enthusiastic champion stands up to assert their pre-eminence, and to challenge the unbelieving world in their defence. Rising above the petty prejudices of doubting minds, superior to the inductions of historical facts, he is prepared to assert his belief in all the legends of a less critical but more superstitious age, and to enforce, by his own chivalrous determination, the truth and reality of the many miracles and interventions of the Madonna in connexion with her sanctuaries, both in mediæval and modern times. Such a spirit is worthy of admiration, but it hardly ensures implicit credence; we admire his courage, but we doubt his judgment; we read his book, but we do not esteem it a history. In one sense it is history; it is a history of what men have believed, but such belief does not make the things believed in to be historical facts.

However, as a repertory of legends connected with certain churches and convents, the book is of value; and had it been nothing more, we should have been glad to have such legends gathered into a volume and given to us. It much increases the

interest attached to visiting an ancient building to know its legendary history, and to be able to trace the legend in its ruins; but to suppose that, because the legend can be traced through its minutest details, and found to agree with still-existing buildings and churches, therefore they are evidences of the truth of the legend, is to draw a conclusion on very insufficient premisses; enthusiasm will build up an edifice which experience soon dissipates. It is said that when Sir Walter Scott for the first time visited Carlisle, many years after he had written 'Waverley,' he was shown a certain window in the castle, and the guide gravely told him that that was the chamber where Fergus M'Ivor was confined. The writer of this article, when travelling from Callendar to Loch Lomond, had pointed out to him with perfect sincerity the exact places where Fitz-James fought Roderic MacAlpine; where the clans assembled; the island on Loch Katrine where the King first saw Ellen. In wandering through the aisles and crypts of Glasgow Cathedral, he was seriously asked by a Presbyterian minister, who had accidentally joined him, which he thought was the vault where the Osbaldistons met. In fact, we may safely affirm that Sir Walter Scott's novels and poems have not only created an interest in the places there described, but have, so to speak, so impressed the minds of his own countrymen, that they have passed out of the domains of romance into those of history; fictions have become facts; legend, history; characters, men and women, who are only the creations of the fertile brains of the novelist and poet, have acquired in the minds of his countrymen an objective existence as real as that of Charles Edward Stuart and Flora Macdonald.

If then the popular mind is so apt to realize an ideal in modern times, in matters no way connected with that strongest faculty of all, religion—or, if you like, superstition,—can we wonder if the dreams or waking fancies of deeply religious men and women, absorbed in devotion, often with bodily faculties weakened by long fastings and solitary meditation, became to them the deepest realities? The story of such visions would receive accretions from the oft-repeated narrative, and a roundness and perfection of its parts when it was committed to writing. The thought of the brain, unnaturally excited by fastings and watchings, can easily affect the organs of the eye and ear, and transfer what is passing within to an action external to the body. A long contemplation on the injustice and violence of wicked men, a wonder that such is permitted by the Ruler of the world, a prayer to the Queen of Heaven to set right such perturbations of God's truth, is a common subject for meditation in all religious minds. Then would follow an impression that the seer of the vision is

called upon to arrest the evil, though almost an unwilling instrument in such a mighty work; a feeling like that which Shakespeare so marvellously describes in the character of Hamlet, when he became acquainted with his own and his country's wrongs. He sees his father's ghost: of course he does. His brooding mind must see something supernatural in the unnatural state of events with which he was surrounded: he receives a charge to avenge all these wrongs, coupled, perhaps, with an exceeding unwillingness to undertake the duty:—

'O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right!'

But the evil is too great, the call too strong; it must be done. The office of avenger is too sacred to be refused, the obligation too distinct to be avoided. The seer of the vision, the receiver of the message, must go forth and proclaim its truth, and act up to its injunctions. This, no doubt, is an explanation of many of the apparitions which religious persons believed themselves to have witnessed. Then, often, success crowned the effort. There was found a like faith in those to whom the message was conveyed as was in the person who received it at the first. The effect passed away in the multitude, but it lived in the minds of the devout, and the place where such manifestations were supposed to begin became invested with an idea of sanctity, and a belief in a more peculiar presence of the person who appeared. Special prayers would be offered there, and special oblations made.

Besides this, there was another fertile source from which visions and miracles relating to the Blessed Virgin flowed in the later years of the Middle Ages. There was the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which divided the Western Church into two schools. There was the famous University of Paris, where these immortal disputations were carried on; and where, we may add, the point was never concluded. When beaten in argument, or overpowered by numbers, the weaker party had no scruple in having recourse to a vision or a miracle to confirm their doctrine: it was exactly a *dignus vindice nodus*, in which the votaries of the defeated doctrine might reasonably expect the aggrieved object of these disputations, the Blessed Virgin, to vindicate herself,—*Deus intersit.*

It is also partly this same cause that in our own day arouses such a strong enthusiasm in favour of the miraculous in connexion with the Blessed Virgin. The doctrine has been affirmed by a Papal Bull; all faithful Roman Catholics are bound to support it; nay, they seem as if they considered that the Catholic faith depended on the maintenance of this dogma. For it is not only against attacks from without that the upholder of the

late decree has to defend himself, and, as he is fondly persuaded, the Mother of God too: there are wheels within wheels. There are many within the pale of the Church of Rome who deny, or at least do not hold, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. As this fact is one not generally known, except through the pages of Dr. Pusey's 'Eirenicon,' and there the cause of this unbelief is not gone into or explained, our readers will not be sorry if we delay them for a few pages in order to throw a ray of light on a subject with which not many are conversant, while we give a slight sketch of the origin of the doctrine and of the opposition to it.

The twelfth century saw a great change in the habit of religious thought, as well as in the mode of religious argument. It saw S. Bernard, whom we may call the last of the Fathers, and S. Anselm, who may be properly termed the first of the Schoolmen. Soon afterwards the University of Paris rose to the summit of its greatness; all the mighty intellect of Western Europe flocked to be taught, or to teach, at that fountain-head of learning. Mighty disputations, which seemed to shake the theological edifice to its foundations, were there carried on; theses were read, and propositions and positions maintained, or disputed, or denied, with all the energy of the most subtle intellects. The cause of this change in the manner of treating theology was the introduction of the works of Aristotle into the Christian Universities: a Latin translation from an Arabic translation had been procured from some one of the famous Moorish Universities in Spain. It was seized upon by the learned, and, for the first time, theological doctrines were thrown into a logical form. Everything was to be tried in the crucible of a syllogism. What could pass that had a good chance of becoming an Article of Faith. Then arose the two schools of Nominalists and Realists, in the midst of which the doctrine of transubstantiation was elaborated, depending, as it does scholastically, on the definition of certain abstract terms. Then, too, for the first time, a definite theory of the Atonement was worked out; our own great archbishop propounding the idea so generally held by Protestants, of our Lord's death being a payment of our debt to His heavenly Father. In the middle of the thirteenth century was born, in what was termed the kingdom of Northumbria, which included a portion of the lowlands of Scotland, one whose intellect was destined to exercise an influence over a large portion of the Church for many centuries, an influence still exercised and still felt. John, called Duns from the place of his birth, and Scotus, from the nation to which he belonged, was educated at Merton College, Oxford, then newly founded; he was afterwards attracted to that centre of all learning, the University of Paris. When he came there, he found the teaching of his mighty predecessor, S. Thomas Aquinas,

supreme. He was a bold man who dared to contradict any doctrine of the great master; but Scotus, with a learning little, if at all, inferior to the author of the 'Summa,' and with perhaps a greater subtlety of intellect, dared to advance a position which the other had expressly denied. S. Thomas had written ('Compend. Theol.' c. 224), quoting S. Augustine:—'Commixtio sexûs, 'quæ sine libidine esse non potest, post peccatum primi parentis 'transmittit peccatum originale in prolem. Sic autem ab Adam 'processit B. Virgo, quia nata fuit per commixtionem sexuum, 'sicut et ceteri. Et ideo concepta fuit in originali peccato.' And again: 'Si cum peccato originali concepta non fuisset, non indi-'geret per Christum redimi. Et sic non esset Christus univer-'salis hominum redemptor. Est ergo tenendum, quod cum peccato 'originali concepta fuit.' (Ibid.) His contemporary, S. Bonaventura, had expressed the same opinion even more strongly:—'Nullus invenitur dixisse de his quos audivimus auribus nostris, 'Virginem Mariam a peccato originali fuisse immunem.' ('Sent.' iii. Dis. 3.) Scotus dared to contradict both. He answered the objection of S. Thomas thus:—'Christus est perfectissimus 'mediator: igitur Christus habuit perfectissimum gradum medi-'andi possibilem respectu alicujus personæ. Sed respectu nullius 'personæ habuit excellentiorem gradum quam respectu Mariæ: 'igitur, &c. Sed hoc non esset, nisi meruisset eam præservari 'à peccato originali. . . . Quum Christus multis animabus meruerit 'gratiam et gloriam, quare nulla anima erit ei debitrix pro inno-'centia? . . . Ita (sc. infectionem carnis) posset Deus in primo 'instanti conceptionis Virginis, dando tunc gratiam, delere, ne 'esset causa necessaria infectionis in anima.' (Scotus, vii. i. 92, 93.) And his boldness was crowned with success, for he carried with him a large following.

Scotus was a Franciscan, S. Thomas a Dominican; the two orders ranged themselves under their respective leaders; two schools were formed, known in ecclesiastical history as the Scotists and the Thomists; and they carried on a perpetual warfare of words. They disputed at the University, they disputed before councils, they carried their disputations before the Pope himself. For six hundred years have these two gone on disputing, and the dispute is not yet at an end, even after the Bull of Pope Pius, Dec. 8, 1854. In later times, the Jesuits threw the immense weight of their influence into the scale of the Franciscans; still the Dominicans hold out; still the traditionary teaching of the Order maintains its sway, even where the order itself is almost extinct, as the opinions collected by Dr. Pusey attest. It was from Spain that the first opposition arose against making the *opinion* into a *dogma;* and naturally so, when we remember that the Dominicans were the Inquisitors, and the

Inquisition exercised its power in that country even as late as the present century.

It was during the heat of the controversy, when each side was fighting for victory, that the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin so rapidly increased. Each was zealous for her honour, and many on both sides were unscrupulous as to the means they took to establish their favourite doctrine: miracles were called in to aid, when argument failed. People then believed in the existence of miracles more readily than they do now; and were, consequently, prepared to credit those reported on their own side. Enthusiastic persons, men and women, saw a miracle where ordinary persons saw only a remarkable event; some did not hesitate to contrive miracles where they could not otherwise find them; the end justified the means. Where a miracle or an apparition had appeared, the place became invested with a peculiar sanctity. Pilgrimages followed, and the richness of the offerings made there incited the rival orders to multiply the sanctuaries to which such offerings could be drawn. Retribution followed: the Reformation in the sixteenth century came in like a flood, and swept away the abuses which superstition had fostered and the wealth which cupidity had heaped up. Fraud, and sometimes violence, had been employed in building up; fraud and violence threw down, profaned, desecrated; ruined shrines alone witnessed to succeeding generations the often mistaken piety of the past.

With such historical records before us, we cannot but express our surprise that any one should come forward to endorse all the reported miracles and apparitions which abounded in the chronicles or traditions of those times. This Dr. Northcote deliberately does in the volume before us, and he is ready to do the like for all such as modern times pretend to. Two of the longest chapters in his volume are written to support the pretensions of the authenticity of the holy house of Loreto and the apparition of La Salette. Our readers will not expect us to enter into a discussion on either of these, or to adduce elaborate proofs to show that neither has any historical claim on our faith. We are spared the first, because the question has been fully discussed in our pages (see *Christian Remembrancer* for 1854, vol. xxvii.). The apparition of La Salette has even less, for it is disbelieved by many bishops and ecclesiastics of the French Church at this very day. It rests on the testimony of two peasant children, a boy and a girl; whether the apparition was an illusion of the brain, or an invention of the children, or whether, which seems far from improbable, a pious fraud, got up by some devotee of the Blessed Virgin, zealous for her honour, and disheartened at the irreligious condition of France five and twenty years ago, we do not now care to inquire. Ignorant

children are easily imposed upon; and, as those acquainted with child nature are well aware, such children adhere to a story they have told with a surprising obstinacy, so persistent, that they soon persuade themselves of the truth of a fact which is really one of their own invention. Nay, older persons sometimes do the like. Is it not well known that George IV. persuaded himself that he was in the battle of Waterloo, and even appealed to the Duke of Wellington to attest his assertion? The mind of Dr. Northcote is perhaps under something of the like hallucination, in matters connected with the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin, as that which possessed the Prince Regent respecting his presence at Waterloo.

Leaving, then, Dr. Northcote to the enjoyment of his fancies, and looking at his book as one which contains a collection of many of the legends which are attached to the name of the Madonna, we find very much to interest us in its perusal. We turn naturally to the sanctuaries in our own country; we take a deeper interest in the histories and legends connected with places which are familiar to us, or endeared by personal recollections. There is not one of us who has lingered about an ancient cathedral or a ruined abbey, and pondered on its past glories, without heaving a sigh at the low condition or ruined aspect it has now, and regretting the cupidity or the fanaticism which has reduced it from what it once was to its present neglected state. Whose heart is so cold that he would not rejoice to see a restoration of some part at least of the gorgeous worship which once was celebrated in the grand old cathedral of Durham, or of the splendour which enriched the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham? The time has gone by when Englishmen thought that coldness, irreverence, and dirt were the proper characteristics of churches dedicated to the worship of the Almighty.

Devotion to the Blessed Virgin may be said to have had its true origin in the decree of the Council of Ephesus, when the title of Theotokos was given to her. Yet it is not exactly the fact that the giving of this title was the cause of the *cultus*, for some of the Fathers before that time had employed the word to express the doctrine of the Incarnation, as the two Gregorys did; it was the Nestorian heretics who really drove the Catholic mind to the paying to her the tribute of devotion; and even then it seems as if the *cultus* of that time was far more in honour of the Son than of the Mother, more a mode of testifying the belief in the verity of the true doctrine of the Incarnation, denied by the heretics, than of giving her an undue worship. When she was addressed as the 'Mother of God,' when she was represented as the Mother with her infant Son, she appeared, it is true, as the prominent figure; but it was to express clearly the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation—the two natures in the One Person of

Christ. We can see how easily the mind of the worshipper would penetrate further, and, from looking at her merely as the Theotokos, would see in the Mother of God one possessed with a mother's influence and power. The Mother of the Saviour soon became the Mother of Salvation; as S. John Damascene calls her ('Homil. in Annun.'), 'the common salvation of all in extremity' (ἡ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς κοινὴ σωτηρία). 'The alone Mother of God, who art to be worshipped (ἡ προσκυνητή) for ever.' Nestorianism lived on, and lives still, when other earlier heresies on the nature of Christ—like Arianism—have died; nay, it was once a great ecclesiastical power. Catholics showed their orthodoxy by honouring the Mother of God; their abhorrence of heresy by rendering her worship. Thus arose the story of her Assumption, and the festival (Aug. 15) in honour of that supposed event. She then became the *Mater Coronata*, endued with power both in heaven and earth. Language was addressed to her such as belonged only to God; *e.g.* Peter Damian, in a sermon ('In Nativ. B. V. M.' speaks thus: 'Et data est tibi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra: nil 'tibi impossibile, cui possibile est desperatos in spem beatitudinis 'relevare. Quomodo enim illa potestas tuæ potentiæ poterit 'obviare, quæ de carne tua carnis suscepit originem? Accedis 'enim ante illud aureum humanæ reconciliationis altare, non 'solum regnans sed imperans, domina non ancilla.'

Under such teaching as this we need not wonder at the extent to which her *cultus* went. There is something in it of itself very attractive to weak and fallen humanity: it comes with the force of *home* and all its dear recollections—its rest, its love. Here is the Mother; one with all a woman's sympathies and a mother's affection. Who is it that a child clings to in the moment of terror, nay, of guilt and shame? Its mother. To whom does the young wife look for guidance in her new home and new duties? Her mother. In Southern Europe the Mother of God is all this to every family. There is an image or a picture of the *Mater Coronata* or the *Mater Dolorosa* in every house, seemingly watching over and knowing all that passes. No one fears her; she is too kind, too sweet, to be dreaded: she is the confidante of every one in the house. The wife confides all her troubles and sorrows to the Madonna; the child confesses to her what he dare not confess to his father. All look to her for protection, for assistance in difficulty; nay, for counsel and advice. Dr. Northcote describes it thus:—

'They come and pour forth their whole souls before some picture or image of the Madonna, entering into all their hopes and fears, doubts and anxieties, every detail of their domestic circumstances, quite as naturally as a child confides its little troubles or desires to one of whose sympathy and assistance it has reason to be assured. At one time you may see a poor woman who is

going on a journey, or removing from her usual place of residence, come to take leave of her favourite Madonna, and talk to her, and lament over the separation, and in every respect converse with her as though she were her nearest and dearest friend from whom she was about to part: or you may see another rush hastily into a church, evidently under the pressure of some sudden trial, throw herself at the feet of the Madonna, and cover them with kisses; then, amid the most convulsive sobs, and with anything but the silent prayer of Anna, in which 'only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard at all,' tell her the whole history of what had happened, and implore her interference. Gradually her agitation subsides; she has communicated her troubles to one who will be sure to help her, and, strengthened by this consolation, she rises from her knees, with a calm and cheerful countenance, to go forth and bear them patiently. Yet she can scarcely make up her mind to leave the sanctuary of her peace. As she withdraws with slow and unwilling steps, ever and anon she turns her head to waft another kiss to the Madonna: and you may hear such parting exclamations as these bursting from her lips: "*Addio, Mamma mia;* I have told you everything; I am going away now, I reckon upon your help; you understand me: I know you will not disappoint me: *Addio, Mamma mia, addio.*"

'And lest any of my readers should think that this childlike simplicity is confined to the lower and more uneducated classes, I cannot resist the temptation of presenting them with one or two extracts from a little book of devotions, published about thirty years ago, by a distinguished advocate, at that time one of the judges in Naples. This is a specimen of the kind of address which he uses towards the Madonna:—"Listen to me, my Mother: you *must* grant me what I have asked, for, if you refuse, what will people say of you? Either that you could not, or that you would not, help me. That you *could* not, nobody will believe, for they know you too well for that; and then that you *would* not—I protest I would rather be told that you had not the power than that you had not the will. What! shall it be said that my own Mother, the Mother of mercy, grace, and kindness, had not the will to relieve the necessity of one of her children? O what then will become of her reputation? Think of this, my Mother, and extricate yourself from the dilemma if you can." And again: "You think, perhaps, my Mother, that you have given me a great deal already; I do not deny it; but you owe me still more than you have given me. Every one knows that your riches are inexhaustible, that you are the Queen of heaven and earth, the Dispenser of grace and the gifts of God. But then consider, I pray you, that those riches were given you, not for yourself alone, but for your children; for me, the last and most unworthy of them all! Was it not to redeem us that the Son of God became man, and chose you for His mother? Behold, then, all that you have is ours; it was given you for us; it belongs to us. Now you cannot deny that all you have yet given me is as nothing compared with what you possess. You are, therefore, my debtor, and you owe me much. Is it not so? What answer have you to make to this?"'—Pp. 109, 110.

To such an extent is this idea of the protection afforded by the Blessed Virgin, and the almost impossibility of her refusing any one his request who pays her regular devotion, that she is invoked to assist and render successful the most profligate in their most atrocious crimes. Leaders of banditti, whose life is spent in murder, plunder, violence, and violation, are often found most scrupulous in their acts of devotion towards her. They will doff their hat to her image, and repeat an 'Ave;' nay, they will

devoutly invoke her assistance in the commission of the most fearful crimes. This combination of devotion with the indulgence of the worst passions, and the perpetration of the most monstrous iniquities, is one of the incredible instances of the perversion of the Gospel of our Lord that this present age witnesses, and must inevitably lead to a complete infidelity in respect to God and to His Son.

Without, however, regarding this miserable perversion of religion, and looking only at the development of the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin in the Middle Ages, we see it would be a natural consequence that sanctuaries of the Madonna would largely increase, incessant pilgrimages be made to them, and the richest gifts offered. The idea of obtaining what is popularly called 'good luck' was universally prevalent; every escape from misfortune, every providential assistance in the time of difficulty, was thought to come from the intercession of the Mother of God, and increased her fame, and led to new acts of devotion. Dr. Northcote's book is a repertory of such instances: it is crowded with them; they fill pages. We do not, however, intend to inflict them upon our readers, except where they appear in connexion with other and more interesting matter. We shall confine ourselves to one or two sanctuaries situated in our own country:—

'Few countries were richer in sanctuaries dedicated to the Blessed Virgin than old Catholic England, which, as most readers are aware, derived its beautiful title of "The Dowry of Mary" from the number of churches which bore her name, of which a large proportion are still standing. Many of these were places of pilgrimage, resorted to no less devotedly than Einsiedlen or Loreto, whilst the foundation of others is linked with legendary tales which manifest to us how familiar to the mind of the old English Catholic was the notion that certain spots, and those for the most part "the solitary places of the wilderness," were regarded by her with special favour, and had not unfrequently been rendered sacred by her visible presence.'—P. 230.

Of these we select the description given of one:—

'But incomparably the most celebrated sanctuary of Our Lady existing not only in Norfolk, but in all England, was that of Walsingham, the first foundation of which took place in 1061, when the widow of one Ricoldie de Faveraches built a chapel here in all respects like to the Holy House of Nazareth. This was more than two centuries before the miraculous removal of the Holy House to Loreto, for it will be remembered that long before that event the house within which the Divine Word had been made Flesh formed one of the chief localities devoutly visited by pilgrims to the Holy Land. A few years after the Conquest, Sir Geoffry de Faveraches or Favercourt, son of the first foundress, endowed the chapel with lands and revenues, and built a church and priory, in which he placed a community of Austin canons, his own chaplain Edwin becoming the first prior. The priory was a grand edifice, often rebuilt; but the Chapel of the Annunciation stood separate from the priory church, and itself enclosed the original wooden chapel containing the famous image, to which, says Blomefield, "foreigners of all nations came on pilgrimage, insomuch that the number of her devotees seemed to equal those

of Our Lady of Loreto in Italy: the town of Walsingham Parva owed thereto its chief maintenance and support."

'Henry III. paid a visit here in 1248; but it was during the reign of his son Edward I. that the pilgrimage first attained that extraordinary popularity which it retained until the overthrow of religion. This king had a very special devotion to Our Lady of Walsingham, and attributed to her intercession his deliverance from death on occasion of a singular accident that took place at Windsor, in 1270, just before he set out on his crusade. He was sitting playing at chess, when he suddenly rose without any apparent reason, and left his seat. As he did so, a heavy stone detached itself from the groined roof, and fell exactly on the spot where the prince had been sitting. He twice visited the shrine, once in 1247, and again in 1263, and it is probable that the miraculous translation of the Holy House from Nazareth to Loreto, which took place in the reign of this monarch, contributed not a little to increase the veneration of the English people to the sanctuary of Walsingham. No English shrine could boast of equal popularity; and the common people, in their simplicity, believed, says Blomefield, "that the Milky Way was appointed by Providence to point out the particular place and residence of the Blessed Virgin, and was on that account generally called *Walsingham Way*." He adds: "I have myself heard old people of this country so to call and distinguish it some years past." . . . .

'Erasmus, who visited Walsingham before the suppression of the monasteries, has described it in vivid terms in his colloquy entitled "Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo:"—"There is a college of regular canons here," he says, "with scarce any revenues besides the offerings made by the pilgrims to the Blessed Virgin Mary, of which the most valuable are preserved. The church is splendid and beautiful, but the Virgin dwells not in it, for the church, out of reverence, is given to her Son. She has a chapel so contrived as to be on the right hand of her Son. In this unfinished chapel is another little narrow chapel, all of wood, with an open roof, and on either side of it a narrow door, through which the pilgrims are admitted to pay their devotions and make their offerings. There is scarcely any light except that from the burning wax tapers, which have a delightful smell, but within all is bright and shining, glittering all over with gold, silver, and jewels, so that you would take it to be the abode of the gods. A canon-resident is ever at the altar, to receive and take care of the offerings."'—Pp. 252, 253.

The venerated images, esteemed in their popular time to be miraculous, were generally destroyed at the Reformation; though, in most cases, very much against the wish of the people. The image at Walsingham had to be taken to Chelsea in order to be burnt, probably through fear that its destruction would be hindered by the inhabitants. One of these images, and, as far as we know, one only, remains to the present day. It was at Aberdeen, and Dr. Northcote gives this account of it:—

'The history of another Scottish image, that of Aberdeen, is yet more interesting, from the fact (unique, we believe, in the records of our British sanctuaries) that it was preserved from sacrilege at the time of the Reformation, and is still an object of religious veneration. It was of wood, and originally occupied the cathedral church of Saint Macarius, whence, after having been venerated for nearly 600 years, it was removed in the early part of the sixteenth century by Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen. That pious prelate had succeeded in erecting a bridge of seven arches over the river Don, and, after the custom of Catholic times, constructed a chapel on the first arch of his bridge, in which he deposited the holy image.'—P. 294.

The subsequent history of this image is curious. It fell into the hand of some Protestant who, our author declares, was prevented from destroying it because of the judgments which fell on those who had attempted to lay hands on it. In 1623, William Laing, Procurator to the King of Spain, having obtained possession of it, had it conveyed to Belgium, and placed in the hands of the Infanta Isabella, the governor of the Low Countries. It was removed to a chapel attached to the palace of Brussels, where William Laing was entrusted to collect a history of it, and of the miracles connected with it. Three years after, it was transferred to a newly-built church of the Augustinian fathers with great pomp. Pope Urban VIII. granted a plenary indulgence to all who assisted at the ceremony. The image itself was decked with the Infanta's jewels, and covered with a robe glittering with gold and precious stones. A confraternity of Notre Dame de Bon Succès was formed, with the Infanta enrolled among its members. In the eighteenth century, when revolutionary troubles broke out, it was saved by an Englishman of the name of Morris; in 1805, it was again set up in its former place. The chapel having been granted to the Protestants in 1814, it was transferred to the parish church of Finisterre. In 1852, M. Van Genechten, curé of the parish, had a chapel built to receive it; and on May 5, in 1854, the confraternity of Notre Dame de Bon Succès was restored by the authority of the Archbishop of Malines, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Brabant accepting the office of honorary provost. Dr. Northcote adds in a note:—'It is understood that the proposal has been made to restore the image of Our Lady of Good Success to the Scottish Catholics of Aberdeen; and that a petition to this effect is at this moment under consideration at Rome.'

There is no doubt that a very great effort is made just now to revive the mediæval worship of the Blessed Virgin; and that converts from our own ranks, like Dr. Northcote, are the most strenuous in this endeavour. It is equally true that the old Roman Catholics of England look on the attempt with anything but favour. The English mind of the present day is too much given to calm investigation to adopt without inquiry the legends and stories which were once believed, and, in some countries, are still believed, about miracles and interventions, as matters of fact. The volume before us is, without doubt, published with the intention of helping forward the movement: we do not think it calculated to aid it much. Italians and a few enthusiastic Englishmen may be induced to credit the stories about pictures of the Madonna moving their eyes; but few Roman Catholics, we are assured, are prepared to endorse as true the accounts of

them which Dr. Northcote gravely records in his pages. Nay, we may go further; we think that such publications as this are calculated to arrest the movement, rather than to aid it. As Anglicans, we may freely acknowledge that the Blessed Virgin does not receive the honour due to her as the Mother of God, and we should be glad to see the Protestant prejudice against her considerably abate. We confess that it is impossible to maintain a complete and full belief in the mystery of the Incarnation, without as full and complete an acknowledgment of the purity given to her who bore the Immaculate Son of God in her womb. We may assent, at least, to the teaching of Peter Lombard, that she was purified from all sin at the annunciation of the angel; 'Mariam totam Spiritus Sanctus in eam veniens a peccato prorsus mundavit' ('Lenten.' lib. iii. Dis. 3). And this is certainly also the doctrine of the Orthodox Church of the East, though we believe that no authoritative decision has been made on the subject: for in her catechism and books of instruction she exempts none from original sin; yet in her sacred offices and books of devotion the title of Ἄχραντος is continually given to her. For instance, in one office for the First Hour, Ἀκολουθία τῆς Α. Ὥρας, we have the following, and we might quote many more, Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς παναχράντου αὐτοῦ Μητρὸς . . . . ἐλεήσαι ἡμᾶς, κ.τ.λ.—a mode of expression which, at the least, implies that she was sanctified from her mother's womb. At a time when Anglicans are so earnestly desiring, and endeavouring to accomplish, the reunion with the Oriental Church, we should do our utmost to make our teaching not repugnant to her in all points not otherwise defined by our own.

ART. VIII.—1. *Lectures on the Science of Language.* First Series, 5th Edition, 1866. Second Series, 3d Thousand, 1867.

2. *Chips from a German Workshop.* Essays on the Science of Religion, &c. &c. London: Longmans. 1867.

WE believe the savans of our day—who in the positiveness of their positivism have abandoned the venerable traditions which Moses has delivered—have not yet decided at what stage of our pithekogenesis the great Adam-ape of us all began to speak; passing into self-revealing language out of the bestial chatter to which he had hitherto been doomed. If the testimony of the idea, or man, or number of persons represented by the name of Homer, if the testimony of the writings of the Veda, be worth anything, we have the evidence of the voice-dividing race, and its use of language, for a good three thousand years. Whatever refinements use may have introduced into speech, whatever higher energies, intellectual pursuits, or the crowning gift of the Pentecost may have imparted to language, we can scarcely discover in the New what is not to be traced in the Old; and a century of which it cannot be said with truth that it is wanting in great orators is still content to sit with all its doctors and listen to the speakers of the Agora, and the matchless eloquence of Athens. Speech is gained by imitation. Not long since, the world was charmed by the narrative of the labours carried on by some devout priests in Belgium, who have devoted themselves to teaching the deaf to speak. By eye and touch the deaf-born—these being more apt scholars than those not born so—are taught to speak with a very marvellous promptness and ease. Let us assume that our ape ancestors had all along the interior endowment which lies at the root of intelligent speech. We can do no less than assume this; because to deny it will be to disparage our progenitors. And we are bound to honour our parents, whatever may have been their state of physical and moral development. Who first helped them to formulize their chatter? By what aids, and in what age of creation, were the first roots enunciated by the pithekranthrope? There are nine hundred languages, more or less, to the substance of which nothing new has ever been added; and there is no miracle in the Bible more astonishing than that which, inferentially, connects the origin of language with the development of the Baboon, with or without Lord Monboddo's Egyptian Dæm onKing.

Sciences are either historical or physical, as the subject-matter of them is, or is not, of mere human invention. The science of language is historical, if we accept the prevailing theory which is connected with the name of Locke, although older than Horace, that man having first lived in a state of mutism and half-unconscious pantomime, at last travailed under his accumulation of ideas and brought forth speech. The progress of language, the relationship to each other of the three main branches of language—the Semitic, the Aryan, and the Turanian—seem to indicate the 'presence of an historical life inherent in language,' and its subjection to the will of man and the power of time. By a slow process the venerable languages of Asia have been transformed to their present meagre and impoverished condition. In our own land, in four hundred years English has been so changed, that that in use in the thirteenth century is as difficult as a dead language. But in northern and southern Asia and in Africa, in a few generations, sometimes in one, the whole aspect of their dialects are changed. Since the publication of the Bible we have lost one-fifteenth of all the words used in it, that is 388, and we have popularized the possessive pronoun '*its*,' which never once occurs there. But in all this ebb and flow man is an unconscious and involuntary agent. The impotency of man to alter even the gender of a noun is illustrated by the attempt of the Emperor Sigismund to change the gender of *Schisma*. 'Though the individual seems to be the prime agent in producing new words 'and new grammatical forms, he is so only after his individuality 'has been merged in the common action of the family, tribe, or 'nation to which he belongs' (Max Müller's Lect., 1st Ser. p. 43). There are, in truth, two factors engaged in bringing about that gradual change which we denominate the growth of language. These two factors are *Phonetic Decay*,—which produces grammatical forms, and takes place under the control of laws which man has not originated, but which man obeys, unconscious of their very existence,—and *Dialectic Regeneration*. Now, in the geology of language, dialects are the 'popular and lower strata of speech' out of which the literary languages have sprung; they are the pursy citizens and burghers by whose contributions the royal dynasties of literature are sustained in their state and influence. Where a dialect is selected and consecrated to the priesthood of letters, it passes out of common life, and, as far as popular use is concerned, is consigned to absolute decay. And even more than in the case of phonetic decay, the law of dialectical growth is beyond the control of individuals. A poet may invent a word, but its acceptance does not depend on him. And grammarians are quite unable to prune language of its abnormal

accidents. 'It is very likely that the gradual disappearance of 'irregular declensions and conjugations is due, in literary as well as illiterate languages, to the dialect of children' (1st Ser. p. 71). If the term 'growth' be applied to language, the image it expresses must be identical with that implied when we speak of the growth of the crust of the earth, and not with that implied when we speak of the growth of a tree. In the latter case there is not even a legitimate analogy. The growth of the crust of the earth and the growth of language herein resemble one another, that in both cases we witness that 'modification 'which takes place in time by continually new combinations of 'given elements, which withdraws itself from the control of 'free agents, and can in the end be recognised as the result of 'natural agencies' (1st Ser. p. 73). The science of language bears no closer relationship to history than do other sciences, though to some extent it contains its own history within itself. The study of all language is the acme of this science, and to this end the first main step is the classification of all the varieties of human speech. Two axioms are to be laid down which we must carry with us through the whole subject: that grammar is the most essential element, and therefore ground of classification, in all languages possessing grammatical articulation; and that grammar does not admit the existence of a mixed idiom. Thus, whatever may be the Latinisms and Normanisms of an English sentence, the grammar will be Teutonic. In languages like the Chinese, where these axioms will not apply, we must be satisfied with the 'criteria of a morphological affinity instead of those of a genealogical relationship.'

We shall know when grammar was born when we are able to determine when men began to acquire a language other than their mother tongue. The conquests of Alexander may be fixed upon approximately as a *terminus a quo*. But barbarians took the lead in the new studies; and while Livius Andronicus at Rome was translating Homer, we have cotemporary linguists in the authors Berosus the Babylonian, Menander the Phœnician, and Manetho the Egyptian, and about the same time Moses and Zoroaster were translated into Greek. But although some of the terms of grammar were known to Plato and Aristotle, the actual study of grammar belongs to the schools of Alexandria, and the pursuit of it is due to the critical labours of those engaged in comparing the different manuscripts of Homer. The first grammar was the work of Dionysius, the pupil of Aristarchus. This Dionysius lived at Alexandria at first, then removed to Rome, and there published the grammar of his vernacular, where Greek already was the language of fashion and refinement. But grammar had already found a home in Rome. Crates, between the second

and third Punic wars, lectured on grammar, and to this event Suetonius refers the beginning of grammatical studies at Rome. During his Gallic campaigns, Cæsar composed a grammar and dedicated it to Cicero; and he was the inventor of the term *ablative.* Afterwards empirical grammar was introduced by Dionysius, and the Latins adopted the grammatical terminology of the Greeks. The system of Dionysius prevails to this day; no substantial change has been made in it; and under his guidance the study of the dead languages is pursued in all our schools to this hour. In Asia, however, grammatical analysis boasts a much earlier origin than it can claim in Europe. In the sixth century before Christ, the Brahmans had reduced their whole language to a small number of roots. It is an interesting coincidence, that while in Europe the earliest poetry of Greece gave rise to the formation of a grammar, so in India it was the study of the Veda—the oldest poetry of the Brahmans—which directed the attention of the Indians to that study of grammar which they carried to such perfection. But neither European nor Asiatic dreamed of applying the 'principle of classification to the varieties of human speech.' The sin-born disunion and division of the human family, propagating itself through the recurrent disintegration of tribes and nations, drew fresh force from that one classification adopted by the Greeks, who in their pride styled all not Greeks barbarians. The idea of the unity of the human race is a first principle of Revelation. All efforts after unification are so many endeavours to surmount the barriers and obstructions caused by diversities of speech. Accordingly we are prepared to find our illustrious lecturer dating 'the real beginning of the science of language from the first day of Pentecost' (1st. Ser. p. 134). But that science owes more than its first impulse to Christianity. 'Translations of the Lord's Prayer and of the Bible into every dialect of the world, form even now the most valuable materials for the comparative philologist' (Ibid.). The impulse given to the progressive movement was unfortunately checked by one of those groundless prejudices which do so much damage to truth. From S. Jerome to Leibnitz the fatal delusion reigned that Hebrew is the parent language. And yet the labours of such theorists were not all wasted; for they kept alive an interest in the subject, and they forced the learned to form a happier conjecture. It was Leibnitz who, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, revolutionized the whole course of speculation, declaring that to 'call Hebrew the primitive language is like calling branches of a tree primitive branches.' He proceeded then to collect all the obtainable examples of the various languages, the dialects and provincial and local terms;

but he did not attempt a scientific classification of the whole, nor, in Müller's judgment, was he happy in arranging the part he attempted. To Leibnitz, however, we owe the two works which did most to establish the science of language: 'The Catalogue of Languages,' by the Jesuit Hervas, and Adelung's 'Mithridates.' Hervas had studied Leibnitz, and had been carried so far on as to have detected the similarity between Sanskrit and Greek. If he was somewhat unhappy in some of his theories, and if he failed to make much of this important discovery, this is to be wholly accounted for by the fact that the information he received from Fra Paolino, the author of the first Sanskrit grammar, was very imperfect. To Hervas we owe the discovery of the Polynesian family of speech, spreading from Madagascar to the Easter Islands, which so long afterwards was announced to the world by Humboldt. Adelung, who depends partly on Hervas, depends even more directly on Leibnitz, for his materials were drawn from those collections of words which Leibnitz induced the Russian Government to make. The discovery of Sanskrit rendered the formation of a system possible. That language had ceased to be spoken 300 years B.C. But it did not, like Latin, 'die in giving birth to its numerous offspring.' As a literary language it is in such familiar use that an educated Brahman 'will write in it with greater fluency than in Bengali.' All Indian names preserved by Greek and Roman writers are pure Sanskrit. The Chinese, who next after the Greeks became acquainted with the language and literature of India, leave us in no doubt as to the predominance of Sanskrit; then came the Mohammedans, who translated largely the native works in Sanskrit and Persian into Arabic. As late as the reign of Akbar down to 1605—he was an apostate from Islam—we have evidence of the careful and studious pursuit of Sanskrit. Roberto de Nobili was the first missionary who fully mastered—indeed, perhaps, we may say he was the first European who really mastered the Sanskrit language and literature. We learn how the Jesuit missionaries of Louis XIV. endeavoured to convict the Brahmans of charging false doctrines on the Vedas, in so far as the popular religion denied the unity and attributes of God, and a future state of rewards and punishments. The first grammar of Sanskrit—of course a very inadequate one—saw the light in 1776, from the pen of I. P. Wesdin, a German, a Carmelite friar, whose name in religion was Paulinus a Santo Bartolomæo. But it was not yet known that this language, as spoken in the times of Alexander and Solomon, and centuries before, was to Greek and Latin as French is to Italian and Spanish. The foundation of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, 1784, may be regarded as

fixing the date of the beginning of European Sanskrit philology; while to Frederick Schlegel belongs the credit of having made 'the discovery of a new world,' through the publication of his work on 'The Language and Wisdom of the Indians,' which was published in 1808, which took in the languages of India, Persia, Greece, Italy and Germany, and proceeded 'to rivet them together by the simple name of Indo-Germanic' (1st Ser. p. 183).

The recognition of Sanskrit was speedily followed by the discovery of its relationship to Greek and Latin. In the tracing out of that relationship it was demonstrated that these languages stood related to one another as sisters. It came therefore to be acknowledged that there remained yet to be discovered the parent language, the source of all these three, as well as of the Teutonic, Celtic, and Slavonic branches of speech. Then gradually were evolved the principles of comparative grammar. Under the learned superintendence of Bopp, Schlegel, Humboldt, Pott, Grimm, Burnouf, languages were no longer arranged in *classes*, they were regarded as *families*. The *genealogical* arrangement, however, is not applicable to all languages, but to those only which are decaying, in which grammatical growth has been arrested and phonetic corruption has set in. Dialects, although boasting the same origin, often differ very much, not only in their 'grammatical framework,' but also in those 'test-words' which are such useful guides in discovering the 'relationship of literary languages.' But because of difficulties arising in this direction, because of the principle of genealogical classification being inapplicable to some languages, to conclude and assert the impossibility of a common origin of language is nothing but a species of dogmatism which more than anything else is calculated to obstruct, and has in fact obstructed, the progress of scientific discovery.

Est quadam prodire tenus. Let us see how far the family ties of language have been established. Living English may be carried up to Anglo-Saxon. But beyond the ancient English epic *Beowulf*, it cannot be traced in England. Through the Jutes, however, and the countless dialects of the tribes on the northern coast of Germany, the kindred Low German was maintained; but, whatever literature it possessed, was sealed by Luther's translation of the Bible into High German. We can trace both Low and High German back to the seventh century after Christ. Not that we are to suppose that in tracing upwards in this way we shall at last arrive at one Teutonic language. Such never existed,—any more than in tracing up a nation we shall find, instead of the clans and tribes composing it, a single breed, a national Adam, so to speak. Literary remains of the Germans

of the remotest Christian antiquity would present, no doubt, dialectical peculiarities and idiosyncrasies akin to those observable in later documents. And this is confirmed by the fact that the dialect of one of those old German races is preserved in the Gothic translation of the Bible by the Arian Bishop Ulfilas, which through its phonetic structure belongs indeed to the Low German class, but in its grammar, for the most part, to a dialect more primitive than that of the Beowulf, or the Old High German of Charlemagne. But because its documents are the oldest that have been preserved to us, we must not therefore conclude that *Gothic* is the parent language. It is simply that dialect which has survived those other dialects which disappeared in the seventh century. The remaining variety of Teutonic speech, after the High German, the Low German, and Gothic, is the Scandinavian. Next there are the *Romance* languages. The six dialects of the Italic class are those of Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Wallachia, and the Grisons. But these are not to be traced back merely to classical Latin, but rather to those 'minor local dialects of North and South,'—including the Oscan,—which, even in the age of Dante, were 'vulgar or popular.' These six dialects are, properly speaking, the outcome of provincial, and, so to speak, Cockney Latin; and the classical Latinisms of French and Italian are of comparatively recent date, and are due to the scholars, lawyers, and divines of the Middle Age. The third branch is the *Hellenic*, some of whose grammatical forms are less primitive than those of Latin. The fourth class includes the *Celtic*. The Celts were the first Aryans to arrive in Europe; and now the dialects which remain of them are numbered to six, if we count *Cornish*, the use of which has expired. The Celts—who formerly dominated in Europe, successfully for years withstood the power of Rome, and settled themselves in Asia—are now no longer a nation, like the German and Slaves, but they have given words to the languages of these as well as to Latin, although they have themselves adopted far more from these languages, a feat which has betrayed some unwary theorists into the notion that these were original Celtic words from which the Greek and Latin might be derived. The fifth branch is the *Slavonic*, or, remembering the comprehensiveness of the name of the Winidæ, the *Windic*. The Windic includes the *Lettic* and *Slavonic*. The former embraces the *Lettish* or *Livonian;* the *Lithuanian*, with a grammar more akin to Sanskrit in some respects than even Greek or Latin can pretend to be; and the *Old Prussian*, which became extinct in the seventeenth century, leaving sole issue an Old Catechism. The *Slavonic* comprehends in its *Eastern* branch *Russian*, *Bulgarian*, and *Illyrian*, and is preserved in the

translation of the Bible by Cyrillus and Methodius of the ninth century. The *Western* branch reckons the dialects of *Poland*, *Bohemia*, and *Lusatia;* and lastly, *Albanian* must be named as belonging to the same Aryan family.

Turning to the Indic class, the first point is to ascertain as approximately as we can the age of Sanskrit. Now it may be shown that at the time of Solomon, one thousand years before Christ, Sanskrit was 'spoken at least as far South as the mouth 'of the Indus; for the freights which the navy of Solomon 'unloaded at Ezion-geber consisted of the products of India.' The almug, or algum, which is identified with the Sanskrit *valgu*, is the sandal-wood which is indigenous only in India, and chiefly in Malabar. The words used in the sacred text for *apes*, *ivory*, and *peacocks* are, in every case, foreign words, which are easily traced to Sanskrit sources; while the *peacock*, like the sandal-wood, is peculiar to India. The ships of Solomon, it was most natural to suppose, took in their freight at the mouth of the Indus. But in the Veda the people who spoke Sanskrit were settled in the north of India; and if at the time of Solomon they had spread themselves to the sea-board on the South, their language must be at least as old as Job (or 1500 B.C.), in which book Ophir also is named. Next to Sanskrit comes Zend, or the language of the fire-worshippers, which was first deciphered by Burnouf in France, who also demonstrated the family relationship between it and Sanskrit. Persian passed through two stages before it became infected with the Arabic element; and these stages are designated as Pehlevi and Parsi, which latter is almost precisely the language of the epic poet Ferdusi. The other dialects which, with Sanskrit and Zend, are to be enumerated as belonging to the same family, are the languages of Affghanistan or the *Pushtu*, of the Kurds, the Ossetians, and the Armenians; and lastly, the language of the *Gipsies* 'clearly' is also 'from Hindustan.' The sum is this:—

'As surely as the six Romance dialects point to an original home of Italian shepherds on the Seven Hills at Rome, the Aryan languages together point to an earlier period of language, when the first ancestors of the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slaves, the Celts, and the Germans were living together within the same enclosures, nay, under the same roof. There was a time when out of many possible names for *father*, *mother*, *daughter*, *son*, *dog*, *cat*, *heaven* and *earth*, those which we find in all the Aryan languages were framed, and obtained a mastery *in the struggle for life* which is carried on among synonymous words as much as among plants and animals. Look at the comparative table of the auxiliary verb AS, to be, in the different Aryan languages. The selection of the root AS, out of many roots, equally applicable to the idea of being, and the joining of this root with the one set of personal terminations, all originally personal pronouns, were individual acts, or, if you like, historical events. They took place at once, at a certain date and in a certain place; and as we find the same forms preserved by all the members

of the Aryan family, it follows that before the ancestors of the Indians and Persians started for the South, and the leaders of the Greek, Roman, Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic colonies marched towards the shores of Europe, there was a small clan of Aryans settled probably on the highest elevation of Central Asia, speaking a language not yet Sanskrit, or Greek, or German, but containing the dialectic germs of all; a clan that had advanced to a state of agricultural civilization, that had recognised the bonds of blood, and sanctioned the bonds of marriage, and that marked the Giver of light and life in heaven by the same name which you may still hear at the temples of Benares in the basilicas of Rome and in our own churches and cathedrals.'—1st Ser. p. 238.

In the breaking up of this clan the Indians and Persians would seem to have longest companied together, and not to have parted from one another until the reforms introduced by Zoroaster. Beside this division into a Northern and Southern branch, there is the division of the European settlers from one another; but it is impossible, perhaps, to discover the period or periods in which this took place. Where special coincidences of language are discoverable between members of this dispersion, as between the Slavonic and Teutonic groups, these may be accounted for 'by admitting that the ancestors of these races 'preserved from the beginning certain dialectical peculiarities 'which existed before, as well as after, the separation of the 'Aryan family.'

The genealogical classification which we have thus passed in review owes its existence to comparative grammar, whose primary object has been to show that the 'grammatical articulation' of these languages 'was produced once for all,' while apparent differences in the terminations are the result of phonetic decay. But comparative grammar may render yet further service, and help us to ascertain whether the terminations which it presents to us are or are not 'originally independent words.' The elements of language are either *radical* or non-radical, that is, *formal*. These formal elements have been regarded as either irrational coefficients, if we may so express ourselves, or the products of a principle inherent in, and normally developing itself out of, language; the result, as Mr. Farrer, after Schlegel, expresses himself, of 'germinal development.' Putting aside such unmeaning theories, and guided solely by grammatical analysis, the student of language traces up to, and by means of comparison establishes, its primitive form, and regards that form so attained as something with a meaning. Thus in the change from *I love* to *I loved*, we trace the *d* of the latter to the auxiliary verb, *to do*, as the terminations of *j'aimerai* and *amabo* we trace to *avoir* and *habeo*. *I loved* is *I did love*. How came *did* (or *dide*, *de* the root, with its reduplication of *di*) to have a preterite meaning? The answer is that the preterites are, in strong verbs, formed by reduplication. *Do* corresponds

to the *the* in *tithemi*, in Greek, and the root *dhâ* in *dadhâmi* in Sanskrit. The Anglo-Saxon *dide*, therefore, corresponds to the Sanskrit *dadhâmi*, I placed.

Investigations conducted in obedience to the guidance of true scientific analysis enable us to discover much as to the state and civilization of the Aryan words which are found in all the related languages. The word for house, for instance, must have existed before the dispersion. Language itself unfolds the history of Aryan civilization. The very name Aryan is itself a part of this history. Why is this term used? Ârya is Sanskrit, and though a national name, in its origin, imports in later Sanskrit, *noble, of a good family*. Applied at first to the worshippers of the gods, and then to the first three castes, as opposed to the Sûdras, it came to be more exclusively employed at last of the Brahmans. Arya, with a long *ā*, is derived from *arya* with a short *ă*, akin to *arare*. 'The race may have chosen this name 'for themselves to distinguish them as nomadic tribes from the '*Turanians*, whose original name *Tura* implies the swiftness of 'the horseman' (1st Ser. p. 268). In the form of Airỳa, in Zend it means 'venerable,' and is the name of the people. The countries that designated themselves as Aryan included, ultimately, the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sogdians. Darius, in his inscriptions, speaks of himself as Aryan; and his great grandfather, in the inscription, Ariyârâmna, has his name also preserved by Herodotus in the Greek Ariaramnes (Her. vii. 90). Iran, the modern name of Persia; Armenia; Aryan-speaking tribes in Caucasus, who call themselves *Iron; Aria*, the old name of Thrace; the German tribe *Arii*, and the leader, *Ariovistus; Erin*, the *er* in Irish meaning noble: all these, with more or less distinctness and certainty, preserve the original name of Arya.

The component elements of language, apart from the grammatical terminations, may be classed as roots predicative and demonstrative. We have an illustration of two roots, *ar* and *spec*. Let us quote the ingenious comments of our Lecturer on the former:—

'This root *Ar* means *to plough*, to open the soil. From it we have the Latin *ar-are*, the Greek *ar-oun*, the Irish *ar*, the Lithuanian *ar-ti*, the Russian *ora-ti*, the Gothic *ar-jan*, the Anglo-Saxon *erjan*, the modern English *to ear*. From this we have the name of the plough as the instrument of earing: in Latin *ara-trum;* in Greek *arotron;* in Bohemian *ora-dlo;* in Lithuanian *arkla-s;* in Cornish *aradar;* in Welsh *arad;* in old Norse *ardhr*. Hence *ar*osis, *ar*ateo, *ar*oma (used of sweet herbs and field-fruits in general). A more primitive formation of the root AR seems to be the Greek *era* earth, the Sanskrit *irà*, the old High German *êro*, the Gaelic *ire irionn*. It meant originally the ploughed land, afterwards earth in general. So *earth*, Gothic *airtha*, the Anglo-Saxon *eorthe*. Hence *ar*mentum, any animal fit for ploughing. Hence the German *arbeit*, labour. But in old Norse, *erfidhi* means chiefly *ploughing*, and afterwards labour in general. Hence Old German *art*, ploughing.

The Latin *ars artis*, in Old High-German *arunti*, and in Anglo-Saxon *æraend*, mean work, but specially agriculture; and so the English *errand*. So too of ploughing the sea, we have the Sanskrit, *aritra*, a rudder, the English *oar*, the Greek *eretes*, and its derivatives."—1st Ser. p. 283.

Now *Ar* is called a predicative root, 'because into whatever composition it enters it predicates one and the same conception.' A root is a monosyllable properly; if of more syllables, it is evidently a derivative. And monosyllable roots are either primitive, secondary, or tertiary. The first consist of (1) one vowel, as *i*, to go; or (2) of one vowel and one consonant, as *ad*, to eat; or (3) of one consonant and one vowel, as *dâ*, to give. The secondary roots, as *tud*, to strike, have one vowel between two consonants, which are modificatory. The tertiary have (1) two consonants and one vowel, as *plu*, to flow; or (2) one vowel and two consonants, as *ard*, to hurt; or (3) two consonants, a vowel, and consonant, as *spas'*, to see; or (4) two consonants, a vowel, and two consonants, as *spand*, to tremble. Though Sanskrit grammarians have reckoned up 1,760 roots, this number is the result of the grammatical arrangements of their system. But, according to Müller, the roots of Sanskrit are not more numerous than those of Hebrew, say about 500. As, however, these predicative roots are not of themselves able to promote the development of language, there is need of the demonstrative root. No predicative root can by itself found a word in the Aryan language. The demonstrative roots are represented by the terminations of declension and conjugation. Thus the *s* in the third person represents the demonstrative pronoun of that person: in Greek, *si* or *esi* (*ei* is for *esi*); in Sanskrit, *te;* Latin, *t*. This latter (according to Grimm's law, which decides that the Latin *tenuis* is in Gothic represented by an aspirate) is *th* in Gothic, and corresponds to the close of *loveth* in English.

'In the *s* of *loves*, therefore, we have a demonstrative root, added to the predicative root, *love*, and thus *s* is originally the same as the Sanskrit *te*. Thus *te* must again be traced back to the demonstrative root *ta*, this or there; which exists in the Sanskrit demonstrative pronoun *tad*, the Greek *to*, the Gothic *thata*, the English *that*, and which in Latin we can trace in *talis*, *tantus*, *tunc*, *tam*, and even in *tamen*, an old locative in *men*. We have thus seen that what we call the third person singular of the present is in reality a simple compound of a predicative root with a demonstrative root. It is a compound like any other, only that the second part is not predicative, but simply demonstrative. As in pay-master we predicate pay of master, meaning a person whose office it is to pay, so in *dadâ-ti*, *give-he*, the ancient framers of language simply predicated giving of some third person, and the synthetic preposition, *give-he*, is the same as that we now call the third person singular in the indicative mood in the active voice."—1st Ser. p. 305.

The Chinese language, which admits of no analysis of this kind, for it presents no coalescence of roots, every word being a

root, and every root a word, represents in its monosyllabic character the model of the primitive language from which all others must have started. What then about the origin of those predicative and demonstrative roots which 'form the constituent elements of all human speech, and which have hitherto resisted all attempts at further analysis.' In pursuing this inquiry we shall be assisted by the *morphological classificaton* of language, 'which is based entirely on the form or manner in which roots are put together.'

There is one other *family* of languages beside the Aryan, and that is the Semitic, which includes the Aramaic, the Hebraic, and Arabic, with probably a few African dialects. In the cases of both families the existence is presupposed of a 'finished system of grammar previous to the first divergence of their dialects.' But languages may diverge before the grammatical system is stereotyped, and then will ensue dialectical peculiarities. Criteria, however, there are for tracing out even here those more distant degrees of relationship. This will be more apparent from an examination of the principles of *morphological classification.* These are three:—

1. A radical stage, where roots are words, each independent. Languages belonging to this class have been called *monosyllabic.*

2. Where two roots are joined, of which one loses its independence.

This is called the terminational stage. To this belong the *agglutinative* languages, like the *Turanian.*

3. Where two roots coalesce, which is called the *inflectional* stage; this stage is best represented by the Aryan or *amalgamating* languages. Phonetic decay is excluded wholly from the first stage; from the principal root in the second stage; but is admitted in both members of the third. 'What applies to two roots applies to three or four, or more.' As long as every word or part of a word 'is felt to express its own radical meaning, a language belongs to the first or radical stage.' But when an element of a word drops its etymological meaning, and becomes merely a sign of derivation and case, language becomes terminational or passes into the agglutinative class, to which the groups of nomad languages—such as are the Turanian dialects—belong. In the Aryan languages the agglutinative process has resulted in a complete coalescence of the modifying words with the root, which will no longer admit of decomposition. Thus the inflectional stage is reached. In Turanian the conjugation and declension can still be taken to pieces.[1]

[1] The Turanian languages are divided by Müller into Northern and Southern. The Northern includes five classes, Tungusic, Mongolic, Turkic, Samoyedic, and Finnic, reckoning respectively two, three, three, two, and four branches, and 51

Having thus reduced all languages to these three classes, the *radical*, *terminational*, and *inflectional*, we may proceed to the inquiry as to the common origin of language. In the pursuit of this inquiry it is to be presumed that the classification of language is not, for obvious reasons, and as Darwin would contend, to be derived from the classification of race; and secondly, 'the problem of the common origin of language has no con-'nexion with the statements contained in the Old Testament 'regarding the creation of man and the genealogies of the 'patriarchs.' In fact, those Scriptural genealogies belong to *blood*, not to language. The problem divides itself into two parts, the formal and the material.

As regards the *formal*. The conclusion appears to be irresistible that what we call the inflectional has grown out of the agglutinative, the agglutinative out of the radical. The absence of any coincidences between the Aryan and Semitic languages undoubtedly bred a conviction that there was no connexion between them. The lecturer enunciates his problem thus: 'If 'you wish to assert that language had various beginnings, you 'must prove it impossible that language could have had a 'common origin.'

Now, in the first place, there is nothing to disprove, but there is everything in favour of, a common origin of the Aryan and Semitic families; thus in the Turanian languages the traces by which a common origin for them is marked out are necessarily feebler than in the case of the Aryan and Semitic, in which the progress of grammatical crystallization has been finally arrested. These latter must have passed through the agglutinative period, just as Finnish and Turkish are advancing towards inflectional forms and the character of what Ewald calls 'synthetic language.' Now all scientific research goes to prove daily, more and more clearly, that the languages composing Northern and Southern Turanian are akin, and ultimately dependent on Chinese at its pre-Mandarin date. The question then remains, Are the roots identically the same? And in order to answer this we must inquire into their nature and origin.

'What then are roots? In our modern languages roots can only be discovered by scientific analysis, and, even as far back as Sanskrit, we may say that no root was ever used as a noun or as a verb. But originally roots were thus used, and in Chinese we have fortunately preserved to us a representative

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living dialects. The Southern, whose classes are Taic, Malaic, Gangetic, Lohitic, Muuda, and Tamulic, embraces no fewer than 65 living dialects. On the Osmanli grammar, Müller quotes the remark of an eminent Orientalist, that 'We might imagine it to be the result of the deliberations of some eminent society of learned men.' The Finnic has produced the *Kaleivala*, the great poem of Wainamoïnen, a poem which 'will claim its place as the fifth national epic of the world.' (1st Ser. p. 353.)

of that primitive radical stage, which, like the granite, underlies all other strata of human speech. The Aryan root DA, to give, appears in Sanskrit dâ-nam, Latin *donum*, gift, as a substantive; in Latin *do*, Sanskrit *da-dâ-mi*, Greek *di-do-mi*, I give, as a verb; but the root DÂ can never be used by itself. In Chinese, on the contrary, the root TA, as such, is used in the sense of a noun, greatness; of a verb, to be great; of an adverb, greatly or much. Roots therefore are not, as is commonly maintained, merely scientific abstractions, but they were used originally as real words. What we want to find out is this, What inward mental phase is it that corresponds to these roots as the germs of human speech?'—1st Ser. p. 396.

Professor Müller has irritated some of his critics and fellow-labourers by denominating the two theories offered as solutions of this problem, the *Bow-wow* theory, and the *Pooh-pooh* theory. The former theory, which might be called the *onomatopoietic*, has found its ablest defender in Herder. A lamb bleats. Man, proving his intellectual dignity and his conscious reflectiveness by desiring to know—and not wolf-like, to devour—the lamb, and by identifying evermore thereafter the *bleat* with the lamb, names it the *bleating animal*, and the sound becomes the name. A few such words, 'playthings of language,' do exist, but there is no language as yet discovered which has been so formed. Herder, indeed, himself subsequently abandoned the theory, adopting instead the belief that language was miraculously communicated at the beginning. The theory—stigmatized as the *Pooh-pooh*—regards the origin of language as *interjectional*. Cries and interjections are received, according to this notion, as the real beginnings of human speech, and after 'their model' the rest was elaborated. This theory has been admirably met by Horne Tooke ('Diversions of Purley,' p. 32): 'The dominion 'of speech is erected upon the downfall of interjections: without 'the artful contrivances of language, mankind would have had 'nothing but interjections with which to communicate, orally, 'any of their feelings. The neighing of a horse, the lowing of a 'cow, the barking of a dog, the purring of a cat, sneezing, 'coughing, groaning, shrieking, and every other involuntary 'convulsion with oral sound, have almost as good a title to be 'called parts of speech, as interjections have. Voluntary inter-'jections are only employed when the suddenness and vehemence 'of some affection or passion returns men to their natural state, 'and makes them for a moment forget the use of speech; or 'when from some circumstance the shortness of time will not 'permit them to exercise it.' And, as our author pertinently adds, in dismissing this theory, if language arises from the imitation of the cries of animals or interjections, how comes it to pass that brutes—some of which can imitate, and most of which can utter interjections—have not language?

The true scientific theory is the very reverse of all this. The

residuum of our analysis is the *root*. 'Every root expresses a 'general, not an individual idea. Every name, if we analyse it, 'contains a predicate by which the object to which the name is 'applied, was known.' The school of Locke and Adam Smith, indeed, contended against Leibnitz that all terms were individual, but in point of fact they 'express one out of the many attributes 'of a thing, and that attribute, whether it be a quality or an 'action, is necessarily a general idea.' What we first know is the general. And thereafter we are able to know and name particular objects, of which the general idea can be predicated. The third and last stage remains when these individual objects become again representatives of classes.

'And how do we know things? We perceive things by our senses, but our senses convey to us information about single things only. But to *know* is more than to feel, than to perceive, more than to remember, more than to compare, more than to recognise. We know a thing if we are able to bring it, and any part of it, under more general ideas. We then say, not that we have a perception, but a conception, or that we have a general idea of a thing. The facts of Nature are perceived by our senses; the thoughts of nature, to borrow an expression of Oersted's, can be conceived by our reason only. Now the first step towards this real knowledge, a step which, however small in appearance, separates man for ever from all other animals, is *the naming of a thing*, or the making a thing knowable. All naming is classification, bringing the individual under the general; and whatever we know, whether empirically or scientifically, we know it only by means of our general ideas. Other animals have sensation, perception, memory, and, in a certain sense, intellect; but all these in the animal are conversant with single objects only. Man has sensation, perception, memory, intellect, and reason, and it is his reason only that is conversant with general ideas—a power as distinct from our perceptive faculties as the sun is from the earth, which it fills with light, and warmth, and life. At the very point where man parts company with the brute world, at the first flash of reason as the manifestation of the light within us, there we see the true genesis of language. Analyse any word you like, and you will find that it expresses a general idea peculiar to the individual to which the name belongs. Amid the rich superabundance of synonymes,[1] a process of *elimination* soon began to take effect, and in this *struggle for life* the less strong were destroyed. The springtide of language was followed by its autumn. The fact that every word is originally a predicate,—that names, though signs of individual conceptions, are all, without exception, derived from general ideas,—is one of the most important discoveries in the science of language. It was known before that language is the distinguishing characteristic of man; it was known also that the having general ideas is that which puts a perfect distinction betwixt man and brutes; but that these two were only different expressions of the same fact, was not known till the theory of roots had been established. But though our modern philosophers did not know it, the ancient poets and framers of language must have known it. For in Greek, language is *logos*, but *logos* means also reason, and *alogon* was chosen as the name, and the most proper name, for brute. No animal thinks, and no animal speaks, except man. Language and thought are inseparable. Words without thought are dead sounds; thoughts without words are nothing. To think is to speak low; to speak is to think aloud. The word is the thought incarnate.'—1st Ser. p. 427.

[1] Von Hammer counts 5,744 words, all relating to the camel.

We have placed before our readers this long extract, because it contains the substance of the conclusions reached throughout this investigation. One remaining question, indeed, there is, which demands a reply: 'How can sound express thought? 'How did roots—which to the student of language are simply 'ultimate facts—become the signs of general ideas?' To this the lecturer replies by defining roots as *phonetic types*, moulded, as we might say with Plato, by the hand of God, and words are 'various expressions taken from those phonetic moulds.' It may be further stated, in the way of explanation—so far as an analogy will help in that direction—that man, beyond the mere power of utterance which he has in common with the beast, possessed at the outset the faculty of articulately expressing the general conceptions of his mind. That faculty was not of his own making. It was an instinct—an instinct of the mind—as irresistible as any other instinct. Man loses his instincts as he ceases to want them. His senses become fainter when, as in the case of scent, they become useless. Thus the creative faculty—which gave to each general conception, as it thrilled for the first time through the brain, a phonetic expression—became extinct when its object was fulfilled.

In his Second Series, which contains twelve lectures,—that is, three more than are found in the First Series—after dwelling on the immense material accumulated for analysis in the science of language, the Professor proceeds to discover and establish more firmly some of the principles of the science, from an examination of the English, French, German, Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. But, to be on our guard against supposing the study of these languages alone to be enough, we must remember that it is above all things necessary to study the *nomad* languages in order to a fuller mastery of the science of language, for it is through these alone we attain those experiences which are denied us in the *state* languages. The condition of constant flux in which—through the force of involuntary phonetic decay and unconscious dialectic regeneration, and the prevalence of certain tribal superstitions—these languages exist, supplies a current illustration of how language at the beginning may be conceived to have assumed its local form. We speak of local superstitions as affecting language. The women of some races forbear to use certain words; a like restraint, as regards another class of words, is imposed by the men upon themselves. Hence results a twofold character of language: a *man* speech and a *woman* speech, corresponding to that variety which is observable in Greek between the Æolic and Ionic; in German, between High and Low; in Celtic, between Gadhelic and Cymric; in Indian, between the Sanskrit, the language of kings, noble-

men and priests, and the Prâkrit, the domestic tongue of women and servants.

Professor Müller's Second Series of Lectures is divided into two parts: that which treats of the *exoterica* of language—the letters, syllables, words, and their etymology; and the *esoterica*, which will embrace an examination of the first conceptions that claimed utterance from man; the combinations, growth, &c. of these: and hence the inquiry will be pursued into some of the fundamental principles of mythology.

A child's language is in reality Chinese spoken in English. At first the child does not speak grammatically; and when he has learned to speak, he has rarely learned to think grammatically. In his first utterances he knows not whether the word he employed is noun or verb. And hence it is concluded, on the admission that every inflectional language has passed through a radical and agglutinative stage, 'that roots were, to all intents and purposes, real words, and used as such in thought and speech.' In analysing a word to its root we must submit to certain phonetic laws. If we start with a root-vowel, *i* or *u*, the derivatives will not be the same as if that root-vowel had been *a*. A Sanskrit initial tenuis emerges a Gothic aspirate; a Sanskrit initial aspirate emerges a Gothic media; and a Sanskrit initial media emerges a Gothic tenuis. Having investigated, in the third lecture, the whole natural machinery of speech, Professor Müller, in his fourth lecture, resumes the discussion of the conditions of phonetic change. There are some languages which throw away letters which seem to us indispensable, or supply no 'normal distinctions' between labial, dental, and guttural. The American Indians never articulate with their lips: there are some dialects without gutturals: the dentals are more cosmopolitan; yet the *d* is wanting in Chinese, Mexican, and Peruvian; *n* is wanting to some American and *s* to some Australian dialects: no Chinese or Huron pronounces *r*; and the same letter is wanting in many American and Polynesian dialects. The table of consonants enumerates the following varieties:—

Hindustani has 48 consonants.
Sanskrit has 37, or, with the Vedic *l* and *lh*, 39.
Turkish, 32, of which only 25 are properly Turkish.
Persian has 31 consonants, of which 9 are Arabic.
Arabic has 28 consonants; the Kafir, 26; Hebrew, 23; English, 20; Greek, Latin, and Mongolian, 17; Finnish, 11; Polynesian, 10; Australian, 8; and the Melanesian, 12, 13, or 14.

Next to the uncertainty connected with the consonantal elements of language, that which most fosters phonetic change is that *imperfect articulation* which sometimes is attended by, or

results from, an inability to distinguish between two sounds, or a disposition, as with children,[1] to substitute, for instance, dentals for gutturals. In modern German even the hard and soft consonants 'become almost, if not entirely, indistinguishable.' But this imperfect articulation must be regarded as in a great measure arising from either an actual want of muscular energy, or from mere laziness. Popular abbreviations, indeed, might be added as another source of such imperfect articulation. When a north country housewife says 'Sitheras,' meaning 'Come hither, lass,' she is not, as a general rule, either deficient in muscular energy, or justly chargeable with laziness. Such is not her *timbre*. Thus while we look to these principles of phonetic change as producing marked lingual mutations, there is another principle at work in the varying of language, and that is *dialectic growth*, to the operation of which our lecturer is 'strongly inclined to ascribe the phonetic diversity which we observe between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin.' In the original language, as in the Polynesian dialects, 'two or three principal 'points of consonantal contact were not yet felt as definitely 'separated from each other.' This may be illustrated by *gharma, thermos,* and *formus,* Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin for *heat*. These three did not borrow each from the other, and modified it; 'but 'all three received it from a common source, in which its articu-'lation was as yet so vague as to lend itself to these various 'interpretations,' and hence the guttural, dental, and labial initials. The Roman settlers in Dacia, whose language still lives in the modern Wallachian, pronounced *aqua, apa;* and every *qu* followed by *a* they in a similar manner changed into a *p*. But we are not to suppose that this was done arbitrarily by these colonists, who, having pronounced the word *aqua* so at home, adopted a new pronunciation in their new land; rather, remembering how the Oscans pronounced, for instance, *quinque, pomtis,* we may believe that these exiles were really but retaining an original pronunciation of their vernacular.[2] By a series of diagrams our author illustrates his maxim, that all phonetic corruption can be anatomically explained. And hence it is true that words beginning with two consonants are most liable to injury. It has been argued that language in its infancy eschewed the contact of two or more consonants. This is justified by the evidence of the Polynesian, African, and Finnish languages. More dialects might be named. In the Aryan and Sanskrit the double consonants are the result of a phonetic economy, which, to shorten speech, dropped the vowels.

[1] The origin of Mr. Dickens' *nom de plume,* as described by himself, is an illustration.

[2] Compare also the Greek *pentpe* and Latin *quinque*.

Another like operation of the same law of phonetic economy brought about the omission of one of the consonants. *Stlocus* and *stlis* are *locus* and *lis*. On the other hand, the Gothic *fidvor* and English *four* are variations traceable to *phonetic corruption*, while the variations between *quatuor*, *tessares*, *pisyres*, and *fidvor* are dialectical. There is a change of guttural, labial, and dental; but each word in its place correctly expresses the same 'general conception.'

We have already briefly recorded Grimm's celebrated law of phonetic change. Differences of articulation are owing to the desire to express new conceptions; and if we may affirm that at one time the Aryans had no aspirates, we know that before they separated 'some of them, at all events, had elaborated a threefold modification of the consonantal checks.' For they had these three roots, *tar* (to use), *dar* (to tear), and *dhar* (to hold); and though we may not be able to say how they pronounced the *t*, *d*, and *dh*, we cannot reasonably doubt that they kept them quite distinct. In Greek, as the soft aspirates are wanting, they would appear as *tar* (ter-ma, ter-minus), *dar* (*derma*, skin), and *thass*. But in Latin, where the aspirate had no real existence, the distinction would be lost. *Tar* has been preserved down to our English *through;* and *dar* has passed through the Gothic *tairan* into 'tears.'

'Such losses, however, though they could be remedied, and have been remedied in languages which had not developed the aspirated varieties of consonantal articulation, were not submitted to by Gothic and other Low and High German tribes without an effort to counteract them. The Teutonic tribes were without aspirates; but when they took possession of the phonetic inheritance of their Aryan, not Indian, forefathers, they retained the consciousness of the threefold variety of their consonantal checks, and they tried to meet their claim as well as they could. Aspirates, whether hard or soft, they had not. Hence, when Sanskrit had fixed on soft, Greek on hard aspirates, Gothic, like the Celtic and Slavonic tongues, preferred the Latin corresponding soft checks; High German the corresponding hard checks. High German approached to Greek in so far as both agreed on hard consonants; Gothic approached to Sanskrit in so far as both agreed in some kind of aspiration. But none borrowed from the other; none was before the other. All four, according to my views of dialectic growth, must be taken as national varieties of one and the same type and in idea.'—Lectures 2d Ser. p. 206.

We find this law of Grimm illustrated by the roots, KAR, GAR, and KHAR (or GHAR). Let us take GHAR. This is changed in this fashion:—Sanskrit, *har*, to be happy, bright; Greek, *ch'airein;* Gothic, *geiro*, to desire; High German, *kiri*, desire: or again, Sanskrit, GAR, to shout or praise; Greek, *gērys*, a voice; *geranos*, a crane, lit. the shouter; Anglo-Saxon, *crân;* High German, *challôn*, to call; *chrânoh*, a crane. Once more; Sanskrit, KAR, to make, to achieve; *kratu*, power; Greek,

kratys, strong; *kartos*, strength; Gothic, *hardus*, hard; High German, *harti*.

The same process of change is interestingly traced out in the case of the three roots, *dhu*, to shake; *du*, to burn; and *tu*, to grow. In all this there is no gradual strengthening or decomposition. There was simply and solely 'a shifting of the three cardinal points of the common phonetic horizon of the Aryan nations.' There are a few words, the common property of the Aryan nations, which invite examination. Thus, *mother* has the same root, *mâ*, in all the Aryan languages; and also the same derivative, *tar*. In other cases in their derivative elements they differ, while they remain identical in their roots and meanings. Thus STAR, to strew, as applied to the stars which strew about their light, is not the same as *stella*, nor these again the same as *târâ*; yet it is evident that before the confusion of the Aryan tongues the root was applied to the stars; and hence *staras* (pl. in Veda); *sterula* (*stella*); Gothic, *stairno*; Sanskrit, *târâ*; Greek, *aster*. This word, indeed, presents a practical exception to the law we have recognised, and so in fact confirms it. According to that law, the Gothic form should have given us for *stâ*, *sthâ*; but whenever the tenuis is preceded by an *s*, *h*, or *f*, these letters protect the *k*, *t*, *p*, and guard it against the execution of the law. The English, *deer*; Anglo-Saxon, *deor*; Gothic, *duis*; Greek, *ther* or *pher*; Latin, *fera*; Old High German, *tior*; Sanskrit, *dhrish*, to dare; Old Slavonic, *drizate*; Old High German, *tarran*; Greek, *tharsein*; Gothic, *gadaursan*; English, *to dare*. Professor Müller gives illustrations of all the varieties of change. The historical arguments grounded on the investigation of the term for *iron* is very interesting: —

'In Sanskrit, *ayas* [Latin, *æs*, *æris*; Gothic, *ais*; Old High German, *êr*; Modern Greek, *er-z*; Anglo-Saxon, *âr*; English, *ore*], which meant originally copper, assumed the special meaning of iron; and we find that in German, too, the name for iron was derived from the older name for copper. The Gothic *eisarn*, iron, is considered by Grimm as a derivative form of *aiz*, and the same scholar concludes from this, that 'in Germany bronze must have been in use before iron.' *Eisarn* is changed in Old High German to *îsarn*, later to *îsan*, the Modern German *eisen*; while the Anglo-Saxon, *îsern*, leads to *îren* and *iron*. It may safely be concluded, I believe, that before the Aryan separation gold, silver, and a third metal, *i.e.* copper, in a more or less pure state, were known. Sanskrit, Greek, the Teutonic, and Slavonic languages agree in their names for gold; Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin in their names for silver; Sanskrit, Latin, and German in their names for the third metal. The names for iron, on the contrary, are different in each of the principal branches of the Aryan family, the coincidences between the Celtic and Teutonic names being of a doubtful character. If then we consider that the Sanskrit, *ayas*, which meant originally the same as Latin, *æs*, and Gothic, *aiz*, came to mean iron,—that the German word for iron is derived from Gothic *aiz*, and that Greek *chalkós*, after meaning copper, was used as a general name

for metal, and conveyed occasionally the meaning of iron,—we may conclude, I believe, that Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and German were spoken before the discovery of iron, that each nation became acquainted with that most useful of all metals after the Aryan family was broken up; and that each of the Aryan languages coined its name for iron from its own resources, and marked it by its own natural stamp, while it brought the names for gold, silver, and copper from the common treasury of their ancestral home.'—2d Ser. p. 234.

A like argument may be applied to the use of the word in Latin for beech, which in Greek means oak, and the Latin *quer-cus*, as related to the Anglo-Saxon *furh*,[1] a fir. Danish excavations reveal a *fir* period, succeeded by an *oak* period, and this again superseded by an age of *beech*. Successive migrations from a fir country into an oak country, and from an oak country into a beech country, may account for so remarkable an extension of the terms.

The sixth lecture is on the principles of etymology. The science of language knows, properly speaking, no difference between the old and the new. But, on the other hand, it is the modern languages which provide the standard for the measurement of the 'possible changes which words may undergo both in form and meaning, without losing their identity;' and in the modern languages, of course, we can alone detect the secret growth of new forms and meanings. Thus *schlecht*, which at first meant *good, straight, simple*, is now *useless, bad*. We owe *Palatium* to Nero, who built his imperial mansion on the Palatine, a hill called after the rural god Pales. The word then came to be applied to the vault of the mouth, and then again to the vault of the sky. The word *court*, traced through its history, supplies an illustration to the same effect, and indicates an origin among a pastoral people. On the other hand, such words as *govern* are the words of a seafaring population. By many other striking illustrations Professor Müller justifies his statement, that 'words reflect the history of nations.' There is no invention of words. We speak substantially the same language as the earliest ancestors of our race.

The four fundamental maxims which form the Magna Charta of the science of language are:—(1) That the same word takes different forms in different languages, as well as (2) in the one and same language; (3) that different words take the same form in different and (4) in the same language. The first maxim is illustrated in the case of *ipse*, which emerges through the old Provençal, *eps*; New Provençal, *eis*; Italian, *esso*; Spanish, *ese, essme, ipsissimum*; in the Old French, *meisme* = *même*; and the Italian, *medesimo*. Then according to the second maxim we have *wise* and *guise*; *vile* and *guile*; the Latin *vadium* or *wadium* is

[1] *f* is rendered by *qu*, in accordance with Grimm's law.

connected with German, *wetti*, a pledge; Gothic, *vadi;* Italian, *gaggio;* and French, *gage.* The root *pat*, which in Sanskrit means to fly, is related to *petomai.* Hence, with the instrumental suffix *tra*, we have *pat-tra* or *patatra* (*phathra*, feather), the instrument of flying, a feather. Hence also *petna*, which, through the intermediate Italian form *pesna*, comes forth the Latin, *penna.* We cannot delay to quote the very striking illustrations confirmatory of the third and fourth maxims.

The Aryan roots have definite forms and definite meanings. The philosophers who of old theorized on the origin of language, such as Heraclitus and Democritus, variously ascribed the origin of speech to nature or convention. The latter philosopher, in a brilliant definition, described words as sound-statues not made with hands. The former described them as imitations of nature, reflections of things as they are expressed by instinct. So profoundly did they reason on this topic, that even Epicurus met the objection, that nature being the mother of language, language ought to be everywhere the same, and anticipated the reply of Humboldt by the remark that, as human nature itself is variously affected by the differences of climate and condition of being, in like manner analogous influences affect and diversify the formation of words. Professor Müller suggests that the theory which is really due to 'the genius of Darwin,' *natural selection*, or, as he prefers to call it, *natural elimination*, will establish a harmony between his own and the philosophy of the ancients on this topic:—

'As a number of sensuous impressions received by man produce a mental image or a perception, and, secondly, as a number of such perceptions produce a general notion, we may understand that a number of sensuous impressions may cause a corresponding vocal expression, a cry, an interjection, or some imitation of the sound that happens to form part of the sensuous impressions; and, secondly, that a number of such vocal expressions may be merged into one general expression, and leave behind the root as the sign belonging to a general notion. But as there is in man a faculty of reason which guides and governs the formation of sensuous impressions into perceptions, and of perceptions into general notions, the gradual formation of roots out of mere natural cries or imitations takes place under the same rational control. General notions are not formed at random, but according to law, that law being our reason within, corresponding to the reason without—to the reason, if I may so call it, of Nature. Natural selection, if we could but always see it, is invariably rational selection. It is not any accidental variety that survives and perpetuates itself; it is the individual which comes nearest to the original intention of its Creator, or what is best calculated to accomplish the ends for which the type or species to which it belongs was called into being, that conquers in the great struggle of life. So it is in thought and language. Not every random perception is raised to the dignity of a general notion, but only the constantly recurring, the strongest, the most useful; and out of the endless number of general notions that suggest themselves to the observing and gathering mind, those only survive and receive phonetic expression which are absolutely requisite for the work of life. How is it that a new word is some-

times accepted, while at other times the best words newly coined or newly revived by our best writers are completely ignored and fall dead? We want an idea that is to exclude caprice as well as necessity—that is to include individual exertion as well as general co-operation—an idea applicable neither to the unconscious building of bees—nor to the conscious architecture of human beings,—and this idea, itself new—a new genus of thought is *Natural Selection*.'—2d Ser. p. 310.

Of general terms those only become typical which we call roots, 'specific centres of language.' As an example MAR is given.

First let us enumerate the changes *mar* is exposed to:

mar = mri = mra = mla = mbro = mlo = bro = blo.

Now if we regard *mar* as a transitive verb, with the sense of grinding, we have all the family of the word *mill;* and as *mill* imports figuratively to *fight*, we have *mar-namai* in Greek, and the more emphatic word *mrinâmi* in Sanskrit; *mōlos, mōlōps,* toil, welt. On the other hand, regard *mar* as intransitive, with the obvious meaning of being pulverised and worn away, we have the Sanskrit *murch,* to faint; and *maraino* and its derivatives, *mōlys* and its derivatives; *morior* and its derivative *morbus;* Sanskrit, *mriye,* I die, and its derivatives; *marta,* the dying creature, an early name of man; *brotos* and its derivatives; in the Teutonic, *maurthr* = murder; and in the Lithuanian and Old Slavonic there are many other words related. *Mûrti* (=*corpus*) in Sanskrit is the body decayed. Add Sanskrit, *marman,* a joint, implying the grinding movement of the articulated joints: *membrum; mora,* delay; Sanskrit, *maru,* a desert; *mare,* the sea; *marmar, marmor,* Mars; Ares; Sanskrit, *marut.* The change of *r* into *l* gives us, in the sense of rubbing, the Greek *melgo,* the Latin *mulgeo,* and *mulceo.* Add the final guttural, and we get *marcus,* a pestle, the root of Charles Martel's name. Add the final labial *p,* and *marp* = *malp* = *mlap* = *blap* gives us *malma,* Gothic, sand; *malleus; melpo; elpis,* hope; *mollis; mellow;* and the Greek *marpto, blapto,* and its belongings. *Mar* with *d* gives us *mordeo,* to *smart, malt,* melt; *mild, merimna, memor, martyr.*

We pass on to the consideration of metaphors, and the maxim of Locke, that 'all words expressive of immaterial conceptions are derived from words expressive of sensible ideas.' All roots convey only sensuous expressions, as Professor Müller records it. Hence the myths; and above all that prevailing one recognised in our use of the word *nothing.* Now metaphors are twofold: *radical* and *poetical.* Radical, when a root which means to *shine* is made to supply, not only the names of fire and sun, but also the brightness of *thought;* and *poetical,* when, for instance, the rays of the sun are called the hands of the sun. In the growth of the use of metaphors two tendencies have been noticed: one, when many things were called by the same names;

the other, when names were multiplied for the same object. The homonymous and polyonymous period Professor Müller designates as the mythic; not as affecting any strict chronological definition of its derivation, nor as necessarily implying the *fabulous* age. As an instance of the radical metaphor resulting in misunderstandings and mythological conceptions, we have the root *ark* or *arch* = to be bright = *arkáhe* = sun = moon = stars = hymn of praise. Hymns of praise came thus to be regarded as proceeding from the sun. In another direction we have from *arch*, *rich* and *rikta* = bright; and as *kt* and *ks* are interchangeable, we have *rikṣha* = the bear, from the brightness of its eyes, or skin; and this word was also applied to the stars, and specially the 'Seven Rishis,' or the 'Seven Sages.' *The Rikshas* are thus in Sanskrit homonymous with *the Bears*. Now there has never been found a reason why the constellation known by the name of the *Bear* was so styled by the Greeks and Romans *arktos* and *ursa*. The explanation is now here. Thus the name of the Artic regions rests on a very venerable misunderstanding. In India, however, the Seven Rikshas in popular forms became identified with the Seven Rishis, and many a fable sprang up as to the Seven Poets dwelling in the 'Seven Stars.' We have an amusing instance of a modern myth in the *Jerusalem artichoke*, which is the main ingredient in the *Palestine soup*, as though the vegetable came from Syria. It is an Italian growth; and the Jerusalem element in it is a corruption of *girasole* or sunflower. The John Dory is the *janitōre*, the fish of S. Peter, the gate-keeper of heaven. The tower near Grenoble, La Tour sans Venin, where poisonous animals were believed to die as soon as they approached it, is really the tower *San Verena* or *Saint Vraîn*. To return to the ancient metaphors. From the Sanskrit root *ghar*, to be bright (as with oil), we have *Harits*, the bright ones, or rays of the dawn = the horses of the sun; then in Greek *charis*, the dawn; the *Charites*, the attendants of the gods who anoint them with oil. Let us pass now from the consideration of the *radical* metaphor, where 'distinct conceptions have received their name from the same root, differently applied,' to the *poetical*. Thus the metaphor is obvious when the Greeks call the stars the eyes of night: but when they describe Argus the metaphor becomes a fable. So the Hindus call the Maruts, or winds, 'singers.' But the fable has begun when these same Maruts are regarded as musicians and poets. The discussion of the metaphor forms a fitting introduction to the consideration of the theological myths of the old time. It is a matter of wonder how a nation like the Greeks could have accepted and held the popular religion. And there is no doubt that many of their wisest men were wholly discontented with the current opinions about the gods. When

inquiring into the nature of their credenda the Greeks were met with three methods of explaining the religion of their race, the *ethical*, the *physical*, and the *historical*, according to the different theories of those who attempted that solution. The gods were invented to awe the wicked and keep by their fears the world in order.

The physical and indeed metaphysical view of the mythology of Greece is the same as the allegorical. According to this, the religious system of the ancients was nothing but the facts of external nature symbolized and rendered popular by a language to be understood by the most common folk. Another theory, indeed, which finds its latest interpreter in Creuzer, contends that the ancient myths embody the sublimest religious and moral teaching, and that they were intentionally framed to educate the race who received them for a higher destiny; that they received their final shape from the hands of a sacerdotal class, who possessed a mysterious wisdom and were the teachers of a monotheistic religion. The historical theory is really much older than its greatest teacher, Euhemerus, and the age of Alexander, for the principle finds a place in the writings of Hecatæus and Herodotus. While Euhemerus taught that the historical facts of an earlier age were embalmed in the myths of Greece, another theory averred that the *speciosa miracula* of the Bible narrative, and the grand forms of the Scripture heroes in disguise, fill the temples of heathendom. The latest maintainer of this view, which was first propounded by Bochart and enforced by Vossius, is the gifted ex-chancellor of the Exchequer. But the same benefits as accrued to the science of language from the discovery of the inter-relationships of the Aryan dialects, fell to the lot of the science of mythology. To ascertain the meaning of the names and the intention of the fables connected with the gods of heathendom, we must look at them in the light supplied by all the collateral evidences of the kindred and co-ordinate tongues. Progress in this direction has been, till lately, obstructed by the recollection of the arbitrary efforts of Sir. W. Jones to identify the Sanskrit deities with the gods of Homer. What the writings of the latter are to Greek mythology the Veda is to Hindu. Until that work is thoroughly mastered we cannot hope to arrive at a fully complete and trustworthy solution of the problem. Eight out of ten books are already before the European world, and the remaining volumes will be published in a few years. But the translation of the work thus published still remains to be accomplished. Thus much, however, we know as illustrative of the special question before us; that, in the Veda, the names of the gods—as being often used as appellatives—are intelligible: and we are able to descry in these

venerable writings the 'growth of the gods,' and the instinctive feeling that the many names are, after all, but different designations of the One All-knowing and Almighty Incomprehensible Being.

In examining the subject of the heathen faith, we must be careful to distinguish between the mythology and the religion. Scattered through Homer and other poets there are to be found pious, humble, and lofty acknowledgments of the power and mercy of the Godhead, which demonstrate the existence of an imperishable conviction in itself antecedent to all the polytheistic corruptions of the general mind of man. Therefore does it become us to approach in a reverent spirit, and, under its guidance, examine the 'sacred ruins of the ancient world.' As Müller nobly says:—'From one point of view the true 'history of religion is neither more nor less than an account of 'the various attempts at expressing the inexpressible.' (2d Ser. p. 425.)

He illustrates this by the examination of the history of the name of him whom Plato called the God of gods, Zeus.

There is an Aryan root whence comes *dyut*, to beam: hence comes *dyu*, a Sanskrit name for sky or day; hence Dyaus = Zeus. *Indra* also means 'sunny sky;'[1] and *dyu* is to *Indra* as kronos is to Zeus. However Zeus may have originally implied 'the sky,' the name became the expression of the faith of the race in the Supreme Being who is before the sky.

'Was it by the process of radical or poetical metaphor that the ancient Aryans, before they separated, spoke of *dyu* the sky and *dyu* the God? *i.e.* was the object of the *sensus luminis*, the sky, called *dyu*, light, and the object of the *sensus numinis*, God, called *dyu*, light, by two independent acts; or was the name of the sky, *dyu*, transferred, ready made, to express the growing idea of God, living in the highest heaven? Either is possible. The latter view could be supported by several analogies: names have a tendency to become things; *nomina* grew into *numina*, ideas into idols. Much however may be said in favour of the other view. We may likewise explain the synonymousness of sky and God in the Aryan languages by the process of radical metaphor.'—2d Ser. p. 447.

To specify some of the derivatives from *dyu*. In its vowel and other changes we have *dyo*, *dyao*, *dyâu*, *dyai*, *dyavan*, *dio*, *deo*, *dyu*, *dies*, *diu* (in Latin) Dyo: *dy* in Latin changes to *j*, *Jovis*. Dyavan, Zen, Zenos; *Jan*, *Janus*, *Juno*, *Junonis*. *Tiu* and *Tiusco*, the father of *Mannus* (Sanskrit, *man*, 'to measure,' 'to think'), and so the ancient Teutonic nations accounted man the son of God:—*Deva*, *Theos*, *Deus*.

Thus the first Aryan conception of the Godhead was that which connected it with the sky; and regarded Man as its Son.

[1] From a root yielding *indu*, drop. He is the giver of rain.

If we look into the records of some of the minor deities we shall find that there are some of them whose names belong to the earliest period of Aryan speech and thought. The beautiful, the beloved, the swift *Saramâ*, who follows *Indra*, who has lost and is seeking her bright cows, is the Dawn, searching for the lost rays of Light. As we identify *Śarvarî* and Cerberus, *Varuna* and *Ouranos*, Dyaus and Zeus, we identify—accent, consonant, and vowel being 'phonetically identical'—*Saramâ* and *Helena*. According to the Veda, she (Saramâ) was stolen by *Panies* (or Paris). Before the bright powers recover her, they conquer the offspring of Brisaya. Here we are forcibly reminded of Paris and Breseis in the siege of Troy, which is but the narrative of the daily siege of the East by the solar powers, who are every evening robbed of their treasures in the West.

Saramâ is the Dawn. Her son, Twilight, who steals the Sun's rays, is Sâramêya = Hermes, the lover of Ersè, who is the guide of travellers and souls; who has two dogs—in the Veda, Vritri and Śarvarî; who in Greece has Orthros and Cerberos. The legend of Hermes is, however, much more developed than that of Sâramêya.

Saranyû is also the Dawn (= Erinnys). Like *Ushas* (also the Dawn) she is represented as a mare, and finds her correlative in the Sun, represented as a horse. The whole theogony and philosophy of the ancient world centred in the 'dawn.'

'The difficulty which I myself have most keenly felt is the monotonous character of the dawn and sun legends. "Is everything the dawn?" "Is everything the sun?" I am bound to say that my own researches lead me again and again to the dawn and the sun as the chief burden of the myths of the Aryan race.'– 2d Ser. p. 501.

The root *ah*[1] yields us in Sanskrit Ahanâ, the dawn: *Ahan* and *Ahar*, day, [Aharyu, the mortal solar hero = Achilles] gives us—*th* and *h* being interchangeable—*Athênê*. *Ahanâ* is the daughter of *Dyu;* and *Athênê* has no parent but *Zeus*. The goddess who makes persons waken is the same who makes them wise. Thus, too, is Athênê akin to Minerva = men-erva = mens = menos, Greek, = manas, Sanskrit, mind, = mâne (in the morning), = Mania, the mother of the Lares, = Ma-tula, the Dawn. The name of Erinnys is given to Demeter (Dyâvâ mâtar, Sanskrit, the Dawn, the mother corresponding to Dyaush, pitar, the sky, the father) occasionally; she who is changed into a mare, and bears two children to Poseidon, the sun rising out of the sea.

Professor Müller impartially examines the *meteorological* theories of Professor Kuhn, and adverts to the important discovery of Eugene Burnouf; who has traced back the three

[1] *Ah* is connected with *dah*, whence Daphne, the Dawn.

great epic heroes of the later Persians to the Zend-Avesta, where they appear as representatives of three of the earliest generations of mankind; while their prototypes are to be found in the Yama, Trita, and Krisâsva of the Veda. 'I look upon the sunrise and sunset,' he says, in conclusion,

'on the daily return of day and night, on the battle between light and darkness, on the whole solar drama in all its details that is acted every day, every month, every year, in heaven and on earth, as the principal subject of early mythology. I consider that the very idea of Divine powers sprang from the wonderment with which the forefathers of the Aryan family stared at the bright (deva) powers, that came and went, no one knew whence or whither, that never failed, never faded, never died, and were called immortal, *i.e.* unfading, as compared with the feeble and decaying race of man. I consider the regular recurrence of phenomena an almost indispensable condition of their being raised, through the charms of mythological phraseology to the rank of immortals, and I give a proportionately small space to meteorological phenomena, such as clouds, thunder, and lightning, which, although causing for a time a violent commotion in nature and in the heart of man, would not be ranked together with the immortal bright beings, but would rather be classed either as their subjects or as their enemies.'—2d Ser. p. 518.

When language assumes an independent power and reacts on the mind, the result is mythology. By the very force of the definition, mythology is not a past fact. So long as language possesses its own peculiar charm it will exercise this reflex control on the mind of man. In our use of such terms as Nature, Law, Freedom, and the like, we have mythologised. Professor Müller points out the 'hieroglyphic mythology of some of our tavern signs' and the popular names of ships:—*The Plume and Feathers*, which was originally the *Plume of Feathers;* the *Cat with a Wheel*, which was *St. Catherine's Wheel;* the *Bull and Gate* and the *Bull and Mouth*, which was the *Boulogne Gate* and *Boulogne Mouth;* the *Goat and Compasses*, which was originally 'God encompasses us;' the *Three Goats*, which had been the *Three Gowts*, or drains, near Lincoln; the George and Cannon, the Billy Ruffian, the Iron Devil, the Rose of the Quarter Sessions, which were originally the *George Canning*, the *Bellerophon*,[1] the *Hirondelle*, and *La Rose des Quatre Saisons*. At Lincoln, in the minster yard, were steps originally called *Greesen*, or steps, which are now the *Grecian Stairs*.

The most remarkable instance of this kind is the word barnacles. It has three meanings:—

(1) It means a pair of spectacles. There is the German *brille* from *beryllus*, and then *bernlein;* in Old French, *bericle;* in the dialect of Berri, *bernique*. *Beryllicula* gives us *bernicula* and *barnacles*.

[1] Müller identifies Bellerophon = Ellerophontes = Leophontes = *Deophontes* = *Dâsa*-slayer (slayer of the enemies of the gods) with *Hercules*. The first element of the word *bellero* = varvara = barbaros. The Sanskrit term properly means the negro-like aboriginal inhabitants of India overthrown by the Aryans.

(2) There is the cirrhopode *barnacle*=*bernacula*=*pernacula*, the diminution of *perna*, a leg of pork, from the similarity of shape.

(3) The *barnacle* goose. Sir Robert Moray, in the Philosophical Transactions of 1677–8, declares that he saw in the Western Isles a log partly covered with little shells, 'having within them little birds, perfectly shaped, supposed to be barnacles,—each a perfect sea fowl, and like a goose. All were dead.' These are the *tree* geese of which 'John Gerarde, Master in Chirurgerie,' writes in 1597. What his eyes saw and his hands touched he will declare. These tree geese were smaller than geese, and bigger than mallards. Any one who pleases to doubt is invited to call on him, and Doctor John will 'satisfy him by the testimony of good witnesses.' It was a pity that they were so scarce, as the priests eat them in Lent, they being neither fish nor flesh. Perhaps there was something feathery in the shape of the feet: the legend may have risen in this way, or it may, after all, have been only an Irish practical joke. Barnacle geese are natives of Ireland, and Hiberniculæ= berniculæ. And as the Indian priests indulge in the prohibited fish, by calling it sea-vegetable, so we may believe the Irish ecclesiastics found a way to utilise the creature. The wonder is, that Pius II. or rather Æneas Sylvius, when in Scotland, did not, with all his wit, light on a solution of the wonder.

Here is another and more apposite illustration. S. Bonaventura declared, that the crucifix before which he spoke dictated all his words to him; immediately the multitude declared that the saint had a speaking image. Artists represented martyrs who had been decapitated as carrying their heads in their hands. The people were ready to swear that these martyrs walked after death, embracing their own heads.

In the concluding pages of this admirable volume, Professor Müller points out how the mythologic influence pursues the metaphysician into his study, and the natural philosopher into his laboratory. The atoms, and imponderables, the calorics, and the ethers, like Selene and Endymion, and Tithonus and Aurora, are simply myths and nothing more.

But to revert once more to the ancient myths, one question remains to be answered. We have seen that there was a time when these myths were not. We have in Homer many testimonies to a religion comparatively simple and undefiled, to a pure consciousness of the Presence and Power of the Deity. When did Language attain its majority and begin to react upon, and constrain, and overbear its own tutors and governors, spiritual pastors and masters? Professor Müller divides the earliest age into four periods: the *Rhematic*, the *Dialectic*, and the *National* periods. Between the Dialectic and the National,

half-way, he interposes the *Mythopœic age*. Of this period we are not, although it is so remote, wholly ignorant. Language teaches us how the Aryan families were yet united in their central pastoral home. We have all the near relations:—The father, pitár (*pa*, to protect), mother, matar (*ma*, to fashion), brother (*bhralan*, he who assists), sister[1] (*svasar*, she who consoles), duhitar, = daughter (DUH, to draw, properly milkmaid), *sunu*, a son, putra (= puer) a boy, &c. In a word, the names for all the relationships and even the affinities were fixed. And there were widows, which there would not have been had suttee been; for *dhava*, Sanskrit for man, with the privative preposition *vi* becomes vi-dhava = *vidua*. The names for *people*, *king*, *queen*, *house*, *garden*, *door*, *village*, *path*, all had been determined. The peaceful life of the whole community, ere it was broken up, is thus defined for us. To the previous list must be added, as common to all the kindred Aryan dialects, the words for ploughing, land, grain, cooking, baking, clothes, thread, metals. The sea they do not appear to have known; but if Sanskrit vari = *mare*, it will mean water in general, as of a lake (= stagnant, dead water; *mare*, from *mari*, to die). Yet they were not unacquainted with boating; for with them, as with the Latins and Greeks, a boat is *nāvas* = *vaûs* = navy. Lastly, they had a decimal system of numeration up to a hundred; 'thousand' had not yet been devised; and so here Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, and Gothic, harmonious to this point, all differ. Now the abstract noun, which is only an adjective raised into a substantive, may soon, as in the case of such words as night, day, nature, become to our thoughts the reflection of a *substance*. And as in these ancient languages each noun had a termination expressive of gender, these substances became individuals, some helped forward in their personalization by their acquiring the distinction of sex. Where two names existed for the same object two persons would spring up. We have seen above what an important part was played by the want of muscular energy in forwarding the growth of phonetic change. The same *rôle* in the development of the myth is to be ascribed to the want of *mental* energy. The difficulty of dealing with abstract nouns was too great: the want of purely auxiliary words made it worse. Every word, whatever it was, retained its whole force and was heavy and unwieldy. After the separation of the tribes it was to be expected that the subtle and quick-witted Greek would multiply his fables. Hence, in most instances it is possible to disentangle from their more modern accretions, and trace up

[1] It is not to be concluded from the loss of Ayran names for brother and sister by the Greeks, that at the time they started from home these words did not exist. We have no reason to suppose they left before the Teutons and Celts.

each tradition to that primal poetry of thought in which the undivided race expressed its consciousness of nature: and yet withal the sense of the invisible was not wholly lost.

> 'And haply sometimes when the lock was shed
> Upon the flowing stream, a thought arose
> Of Life continuous, Being unimpaired,
> That hath been, is, and where it was and is
> There shall abide; existence unexposed
> To the blind march of mortal accident,
> From diminution safe and weakening age,
> While man grows old, and dwindles, and decays,
> And countless generations of mankind
> Depart and leave no vestige where they trod.'—*Excursion.*

Hindu mythology can contribute little for comparative purposes. It is, properly speaking, indigenous and modern: that alone which is natural and intelligible is to be found in the Veda, which 'fortunately contains no system of religion or mythology.'

But although in this way unprofitable, it has many attractions of its own. After contrasting the legends of Baldr, Herakles, Sîfrits, to show us 'whether the swarthy Hindu has been able to throw an equally beautiful haze around the names of his mythical traditions,' Professor Müller recites the story of the loves of Purûravas and Urvasî,—a very touching and beautiful idyll, for which we must refer our readers to the book itself. It is the old tale of Orpheus and Euridike; but in the Indian tale Urvasî had been transformed into a vine, and by the aid of the 'Gem of Union' the King was able to disenchant her and restore her to himself. The gem is placed on Urvasî's forehead, and the King and his heavenly bride return to Allahabad.

The connexion of the Indo-Germanic languages is reflected in the connexion which exists between the mythologies of the nations united in the Indo-Germanic family. This is proved by an examination of the religious myths and the popular tales of the several countries. In *Iceland* we have the only complete remains of 'genuine Teutonic heathendom.' The only Gothic we have is a translation of the Bible. Excepting the Beowulf, Anglo-Saxon literature is Christian. The heroes of the Nibelunge have been 'converted into Church-going knights.' The persons of the Edda are all pagans. Norsemen, flying from the despotic rule of Harold Fairhair, had discovered and settled in Iceland in the ninth century. Two centuries later the Gaels were christianized by a gentle race of priests, to whom we are indebted for the preservation of the national poems, which were composed in Norway in the sixth, carried to Iceland in the ninth, century, and were committed to writing in the eleventh. The Iceland religious system is part of the religious system of

the Aryan race. Thus the popular tales of the Teutonic race are shaped out of the *detritus* of the old Aryan traditions. Some of the fables of La Fontaine are to be found in the fables which have been collected in Sanskrit. We learn from De Sacy that in the sixth century of our own era a work containing those very fables was brought to the court of Persia; was translated there; in the next century was translated into Arabic; then re-translated into modern Persian; at the end of the seventeenth century was translated into Greek and Latin; then into Italian; and then into Hebrew. In the same century a multitude of Oriental tales reached Europe through a French version, these professing to be a collection made by '*Le Sage Bilpay, Indien.*' These are the fables of Pilpay from which La Fontaine borrowed the subject of his later fables. There are stories, however, older than the Odyssey; older than the dispersion of the Aryan race: the 'Master Thief' of the Hitopadesa (the translation of which work had not reached Europe in the time of Herodotus) is reproduced, in idea, in the Master Thief of the Norse legends. The far older Indian story of the 'King and the Monkey' is reproduced in the Norse legends, and in Phædrus' modern version of 'the Donkey in the Tiger's skin.' The wild huntsman Odin is Indra the god of storms. The Highland story of the Frog who wished to marry the Queen's daughter, and on her consenting becomes a handsome man, is an accommodation of the Oriental legend in which Bhekí (a title of the Sun, and meaning a frog, because of the Sun at setting appearing to squat on the water) is found by a king sitting at the side of a well. She consents to accept his love on condition that he never shows her any water. Once, forgetting his promise, yet complying with her request, he brings her water and she vanishes: the Sun dies at the sight of water. Such is the meaning of the original tale in its Sanskrit clothing. These stories have come like our figures from the same Aryan source. And as with our numerals the Arabs unjustly get the credit of devising them, so with the legends, those in whose hands our nursery stories have been last found have the merit of inventing them.

We have traced language and its shadow fiction from its birthplace to the West and South, under the guidance of Professor Müller, without apprising our readers that in doing so we have already broken ground in the volumes of Essays, which an anecdote told at the beginning of the preface informs us owe their quaint title to a remark of Bunsen's, to whose memory, as of a 'friend and benefactor,' the Essays are inscribed. 'More than twenty 'years have passed since my revered friend Bunsen called me

'one day into his library at Carlton-house Terrace, and announced 'to me with beaming eyes that the publication of the Rig-Veda 'was secure. He had spent many days in seeing the Direc- 'tors of the East India Company, and explaining to them the 'importance of this book, and the necessity of having it published 'in England. At last his efforts had been successful, the funds 'for printing my edition of the text and commentary of the 'sacred hymns of the Brahmans had been granted, and Bunsen 'had been the first to announce to me the happy result of his 'literary diplomacy. "Now," he said, "you have a work for 'life, a large block that you will take years to plane and polish. 'But mind," he added, "let us have from time to time some 'chips from your workshop." ' In accordance with the wish of his illustrious friend, Professor Müller has from time to time written on his own special themes in the reviews of the day, and in the present volumes he has collected together these scattered but very valuable papers. The first volume alone will now engage our attention, in which the preface is not the least interesting. We confess that we have nowhere discovered any reason for the Professor asking our forbearance for his style, as that of a German speaking in English. Whatever may be detected *outlandish* in his accent, his written style is a singularly pure, idiomatic, and vigorous English. Although we have, through circumstances the most fortunate, come into possession of the Veda, the Zend-Avesta, and the Tripitaka, the religious books of the Brahmans, the Zoroastrians, and the Buddhists, the difficulty in mastering their contents is so great as to bar any real progress in effecting for the science of religion what we have already accomplished for the science of language. But the religions of Asia are not the only systems the materials for elucidating which have come into our hands: the writings of the Bible are becoming daily more illustrated; Oriental scholars are criticising the Koran, which, through the learning of Rodwell, has been rehabilitated in English dress; and travellers and scholars have explored and written on the nomad tribes of the Arabian peninsula. The same spirit of inquiry has addressed itself to the study of the three religions of China, the religion of the Turcoman nations, and of the tribes of Africa, America, and Polynesia.

But the difficulty which lies in the student's way in dealing with such an accumulation of material is well illustrated by one instance. The religion of Confucius, of his predecessors and disciples, is pronounced by one class of critics as embracing some of the noblest speculations on the constitution of the universe and the nature of God. Another class of critics charge him with circulating the most frivolous and degrading idolatry. Again, the

religion of the Hindus, to the passing observer, appears to be idol worship, pure and simple. The cultivated Hindu will indignantly repudiate the accusation. From such contrary views this warning is to be extracted, that the subject itself is to be approached with the greatest care and freedom from prejudice; with a desire to do justice, in the temper of S. Paul, to whatever fragment of truth divine those systems may be found to embrace. A comparative study of the religions of mankind will be of service to the missionary above all others. It is too much the temper of our narrow and sectarian evangelists to find little that is human, and less that is true, in the religious systems of those with whom we differ. The *habitué* of Exeter Hall will find in the Roman or Anglican system little else than what will seem to him calculated imposture and unblushing hypocrisy. But he that hath the truth will recognise, and with a divine honesty will duly appraise, whatever grain of Truth he may discover among the spiritual ruins of our race. It was in such a way that the blessed Paul built up his sublime argument for humanity on the altar of the Deity who was Unknown. Humility and charity should foster in us this appreciative temperament, for every difficulty which the unevangelized encounter in their faith as they accept it, and which is reflected in some degree or other in the difficulties and intellectual trials that beset the acceptance of the Christian faith. Another motive to lowliness of thought is derived from the consideration of that universal fact, the decay of all religions from the purity of their originals. That appeal, constant and true to the example, and teaching of a purer age, which Rome has abandoned, which itself involves the admission that the glow of the first love has passed away, forms the security, under God, of the Anglo-Catholic Church. In the days of Alexander, and the fourth century of Buddhism, the appeal was made from the existing corruptions of that community to what Buddha had himself taught. Our missionaries may indeed well be humble. Here is the oldest and, save the Christian, the only missionary religion in the world: which, at the age when Isaiah was prophesying of the incarnation, offered the Incarnate One to the reverence of the East; which, a system of constructive atheism, with its ten precepts, and its yellow robe, and its four degrees—freedom from sin, perfection, indifference, and the death of memory—despite the ancient system it revolted from, and the revolution that displaced it, reckons among its votaries 32 per cent. of the human race; one half, if we reckon the Brahminists with them. In comparison with this, what has the sublime morality of the Gospel, the divine doctrine of the incarnation and the Tri-personal God accomplished? It is Buddha and not Christ who reigns from Ceylon to the far North. It is not

its metaphysics or its doctrine which have secured the permanent success of Buddhism, but its moral and social code. All the virtues are inculcated, love, duty, forgiveness of wrongs, not requiting evil with evil; and all the virtues are held to spring from *Maitrî*, and *Maitrî* can only be translated charity. Hence the glowing eulogy on Buddha pronounced by M. B. St. Hilaire is fully justified. Buddha propagated his religion by the force of his own personal character and virtues—*par la seul puissance de la parole et de la persuasion.* As Buddha himself is reputed to be still alive, it may be that the doctrine of Nihilism, or Niruâna was either misunderstood or misrepresented. It is not likely, Müller opines—and in this commands our assent; rather, it is very unlikely—that so gifted and pure a moralist would have thrown aside one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of every religious teacher, the belief in a future life, 'and 'should not have seen that if this life was sooner or later to end 'in nothing, it was hardly worth the trouble which he took him-'self, or the sacrifices which he imposed on his disciples.' (*Chips*, vol. i. p. 234.)

We have written of Brahmans and Buddhists. Before proceeding to a brief notice of the literature of both, let us devote a moment to the consideration of the Parsis, who also have evolved a religious literature; who, had Darius conquered Greece, might have possibly swept away all the fables of Olympus; who under Shapur II. aimed at the extinction of Christianity in the East; who, broken by the Arabs, have for a thousand years been 'a mere curiosity in the eyes of the historian.' What has become of the religion of these Parsis—fire-worshippers, devotees of Ormuzd, disciples of Zoroaster? The census which makes Brahmans 13 and Buddhists 31 per cent. of the whole human race would not count the Parsis as more than 1 per cent. If the numbers are few, the followers of the faith, insensible to the allurements of Christians and Brahmans, are men of wealth and worth in every way, and devotedly zealous. An accomplished Parsi of the priestly caste, Professor of Guzerati at University College, London, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, has published two lectures delivered in Liverpool, which contain the fullest and most trustworthy account of these interesting folk. According to his statements, the Parsis are divided into the old or conservative, and the new or liberal school. A Parsi at rising, and his wife after childbirth, and his children at their initiation and investiture, wet their hands and faces with the urine of the cow. This custom is one which the liberals want to get rid of. Before and after each of his three meals and his oaths, the Parsi prays, making in all sixteen times. He does not know, neither do his priests, the

language of his prayers; he has no consistent knowledge of the faith he professes; he does not worship the fire, but he prays before a luminous object, regarding it as an emblem of the deity. Alone of the Easterns, he does not smoke; and he is reluctant to blow out a candle. The priesthood, hitherto very degraded, is now awakening to a sense of its duties. It is hereditary. There is no trace of dualism in the catechism that is published; and the strictest monotheism is professed, which may account for the vitality of the creed, and the devotion to it of its professors. The Parsi morality is summed up in the words, 'pure thoughts, pure words, pure deeds.' Thus the creed is very compact; very ancient; and, as an inheritance, very dear to those who hold it. This will account for the little impression made upon it by our missionaries.

We turn to the literature of these ancient religions. The Veda embodies the oldest Aryan literature, if it be not the very oldest existing book. Müller's labours in publishing this work were aided by the East India Company. The only Veda deserving the name is the Rig-Veda. The other four compose the manuals respectively of the officiating priests, choristers, readers, and bishops. The Rig-Veda means the *Veda of Hymns of Praise*, and the word Veda (*οἶδα*, I know) means wisdom. The contents of the Veda are arranged under the head of *Mantras*, hymns metrical and poetical, the collection of which is called *Sanhitâ*, and some prose works on ritual, and evidently of a later date, and called *Brâhmanas* and *Sûtras*. The *Sanhitâ* is in ten books, containing 1,028 hymns: 600 years B.C. every verse, every word, every syllable of the Veda had been carefully counted. The verses are about 10,622; the words, 153,826; and the syllables, 432,000. Our modern MSS., not more than four or five hundred years old, 'correspond as closely as could be expected.' It is just as the LXX. version confirms the existence of the Hebrew Scriptures, that the Sûtras prove the Brâhmanas; and these, partly rubrics adapted to the pre-existent devotional forms, prove the hymns: the writers of the Brâhmanas testifying to the antiquity of the hymns by betraying their ignorance of the ancient dialect in which they were composed. Indeed, the Buddhist schism and revolt from Brahmanism consisted in a great measure in renouncing the Divine revelation of the Veda. This brings us at once to B.C. 600. But Brahmanism, the ancient and established religion of the land, which had moulded the whole social and moral system of the race, could not have come up, like Jonah's gourd, in a night. From internal evidence we may conclude that the hymns are some of them as old as 1,500 years before Christ, while the actual collection may be placed at 1100 or 1200 B.C.

Israel was uttering dirges in Egypt when the Aryan race was breaking forth into their hymns of praise.

The idea of a Book-revelation was unknown to Greece and Rome. What Europe never anticipated was received as a familiar fact in Asia. The whole Veda, but the Veda alone, is the unique work of the Deity. As regards the religion of the Magians and Buddhists, the gods in the Veda are called *Deva* = the bright ones (= Deus). In the system of Zoroaster they are *Daeva* or evil spirits. In Buddhism they are the servants of Buddha. According to the religion of the Veda, there are no idols; no gods that die; the gods all dwell in heaven; by some of them heaven and earth are established; God is a great God and merciful, who has settled for ever the eternal laws of right and wrong. In the religion of the Veda the consciousness of sin is a prominent feature; and faith in the existence of the gods (Lat. *credo*; Sanskrit, *sraddha*,) is dwelt upon: and also personal immortality and responsibility after death. 'In one verse it is said 'that the dead is rewarded for his good deeds, that he leaves or 'casts off all evil, and glorified takes his body.' (*Chips*, i. p. 47).

At the dawn of traditional history we find the Aryan community in Central Asia breaking up, and some families passing to the west and north-west, while others, across the snowy barrier of the Himalayas, were advancing into Southern Asia, and the country of the 'Seven Rivers.' As the Aryan has retained something that seems peculiar to the several dialects of his northern kinsfolk, it is natural to suppose that 'though, perhaps, 'the eldest brother, the Hindu was the last to leave the central 'home' (*Chips*, p. 65). The north-western wayfarers represent the Aryan man in his historical character; the Hindu, on the other hand, is not in history; amid changes he has remained unchanged. 'His mind was like a lotus leaf after a shower of rain 'has passed over it; his character remained the same, passive, 'meditative, quiet, and thoughtful.' The Hindu possessed a philosophical, abstracted, earth-forgetting mind; he was pre-eminently *hieropathic;* with so much interiority of soul, that the inward life seems to have absorbed the remaining faculties of the race. All this, ancient thought expressing itself in ancient language, we have in the Veda. First man calls God *Brahman*, a *force;* then he calls Him *Atman*, Spirit; then Self, *das Ich* of the universe. Ere that

'Nor aught nor naught existed
The only one breathed breathless by itself:
Who knows the secret? Who proclaimed it how,
Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang?
The gods themselves came later into being:
Who knows from whence the great creation sprang?
He from whom all this great creation came,
Whether His will created or was mute,

The Most High Seer that is in highest heaven,
He knows it or, perchance even He knows not.'—
Rig-Veda, Hymn 129, Bk. x. Colebrooke tr.

Fifty years ago little, if anything, was known of Persian Now we know fully that Persian is derived from Zend as Italian from Latin; that Zend is not a corrupted Sanskrit, but an aboriginal dialect, approaching nearer in its grammar and dictionary to Sanskrit than any other of the Indo-European languages; and that the Avesta, or writings of Zoroaster, were reduced to writing somewhat before the time of the ecclesiastical establishment of Buddhism under Asoka, that is, about the time of Alexander's conquests. The schism between the Brahmans and Magians, witnessed to internally by the degradation of the *Deva* to *Daeva*, according to Burnouf, took place in Persia. He holds that the dissenting Brahmans immigrated afterwards into India. But most probably Burnouf, if his labours had been prolonged, would have acquiesced in the conclusions forced by later discoveries. Zend, which differs from Sanskrit principally in its sibilants, nasals, and aspirates, agrees more fully with the *Vaidic* than does the later Sanskrit. Indeed the name *Zend=Khandas*, Sanskrit = metrical language (Lat. *scandere*), and *Khandas* is the name given to the language of the Veda. Again, the *nomina* and *numina* of the Zend are more in accordance with those in the Veda than those in Manu or the Mahâbhârata. Even geographical evidence can now be quoted to prove that the Zoroastrians who had settled in India removed into Persia. Professor Roth of Tübingen has well expressed the mutual relation of the Veda and Zend-Avesta under the following simile: 'The 'Veda,' he writes, 'and Zend-Avesta are two rivers flowing from 'one fountain head. The stream of the Veda is the fuller and 'purer, and has remained truer to its original character; that of 'the Zend-Avesta has been in various ways polluted, has altered 'its course, and cannot with certainty be tracked back to its 'source.' (Chip. i. p. 87.)

It is the language of the Achæmenians, which appears in the Persian text of the cuneiform inscriptions. The Zend grammar has suffered greatly from the confusion in the phonetic system arising from oral tradition; and the text of the Avesta which we have is not older than the Sassanian dynasty. Hence it cannot be a matter of surprise that the ideas of the Avesta were hardly understood by even the learned. Alexander is said to have destroyed the works of the Zoroastrians. Whether these were recovered 500 years afterwards, from manuscripts or from oral tradition, must remain uncertain. We learn nothing of the Persian language during the Macedonian conquest and the Parthian occupation. The inscription of Ardeshir, the founder

of the Sassanian dynasty, which yields us 'the next glimpse of an authentic contemporaneous 'document,' is written in *Pehlevi,* i.e. *Huzvaresh* (the language used in the translations of the Avesta), and represents Persian in its third phase. This *Huzvaresh* may be regarded as the language of the Sassanian court and hierarchy.

'Works like the Bundehesh and Minokhired belong by language and thought to the same period of mystic incubation, when India and Egypt, Babylonia and Greece, were sitting together and gossiping like crazy old women, chattering with toothless gums and silly brains about the dreams and joys of their youth, yet unable to recall one single thought or feeling with that vigour which once gave it life and truth. It was a period of religious and metaphysical delirium, when everything became everything, when Mâyâ and Sophia, Mitra and Christ, Viraf and Isaiah, Belus, Zarvan and Kronos, were mixed up in one jumbled system of inane speculation, from which at last the East was delivered by the positive doctrines of Mohammed, the West by the pure Christianity of the Teutonic nations.'—Chip. i. p. 94.

The Arabs extinguished the Persian nationality. Now it was under the Sassanians that the first collection of epic traditions was made. This collection, however, was destroyed by Omar's command. But when the power of the Kaliphs was growing weak, even during the predominance of the religion of the Koran, a national spirit brought about a restoration of the use of the Persian language. It was spoken at court, and Persian poets were patronised. The dynasty of the Samanians —claiming descent from the Sassanians—and the dynasty of the Ghaznevides pursued the same popular course. Mahmud the Great, the second of this dynasty, ordered a collection of all the old books in the empire. From this collection Firdusi composed his great epic, the Shahnameh; the three most famous names in which — Jemshed, Feridun, and Garshasp — the assiduous genius of Burnouf has identified with Zoroastrian heroes, whose prototypes are the deities of the Veda. The biography of the language of Persia closes with the Shahnameh; thereafter there are no signs of growth or decay.

We have spoken of the close relationship in time and all else between the Veda and the Avesta. The Aitar eyah-Brahmana of the Rig-Veda has been published at the national expense at Bombay, and may receive a passing notice. A small work of only 200 pages, it contains the earliest speculations of the Brahmans on their sacrificial prayers and the significance of their ancient religious rites. Endeavours, which proved unsuccessful we find, were made from time to time to induce some of the Brahmans to publish such a work, but they were reluctant to do so, for the obvious reason that it was unwise to betray their arcana to the infidels. Another difficulty arose from the great scarcity of Brahmans who are familiar with the old Vedic ritual. Dr. Haug, at last, by very mercenary considerations, persuaded a

genuine D.D. of this system—one who had performed the minor Vedic sacrifices, and had also officiated at some of the great Soma sacrifices, now but rarely to be witnessed in India—to assist in the work, and to explain, by actual performance of the rites in a secluded part of Dr. Haug's house, the mysteries of the office. This lasted five days. Dr. Haug actually drank of the divine beverage, the Soma, which—albeit that it bestows wealth, wisdom, inspiration, and immortality—was very unpalatable and calculated to intoxicate. These hymns in whose rites only two classes of priests were required Dr. Haug thinks are to be accounted older than the Zoroastrian schism; the hymns in whose rites two new classes of priests are introduced he regards as posterior in composition to that schism. With this conclusion Müller does not agree in some measure, because the name of one of the supposed later classes of priests is certainly found in one of the earlier hymns. The sacrificial invocations are, no doubt, very ancient; but where it is hard for us to decide—as, for instance, whether the sacrifices of the Aryans, like those of the Jews, began with oblation and ended with psalms—we must be guided by the tradition of the Brahmans themselves, who place their poetical hymns before their ceremonial. As to the sacrifices themselves, they were in imitation, and nothing else, of the sun's course. The remotest date fixed on by Dr. Haug for the composition of the oldest hymn is 2400 B.C.; and the Brahmanas, he holds, were written in prose between 1400 and 1200 B.C.

Having in the preceding pages reviewed, with Professor Müller as guide, the origin of language and religion, and the literary history of the leading Aryan races, we shall complete our paper by a brief glance at the admirable essay with which Professor Müller's first volume closes, on the subject of Semitic monotheism. The brilliant and impulsive M. Rénan, in his '*Histoire générale et Système comparé des Langues Sémitiques*,' gives us more than he promises in his title—a review of the Semitic languages and nations; and as the only other race which has flourished in history is the Aryan—the course of events being but rarely interrupted by the inroads of the Turanian tribes—M. Rénan may not unjustly be regarded as having professed to give us 'half of the history of the ancient world.' The tribes composing the Semitic family are the Jews, Babylonians, Phenicians, Carthaginians, and Arabs. The chief bond to unify these is language; and the dialects of the Semitic nations are as certainly derived from one parent stock, as we have seen the dialects of the Indo-European tribes are from one great Aryan stock. Not content with settling this fully adequate basis as a criterion of the unity of the tribes, M. Rénan has devised—partly out of his own passion for

generalization, partly moved by the suggestions of Ewald and Lassen—a sketch of the Semitic man, in which some critics see features which ought not to be there, while other critics complain of the omission of certain features which ought to be expressed. He describes the Semitic man as in his religious phraseology 'simple, and free from any theological elements.' They are deficient in scientific and philosophical originality. They do not affect painting or the plastic arts. The general feature of their character is rather a negative one. But, above all, 'The mainspring of their religion is their conception of the unity of God.' It is to the discussion of this latter point Müller's essay is devoted; to the inquiry, Do the facts bear out the statement that a belief in the unity of God was the rule and not the exception of the Semitic race?

If the term 'Semitic' was as limited now as it was fifty years ago, when it only included the Jews and Arabs, it might have been said with considerable truth that the vocation of these nations had been to preach the unity of God. But now, after the many discoveries of these latter days, we find that the Semitic family includes two branches—the *nomad*, which reckons the Jews, Arabs, and the tribes neighbouring to Palestine, 'commonly called the descendants of Terah,' and the *political* branch, which embraces the nations of Phenicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Yemen. With what truth then can it be said that these nations, who zealously adopted the very grossest forms of an impure idolatry, who worshipped, the most of them always, false gods without number and all the host of heaven, were instinctive believers in, and consistent professors of, the unity of the Godhead? In a later publication M. Rénan feels himself compelled to modify his original statement, and explain that by each nation he means 'the intellectual aristocracy of the nation.' To justify this explanation, M. Rénan is bound to show that the definition is correct by the fact that the *majority* of the nation constitutes its intellectual aristocracy. Acting as an advocate, M. Rénan has sought out everywhere all the evidences of monotheism, but he has made no note of the no less, or rather the more, obvious traces of polytheism. Strange to say, too, M. Rénan ascribes this knowledge of the unity of the Godhead, not to any mental effort, but rather to a low state of intellectual culture: he holds that a *minimum* of religious reflection is all that is required for the intuition of the Divine unity, and he designates this minimum as the *religious instinct*. Now instinct is a term which belongs to natural history, and describes the unconscious acts of unconscious beings. To apply it to the conscious acts of conscious beings is an overstraining and perversion of the word. 'Is an 'instinct,' asks Müller, 'less mysterious than a revelation? Does

'the Aryan instinct lead to polytheism? Is instinct so fre-
'quently obscured as to be often almost wholly lost?'

'The primitive intuition of God and the uneradicable feeling of dependence on God could only have been the results of a primitive revelation, in the truest sense of the word. By the very act of the creation God had revealed Himself. This primitive intuition, however, was neither monotheistic nor polytheistic, though it might become either according to the expressions which it took in the language of man. It finds its most natural expression in the simplest and yet the most important article of faith—that God is God. In the first age there was as yet no word sufficiently reduced by the wear and tear of thought to serve as an adequate expression for the abstract idea of an immaterial and supernatural Being. At the time when the first attempt at finding a name for God was made, the divergence of the language of mankind had commenced. Whether the confusion of tongues was a natural or supernatural event, the science of language has proved it to have been inevitable. The Aryan and Semitic both share in the primitive intuition of God. What is peculiar to the Aryans is their very theological phraseology superadded to their polytheism; what is peculiar to the Semitic race is their belief in a national God—in a God chosen by His people, as the people had been chosen by Him.' —Chip. i. p. 370.

The God of the Arab and the Jew is the God of Abraham; that is, a God known not by instinct but by revelation properly so called. To that one man, Abraham, the revelation was made, and made, too, after he who was to receive it had been called to renounce a native land in which idolatry prevailed, and had been tried by God with many trials. 'It was through special 'faith that Abraham received his special revelation, not through 'instinct, not through abstract meditations, not through ecstatic 'visions.' Thus Abraham has been indeed a father in the faith, and so a father of the faithful. To him, first of all the created, was granted the intellectual vision of the Almighty. He received the blessing and transmitted it to all the nations who are blessed in him; heirs of his faith and his hopes of immortality. Later on, a yet further manifestation of the Divine nature was vouchsafed to his glorious descendant and daughter, Mary the ever-blessed mother of God. And finally, the crowning knowledge of God was vouchsafed with blessing too to the prince of the Apostles, to whom not flesh and blood but the very God of Abraham Himself revealed the essential and inherent divinity of the Son.

The novelty and the mystery of the theme that Müller handles with such surpassing skill, and his occasional felicity of expression and illustration, impart a peculiar charm to the volumes the substance of which we have endeavoured to place in brief before our readers. But these do not constitute the chief attraction of these works. There is breathing through all Müller writes a tender charity which recognises the grandeur and also responds to the sorrows of humanity. He never forgets

that he is a German, and he also never forgets the love he bears to England; but, more than all, he never fails in asserting the claims of man wherever he is. In his almost fiery zeal to disentangle the confusions and abate the miseries caused by language in the life and the religion of our race, he preaches an eloquent sermon on some of the greatest maxims of S. John. If as yet he has been less of a discoverer than others, he has proved himself something better than a mere discoverer by circulating and commending the discoveries of others. We cannot but augur that from the labours he is now engaged in he will reap a large harvest of results, not only illustrative of the truths hitherto acquired, but opening up still further the sister sciences of language and religion.

ART. IX.—1. *First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, &c. according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland; with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London: Printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. For Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1867.

2. *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, &c. according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London: Printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. For Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1868.

3. *Judgment delivered by the Right Honourable Sir Robert Phillimore, D.C.L., Official Principal of the Court of Arches, in the case of Martin v. Mackonochie, and Flamank v. Simpson.* Edited by WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE, B.A., of the Middle Temple, Fellow of All Souls College, and Vinerian Scholar, Oxford. Second Edition. London: Butterworth, 7, Fleet-street, Law Publisher to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. 1868.

IT is not without design that we have again placed the First Report of the Ritual Commissioners at the head of an article for the *Christian Remembrancer*. Our readers will not have forgotten the notice of this document which appeared in October last, and, perhaps, some may be of opinion that we paid the subject more attention than it deserved. Neither do we mean now to waste our time and theirs by presenting them another Review of that manifesto. Of one thing we are certain, that all cool heads and logical judgments will acquit us of the charge of undue severity in our treatment of the document itself, or of any disrespect towards Her Majesty's Commissioners. We forbore to comment on the waste of time spent by those eminent individuals in feeling their way towards the position of knowing how to ask questions for the first three days of their session. We made no accusation against them of being forced

by pressure from without to report, through their chairman, to the House of Lords, that at their seventh meeting they had ventured to entertain the hope that, 'at the very furthest, the week after 'next they might commence the consideration of their First 'Report.' We did not criticise the style of questions put to the different witnesses, and we passed by altogether unnoticed the absurdity of their being contented with haphazard information given by a dozen conspicuous members of the Ritualistic party after a *vivâ voce* examination, for which neither party was at all prepared. Any Oxford examiner might have told them that, for an examiner to do his work properly, he must be thoroughly well up in his subject, and that but little of thoughtful explanation can be obtained from an examinee, however well he may be prepared, in his *vivâ voce* examination, compared with what he can produce on paper. We contented ourselves, as far as any strictures on the Report itself were concerned, with calling the attention of our readers to the information nine times repeated that 'the Commissioners deliberated,' and ventured to contrast the ten days' deliberation with the 'muscipular abortion' which was ushered into existence at the nineteenth meeting. We were not hard upon them. We made due allowance for the fact that bishops are too hard worked to be theologians, and deans too much absorbed in what they consider the normal condition of things in the different spheres, to be at all aware of the abnormal practices and beliefs which have made such rapid strides,—the latter for forty years past, the former for ten years. There was room for severity, but we were sternly reticent; and many, perhaps, will have thought that the elaborate display which we made of the contradiction between the premisses and the conclusion of the argument was superfluous, because it was patent to everybody who had eyes to read the printed copy of the Report for himself; and that our own inference, that the celebrated conclusion of 'Restraint' was an *à priori* principle adopted by the Commissioners beforehand, because it could not be made to come out from the evidence, was too palpable to be worth insisting on.

After all, the Commissioners seem to have recognised that they had something as yet to learn for themselves as to what was the meaning of all this disturbance, whether it was mere 'much 'ado about nothing,' or whether serious consequences might not result from a continuance of practices which nobody seemed quite to understand. And the result was a good-natured bark, but as there was no attempt to bite, we were entirely at our ease as to the nature of any ulterior proceedings which next year's meeting might originate. The Commissioners had to stave off Lord Shaftesbury's bill, and they had entirely succeeded so

far; and though they recommended 'Restraint,' the very vagueness of the recommendation was in itself enough to prevent alarm, whilst the brilliant creation of 'the aggrieved parishioner,'—which had hitherto assumed the form of a fanatic English earl, a remarkable Irish marquis, or a mob of rioters,—was such a novelty as to create feelings rather of wonder than suspicion.

But the Second Report must be taken as a sequel to the first, and it is for this reason that we have commenced this article by saying that we had designedly placed the titles of both Reports together. We do not attempt to disguise the fact, that the bark has now developed into a bite; but we do not, therefore, now that we mean to attack Her Majesty's Commissioners, at all intend to take any undue advantage over them by picking to pieces the Second Report as a detached portion of their labours; but shall give them the advantage, such as it is, of standing upon their two Reports as representing in their combination one consistent whole. We will not take advantage, such as is often taken by the opponents of Christianity, and unfortunately frequently conceded by its defenders, by an attack upon one of the defences,—say prophecy or miracle,—who do what harm they may be able, trusting that there will be a tacit admission that, if the one argument is not conclusive, the whole fabric to be supported must crumble into dust, neglecting all the while the force of that argument from the effect of concurrent testimonies, which, to a fair mind, would be irresistible. No! We disdain the application of a process which we should consider in our own case utterly unfair, and the Commissioners on Ritual shall have all the benefit of the concession which they sorely stand in need of, of not being judged by this or that portion of what they have said, but by the whole in its unity and consistency.

Unity and consistency! How, it will be asked, is it possible to vindicate the unity and consistency of two Reports, the second of which presents the absurd spectacle of a house divided against itself? The First Report was signed by all the twenty-nine Commissioners; and if there was a slight indication of a coming rupture, when three out of their number thought proper to protect themselves against being supposed to acquiesce in a possible *prima facie* interpretation of the words 'restraint' and 'aggrieved parishioners,' still the Report itself was, as we have observed, of the nature of a bark, and we know that the loudest and most persistent bark does not at all necessarily imply a bite to follow. Nevertheless, it is impossible to deny that the three Commissioners who understood their subject best, in stating what they appended to the Report, made a sort of apology to the public at large for signing so lame a document. We are not exaggerating our convictions when we say, that we believe it

was the most abortive production in the shape of a report that was ever laid upon the table of the House of Commons. As such it has enjoyed its superlative position for the space of nine months, and has now been obliged to yield the palm to its younger sister, the Second Report.

However, before we go on to treat of the two Reports in their entirety, it is quite necessary to settle the question of identity as to this younger sister. As we have said, twenty-nine Commissioners signed the first; but we can discover only twenty-three names appended to this latter, and even of these twenty-three, certain ominous marks prefixed to four of the names indicate differences of opinion which require a little investigation before we can pronounce upon the case. Neither shall we be thought to overstate the significance of the exception, when we remind our readers that these four dissentients or protesters or whatever we are to call them, are by no means amongst the ruck of the members of the Commission. No one, we think, will have the hardihood to say that the Bishop of Oxford, the Dean of Westminister, Mr. John Duke Coleridge, and the Dean of Ely, are insignificant persons, either in themselves or as members of Her Majesty's Commission. We shall presently refer again to the objections entertained by these four members, but we can scarcely be wrong in deducting their names from the twenty-three who have signed the Report, and in consequence reducing the number of those who give an unqualified adherence to the thirteen paragraphs into which the document is divided, to nineteen. We have no hesitation in saying this, because, as will be seen hereafter, there is a substantial agreement at the bottom of all that is alleged in the five protests which this document has produced from members of the very commission which drew it up, and which is responsible for it. So strong, indeed, is the feeling of four of the members—and amongst these four are the three gentlemen who, as we have said above, are incomparably above their fellow-Commissioners in real knowledge of the subject in all its bearings,—that they state that their concurrence in the objection of the Bishop of Oxford and the Dean of Ely is a reason why they cannot sign their names to the Report. And most people will think their conclusion so obvious, as to wonder how the Bishop of Oxford and the Dean of Ely could have been induced to adopt the words of a document which they so distinctly contradict.

But in fixing the identity of this document, we have yet to notice the most perplexing feature of all. The Report, as signed by the nineteen, or, in order not to take any undue advantage, by the twenty-three, occupies one-fourth of the space of the paper which has been addressed to Her Most Gracious

Majesty, the remaining three-fourths being taken up (1) by the objections alleged against it by the Bishop of Oxford and the Dean of Ely, which appeared to them to allow of their signing it, but which very same objections seemed to preclude Sir Robert Phillimore, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Hubbard, and Mr. Gregory from accepting it; (2) by the protest of Mr. Coleridge and Dean Stanley; and (3) last, though by no means least, with the counter Reports of Lord Beauchamp and Mr. Perry, occupying together more than half of the space given to the whole subject, and more than double that occupied by the meagre Report of the majority of the Commissioners.

If, therefore, we are to take this Report of two-thirds of the Commissioners—vehemently objected to, or protested against, disowned, disavowed, and repudiated by the remaining third, or by some of them—as the sequel to the first Report, we do so simply for the sake of argument. We remember being taught, when we learned the *Artis Logicæ rudimenta*, according to Aldrich, the, in a logical point of view, somewhat questionable piece of information, that it was of the essence of a proposition to be affirmative or negative, but that it was a sort of accident that it should be true or false. Without, therefore, in the present instance, at first attempting to determine which part of the document contains most truth or falsehood, or which is the most intrinsically important and deserving of notice, not on account of its length, but of the matter contained in it, we will pass by the fly-leaves of the document, if so we may call them, as being mere accidents, and treat the first of its four pages as being of the essence of the thing. And though the latter three-fourths may, perhaps, be thought to follow as legitimately, from the colourless recommendations of the First Report, as the first quarter, which emanates from the larger body of Commissioners, this, at least, will be admitted, that in examining them together as one uniform and consistent whole, we shall be doing no injustice either to the dissentients, of whom we desire to speak with the greatest respect, or to that respectable majority of whom we shall decline to speak at all, confining our remarks to the written documents which are signed with their names.

But before commencing our strictures, we think it worth while to observe, that in treating the two Reports as parts of a consistent whole,—although it is true that a larger number of Commissioners signed the First Report than chose to commit themselves to the latter—if the thing is to be considered as a whole—if there is any unity of design or consistency of plan about it, it is obvious that the very terms in which we are writing preclude us from admitting that more than two-thirds of the Commissioners give their adhesion any longer to the First

Report. We need scarcely observe that there was a hesitating assent given to the vague recommendations of the document issued in August last. This is plain from the fact that Sir Robert Phillimore, Mr. Beresford Hope, and Mr. Perry, very cautiously guarded themselves against being supposed to mean what their brother Commissioners meant. It is impossible but what there must have been a great deal of hesitation amongst others who signed. We do not for a moment suppose that Mr. Hubbard or Sir William Page Wood signed it with all the readiness that they would have subscribed a document drawn up by themselves, or by either of them; but rather take it for granted, that in the face of a narrow escape from a majority signing a more mischievous Report, all parties were willing to acquiesce in a semblance of unanimity which committed nobody to any definite line of action. We did not therefore need the evidence of the palpable divergency of sentiment exhibited in this second document, to assure us that the apparent unanimity of the first was a dearly purchased concession at the hands of every one who signed it. We can imagine every one of the Commissioners smarting under the annoyance of not being allowed to have his say, and being bound by terms skilfully manipulated by two or three of those who saw furthest into the future, and who obtained a Cadmean victory, regardless of what might be thought of themselves, their discretion, their intellect, their common sense, their logical acumen, by those who should read and, alas! possibly proceed to review their labour and its results.

Either the Second Report is the direct continuation and the development of the First, or it is not. If it is not, the question of unity and consistency falls to the ground; if it is, we think it will be admitted that we have established, beyond contradiction, that the measures hinted at in the First and proposed in the Second are alike entitled to be considered to be the production, and to represent the sentiments, of a bare two-thirds of the Commissioners.

We proceed to observe that we now know what two-thirds of the Commissioners mean, which the remaining third took good care we should not know in August last. In our October number we ventured to think that the Report of the 19th of August was vague. If the Commissioners were satisfied with the vagueness, so were we. They told Her Majesty they simply did not know what to do; that they had made up their minds that something ought to be done, and that that something ought to be called by the name of 'Restraint,' and that the process by which the Restraint should be enforced ought to be 'effectual and easy.' Now we are entirely at one with the two-thirds of the

Commissioners as regards the necessity of any process being adopted for any purpose whatever being effectual, though we should hardly ourselves have thought it worth while to caution Her Majesty against adopting a suggestion which would not succeed when it came to be applied in practice. Had any such suggestion been offered it would have been reasonable enough to show up its impracticability; but even then we should have thought that Her Majesty would have understood the argument well enough even though the major premiss, that 'impracticable measures would be ineffectual,' had been suppressed. We are happy to agree with them also that if Restraint was to be applied, it would be better that the method should be easy to be adopted than difficult. And we can imagine the great advantage of arguing the question between two methods suggested, and attempting to prove that one was the easier method of the two; but even then people of common sense would not want to be told that, *cæteris paribus*, an easy was preferable to a difficult method of action. Still we do not want to be hard upon the majority of the Commissioners because they have, pitted against them, what we will take leave to call, by an Irish bull, 'an overwhelming minority.' And we may fairly put this, together with other expressions which we noticed in our former article, to the laudable desire of bringing into use the rhetorical figure of 'Amplification.' When you have nothing to say, and there is a necessity of saying something, what else can you do? The truth is that two-thirds of the Commissioners were outwitted by the other third, as is shown by the Second Report, regarded as a sequel to the first. They meant mischief, but they were not allowed to say so. Now they have said it, but they have said it under the trifling disadvantage of a loss of nine months, in which the evil they sought to remedy has increased in a formidable manner, at the very same time that it has shown that restraint is neither necessary nor possible.

Nevertheless it is true, that the majority of the Commissioners—the majority in numbers, be it recollected, but in nothing else—were of opinion in August, that the licence of vestments ought to be restrained: the same individuals are of opinion now that the use of lighted candles and of incense ought to be restrained in like manner; and here, if there is no unity of purpose existing between the majority and the minority, there is a pleasing consistency of language on the part of the majority. 'We are of opinion,' they say, 'that it is 'expedient to restrain in the public services of the Church all 'variations from established usage in respect of——.' So far the wording is the same, and we come to the conclusion, where for the word 'vesture' of the First Report we are to read, 'lighted

'candles and incense' for the Second Report. We observe that the Commissioners appear to raise no objection to candlesticks, even though they contain candles, supposing the candles not to be lighted. Perhaps some may be of opinion that the only use of a candle is to give light; and some might go so far as to allege that placing a candle on the altar, and forbidding it to be lighted, reminds them very forcibly of lighting a candle and placing it under a bushel. They cordially like what was laughingly described as the *Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo.* However, it seems there is an argument which the Commissioners consider to have weight against the lighted candles, which does not apply to them in their unlighted state. We shall notice this presently, when we come to the reasons of the recommendation; for the Report, following suit, as it were, upon the First Report, gives its reason for the opinion of the necessity of restraint. In the previous document the Commissioners made the discovery, in the course of their investigations, that vestments were not of the essence of the sacrament, and were not so considered by any one, and so there could be no harm in forbidding them. Our readers will remember what we said of the logic of this and other portions of the Report, and we will not weary them with a repetition of what we said in October last; and there is the less necessity for our doing so, because, though it is equally certain that incense and lighted candles are not of the essence of the sacrament, and equally notorious that no one ever supposed they were, the Commissioners have been warned off from their fallacy, and content themselves with alleging that both incense and lighted candles have rarely been used, and that the introduction of both is of recent, nay, in the case of the incense, they venture on the term, 'of very recent date,' and add, that the instances in which it has been introduced are very rare. Now, if we cannot help seeing a slight want of consistency here, if the Commissioners have abstained from pressing the notorious fallacy involved in the word *essential* in the case of incense and lights, as they urged it before in the matter of vestments, we may at least be allowed to congratulate them on not being above taking advice. They seem to have recognised that *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*, though we trust they will not place us in the category of enemies to themselves, but only as the enemies of their Report. But if, indeed, the cases of introducing incense are of such very rare occurrence, some might think it scarcely desirable to make so much fuss about them, especially as we cannot find any evidence worth speaking about as to its giving offence which might not be adduced against almost every observance or non-observance of any ceremony about which there is any discrepancy of practice in

the Church of England. However, we do not press this. And we observe that the Report is absolutely silent as to the amount of offence given by incense and lights, or whether there is any offence at all. And here there is another variation from the style of the First Report, which, in handling the question of vestments, observed in a neat antithesis, that 'they are by none 'regarded as essential, and they give grave offence to many.' We are ourselves of opinion that they do not give grave offence at all, excepting to persons who have no business to be considered, or to have any voice in the matter, persons who belong to the so-called Protestant and Evangelical Alliances, who may, or may not, be members of the Church of England, and who, speaking generally, are the only persons who represent the 'aggrieved parishioners.'

We have not yet reached the part of the Report which contains the sting. We are sorry to delay our readers so long about preliminaries, but, as we have said, the thing has to be taken in its entirety, and to be judged of as one whole, possessing a unity and a consistency of which our readers are to be the judges. We have yet a word to say as regards the preamble of the Report. That preamble winds up with a magnificent flourish about the 'Church's usage for 300 years,' which serves to give point and force to the opinion about the expediency of restraint, which is now enlarged, and made to comprehend lighted candles and incense as well as vestments. This may appear to some a very pretty rhetorical artifice; it may at the first blush of the thing be taken to mean that the 300 years, which the Commissioners only venture to speak of in connexion with incense, will covertly be taken to apply to the vestments and the lighted candles. We are far from saying or from thinking that this was the intention; neither will we here bring the grave accusation against the Commissioners, of pandering to popular prejudice, by drawing a line of demarcation between the existence and the acts of the Church before the days of Elizabeth and the years 1562 or 1571, when the Articles were first drawn up and imposed upon the clergy, and her existence and acts before that time; but what we do say is, that they have in point of fact done their very best to gain all the assistance they can from the popular Protestant anti-Roman feeling which prevails in the middle classes of this country in order to get rid of practices which bishops dislike, because they give them trouble, and which politicians abhor, because they give the Church an influence in the country which they think dangerous to the State. Three hundred years! We could indeed have understood and appreciated a precedent of 200 years. The Act of Uniformity of 1662, whatever people may think of the propriety of retaining it in the nineteenth century, has at least

remained unchanged during two centuries. It has indeed been in force side by side with an immense difference of opinion as regards doctrine and practice; but it became the law of the land concurrently with most remarkable changes made in the expression of doctrine by the Church of England. But what sort of consistency or uniformity will even the Ritual Commissioners venture to claim for the practices of the Church of England during the century that elapsed between the death of Mary the First and the Restoration of Charles the Second? Is there any imaginable abomination that was not practised in the parish churches of this country at some period or other of those 100 years? Surely they must know full well, that for men to sit upon the altars with their hats on was quite customary in country parishes, and that all kinds of irreverence have taken place, both as regards the administration and reception of the Holy Communion. We need not remind them that high places in the Church were filled by men who had not the faintest pretensions to having been episcopally ordained, and we forbear from publishing our own disgrace, for it is too painful a subject to dwell upon; but in protesting against the clap-trap of an appeal to the practice of 300 years, we venture to suggest, that the dropping out of sight of the first of those three centuries would have lost them not a feather's weight in their argument, for a practice of 200 years is as good for a precedent as one of 300 years; and they would then have appealed to the sober judgment of churchmen who are willing enough to defer to the last great changes made by the whole body of the Church and the nation, but who decline to recognise the Puritans of Elizabeth's appointment as having any claims whatever on their loyalty or their attachment.

No! The real value of the 300 years, or rather, we will call it, its special sting, is, that it cuts the Church of England in two and divides it into the Præ- and the Post-Reformation Church. If it had been done of set purpose—and we have already said we entirely acquit the Commissioners of any such crafty sagacity,—we should have admired the wisdom, whilst condemning the wickedness, of the insinuation; but the History of Warham and Cranmer, which has been published by the Dean of Chichester, would convince any one that it is too late in the day now to attempt to distinguish between the identity of the Church of this day and that of the first Tudor sovereign. Still the suggestion of the 300 years, which will be tossed to the winds in the Lower House of Convocation, may be used as a lever to stir up the country, and may, for all we know, find favour in the Upper House of Parliament. It is a very good card to play, and though, as we will say again, lest we should be misunderstood, it has

dropped accidentally from a hand little used to the arrangement of its cards, it may not be on that account the less efficient in bringing about the desired result of restraint. We fear there are many even of those amongst whom there exists a very substantial attachment to the church of their fathers and their country, who have not cared to examine its title-deeds, and think that the prescription of 300 years is long enough to establish their case; and so no doubt it would be if there were not a dispute between two bodies, the Anglican and the Roman Communion, which claim each of them a higher antiquity. And it is certain that there are many, little versed in controversy, who would shrink from the imputation, but who, nevertheless, practically think of the commencement of their Church with the era of Cranmer, and Ridley, and Latimer, not to say of Luther or Calvin. It is the existence of this feeling, whether consciously or unconsciously, that prompts Irish prelates to address Her Majesty, and press the consideration of the necessity of defending the reformed faith, forgetting, perhaps, that the only legitimate reason for their continuance rests on their being, if they can prove themselves so to be, the representatives of the ancient Catholic Church of the country. But we have digressed from our subject; and if the Irish prelates are unable to defend their own position, it is useless for us to put arguments into their mouths.

We return to the Report of the Commissioners, and having cleared away the preamble and the preliminary matter, we come to the eighth paragraph, which contains the recommendation of the particular kind of restraint agreed upon. We have not transcribed the Report, as we take it for granted our readers have all seen it. Nevertheless, we may be permitted to draw attention to the nicely-arranged and finely spun-out yarn of the account, with its thirteen distinct paragraphs. Those who remember the powers of amplification displayed in the first Report will not be surprised that the preliminary palaver occupies six of these sections, and that the middle one, on the principle, we suppose, of *medio tutissimus ibis*, contains the opinion of the necessity of extending the principle of restraint from the vestments to the candles and incense. That is to say, we reach the middle of the Report before we discover anything very egregiously absurd, anything that is not warranted, so to say, by the tone and expression of the First Report. Of course, we were not, thus far, in the least degree surprised. The persons who had recommended restraint in a matter which was so distinctly legal that no one had dared to have the case tried lest it should be so declared, were not likely to refrain from a similar recommendation as regarded lighted candles and incense, about which there was a variety of opinion, and which

were actually in court at the time when the Report was—not printed, but, let us charitably hope—being drawn up. It was but consistent, then, that those who thought restraint as to the undoubted legal privileges of priests and congregations was desirable, should form the same opinion as regards the two other practices, of which it was quite possible they might believe that they were distinctly illegal. We are not praising the Commissioners on the score of wisdom, or prudence, or discrimination of any kind, but simply on the ground of consistency. There was, if we may use a logical term, something of the notion of *à fortiori* about the consistency which condemned doubtful practices to the same limbo to which they had nine months before consigned the practice of wearing the vestments prescribed by the Rubric. Of course, our only wonder is that they waited nine whole months to enunciate an opinion which we must do them the justice to think they have all along entertained. The less is contained in the greater. The restraint of the vestments did not, in logical terms, contain the restraint of incense and lighted candles; but no one in his senses would doubt that the one was implied in the other, and, if nothing intervened to prevent it, must follow in due course of time. We say, if nothing intervened to prevent it; but, unfortunately—we do not say for the consistency of the Commissioners, but for the reputation of their Report—the condition which we have invented in their excuse has vanished. It can no longer be alleged that the circumstances are the same. The matters which were in question have actually been decided in the Court of Arches, and the two practices in question have been declared, the one to be legal, the other to be illegal. Will our readers wonder if, in speaking of the Commissioners, we should now speak of them as being persistent rather than consistent? They still stick to their opinion, and have actually classed in a single category three practices to which exception is taken, which stand in three such different relations as the following:—One of them has never been brought into court at all; one has been tried and condemned in the Court of Arches; and the remaining one has been tried and pronounced legal in the same court.

If there are any of our readers who have not seen the Report, which, however, is an extreme supposition, as it has appeared in all the newspapers, though, at the time of our writing, the Blue Book, in its entirety, is not yet published, we can suppose a defence, more charitable than reasonable, set up by some one, that the Commissioners had not read or referred to the elaborate judgment of Sir Robert Phillimore. We have known instances of as great ignorance in high places before now; and, indeed, it

is a common opinion, the truth of which we do not care to inquire into, that bishops are practically in the dark as to the ecclesiastical atmosphere of their dioceses, and that some whose special pride it is to know what is going on in places within their jurisdiction are profoundly ignorant of the extensive prevalence of what they would call Roman doctrine, as well as of the amount of scepticism against which it is waging war. They are never told of confessions and other like practices because they would not sympathise with them or understand the motives either of penitents or confessors. Nevertheless, it is, as we have implied, impossible to invent the excuse of ignorance, either in ecclesiastics or laymen, in the present case; for the report actually—we had almost said audaciously—parades the recent suits in the Court of Arches in justification of the recorded opinion on the subject of 'restraint.'

So far, then, we observe that there is nothing unnatural or inconsistent in the Second Report which the First would not have led us to expect. But now we come to the eighth and ninth paragraphs, which have fairly taken the Church and the country aback. Practices alike legal, illegal, or doubtful, are huddled together in one indiscriminating category, and an apple of discord is hurled into every parish church in the kingdom. A lighted torch is supplied to each angry or ignorant parishioner, who is directed to shelter himself under the euphemism of being '*aggrieved*,' and to set fire to such parts of his neighbour's premises as interfere with his convenience, because an appeal to law would be sure to confirm his neighbour in the possession of his own property, and involve heavy damages being inflicted on the prosecutor. He cannot get what he wants by law; he is to get it by taking the law into his own hands.

We must not misrepresent the Commissioners as if they intended to permit a single parishioner to create all this disturbance. We must, therefore, do what, at the commencement of this article, we had resolved we would not do. It becomes necessary, in order that our criticism of the Report may be understood and appreciated, to copy out the eighth and ninth paragraphs. They are as follows:—

8. With regard, then, to lights and incense, as well as vestments, we think that a speedy and inexpensive remedy should be provided for parishioners aggrieved by their introduction; and the remedy which we recommend is the following:—First, that whensoever it shall be found necessary that order be taken concerning the same, the usage of the Church of England and Ireland, as above stated, to have prevailed for the last 300 years, shall be deemed to be the rule of the Church in respect of vestments, lights, and incense; and, secondly, that parishioners may make formal

application to the Bishop *in camera*, and the Bishop, on such application, shall be bound to inquire into the matter of the complaint; and if it shall thereby appear that there has been a variation from established usage by the introduction of vestments, lights, or incense in the public services of the Church, he shall take order forthwith for the discontinuance of such variation, and be enabled to enforce the same summarily. We also think that the determination of the Bishop on such application should be subject to appeal to the Archbishop of the province *in camera*, whose decision thereon shall be final: provided always, that if it should appear to either party that the decision of the Bishop or Archbishop is open to question on any legal ground, a case may be stated by the party dissatisfied, to be certified by the Bishop or Archbishop as correct, and then submitted by the said party for the decision of the Court of the Archbishop without pleading or evidence, with a right of appeal to your Majesty in Council, and with power for the Court, if the statement of the case should appear to be in any way defective, to refer back such case to the Bishop or Archbishop for amendment.

9. Precautions should be taken against frivolous applications being brought before the Bishop; and, with this view, we further recommend that the application should be made either by one or more of the church or chapel wardens, or by at least five resident parishioners, who shall be householders and declare themselves to be members of the United Church, in places where the population exceeds 1,000, and by at least three such persons where the population is less than that number.

Now, had these paragraphs been sketched out to us as the leading recommendations of the Second Report on Ritual, likely to be adopted by the Commissioners, we should simply have said, and that even with the First Report staring us in the face, that it was ridiculous to suppose that rational persons, much less any considerable number of Her Majesty's Commissioners, would have cared to stand committed to a measure so plainly impracticable, or would have used expressions so utterly incautious. But there is the recommendation in black and white, and we proceed to dissect it. And, first of all, we are struck with an improvement in the terms used in the First Report. We have above said that we considered it superfluous in making a recommendation of a remedy to Her Majesty, to suggest that the remedy should be easy and effectual. They were never appointed to suggest either ineffectual or difficult remedies. Probably the thought may have occurred to some of them, and hence the change of term from *easy* and *effectual* to *speedy* and *inexpensive*. Again be it remembered, we are offering no sort of approval of the terms in the abstract. We are not now giving any opinion of the desirableness, or even the practicability, of applying any remedy at all. Much less are we to be understood as agreeing to the suggestion of the ideas of the quick and the cheap. There is such a proverb as, 'The more haste, the worst speed;' and the term 'cheap' has been ominously connected before now with the adjective 'nasty.' But it is possible that some may remember how cheap law produces

litigiousness, and that there may be reasons for throwing difficulties in the way of objecting to practices, however objectionable they may appear. The Commissioners seem to have thought otherwise. And they are, of course, entitled to their opinion. As an opinion it is quite harmless, but when they come to enforce it, we have to remind them that Orders in Council and Proclamations, &c., have not the force of law any longer, and that their ordinance must pass both Houses of Parliament and both Houses of Convocation before it can become of any value.

And now we are about to make an accusation, or rather to point the accusation we have already made, against Her Majesty's Commissioners. We observe that the terms of their commission give them full liberty to suggest any alterations, improvements, and amendments in the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions contained in the Book of Common Prayer; and that in doing this they are directed to have regard to such Rubrics, Orders, and Directions, and any other laws and customs relating to the same; but we do not find any appearance of instruction or allowance for their furtherance of litigious suits as to matters which are within the law. It was quite within their power, and no one could have accused them of exceeding their instructions, however much we might have deplored or deprecated this particular use of them, if they had suggested to take the Ornament Rubric clean out of the Prayer-book. Such a course would have been manly, and straightforward, and intelligible. We should have joined issue upon it. We should simply have told them—only they would have found it out for themselves—that such a proposal would find some difficulty in the House of Commons, that it could never have been forced through the Lower House of Convocation, that without this it would stand no chance of being obeyed, and that even if it should be able to commend itself to the majority of that House, such a decision would at once split the Church of England in two.

Nothing can be plainer than the terms of the Commission,—'And whereas it is expedient that a full and impartial inquiry 'should be made into the matters aforesaid, with the view of 'explaining or amending the said Rubrics, Orders, and Direc-'tions, so as to secure uniformity of practice in such matters as 'may be deemed essential,' &c. Now we say that the creation of that bugbear, 'the aggrieved parishioner,' is neither an explanation nor amendment of any Rubric, neither does it in the remotest degree tend towards explaining or amending any. It is simply a direction to certain persons who do not like the law as it stands how to proceed in case they want to override it. Nay, it is worse than that. For it directs them also how to

proceed in case they have the law clearly on their side, by taking the law into their own hands. The use of incense, under certain circumstances, has now been declared by competent authority illegal. That the case was waiting a possible appeal to the higher court was nothing to the point, for it would be too absurd for the nineteen Commissioners to allege that they were providing for the interval of time during which the appeal is pending. If they were in doubt about that decision, it would have been but common decency to wait till the matter had been finally settled. If incense had been forbidden, it was no longer necessary for them to create a grievance about it. The courts are open; let them implead one another. No expense had to be dreaded by the aggrieved parishioner, for his case would be clear, and the offending party would be cast and have all the costs to pay. If, on the contrary, incense should have been relegated by the Lords of the Privy Council into the same category with the lighted candles, then the three practices virtually condemned by the Commissioners stand on pretty much the same footing. Two would have been declared by the highest court of the realm to be illegal, and the third is so clearly legal that its bitterest opponents have not yet ventured to bring it into court, lest all the world should see that it is legal. In that case, with regard to all three practices,—in the case of the decree of the lower court about incense being confirmed, with regard to two of the practices,—and in the case of the decree about candles being reversed, with regard to one of the practices,—the Commissioners will have been providing a remedy by which aggrieved parishioners may contrive to have their own way in violation of the law of the land. We say this quite advisedly. They neither mean, nor indeed do they dare to attempt, to repeal the Ornament Rubric; but they state their deliberate opinion, that this admitted law shall be considered to be of force only so long as the whole of the inhabitants of a given parish are content that it shall be of force; that where there are found three persons in a parish consisting of 999 souls who do not like, or who allege that they do not like it, these three shall have power to stop what the other 996 know to be perfectly lawful, and wish to have carried out according to law. It is of course of no use to argue with people who think thus: *ὅταν τὸ ὕδωρ πνίγῃ, τί δεῖ ἐπιπίνειν*; says Aristotle (if water chokes you, what will you drink next?) If people show want of common sense in their recommendations, what hope is there of any other quality of mind to which you may appeal in the way of argument? But we are not discussing the Report for the sake of influencing its framers, but with the view of showing it up in its naked

absurdity and its grotesque proportions to the world at large. It is either desirable that the law of the land should stand as it is, or it is undesirable; if the latter, then by all means let it be altered. We recognise an enemy who proclaims no quarter in Lord Shaftesbury. Let him then do his worst. Let him propose the abrogation of the Ornament Rubric, that is, let him 'touch the Prayer-book,' and he may very likely get his Bill through the Lords. But how about the Commons? and how if there should be a collision between the great council of the nation assembled in Parliament and the little council of the Church assembled in Convocation? He does not, we presume, want to precipitate a crisis which we, in common with himself, should deplore as one of the greatest of evils,—the separation of Church and State. Under such a condition of things, where would his own party be? We should, perhaps, mourn over its absolute extinction more than he would himself, because the more earnest and religious of its members have contributed so much to the filling of the ranks of the Church party. But in the Ritual Commission we could have wished to recognise men who would have acted aboveboard. What they propose, however they may purpose to give it effect, amounts to a repeal of the Ornament Rubric, for it is certain that funds could be forthcoming to maintain from three to five persons in every parish, even supposing there were none in the parish itself of their own accord anxious to create a disturbance, who would silence all opposition. We have heard of the representation of minorities, but it is the first time we have ever heard of a grave suggestion to allow a minority of three in 1,000 to have their way against the wishes of a number 333 times as large as themselves. And observe, now that we are upon figures, we are estimating the matter at its minimum. There are parishes of 10,000, 20,000, 30,000, and even more than 30,000 souls, where the magic number of five is to prevail! It is really so ludicrous, that it is impossible to get up one's indignation against such absurdities. The happy parish that has exactly 1,000 inhabitants, if we are to read the exact and distinctly logical expressions of the Report, is to be left to its own devices. And there is something recondite we suppose, altogether beyond our unmathematical powers of comprehension, in the sudden jump from three to five objectors. Three will be good for a fight against 999, but five are requisite for a match for 1,001 parishioners. If they are so very confident in the righteousness of their cause, we venture to suggest to them that they had better have arranged that one parishioner in small country villages, and two in crowded town parishes, should have been allowed this inestimable privilege. And then we

should have heard their Puritan friends congratulating them in their usual appositeness of Scripture quotation: 'How shall one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight?'

Seriously speaking, the absurdity of this Second Report exceeds all that we could have imagined possible. And in criticising it as we are now doing, we trust we shall offend no single individual of the nineteen eminent men who have drawn it up. They contain in their number minds of almost every variety of calibre, from a standard which, if not the most exalted, may be pronounced high in the scale, down to—we had almost said—the very lowest range of educated intellect. They embrace too, almost every shade of opinion tolerated within the somewhat comprehensive bosom of the English Church. We are, therefore, saying only what every one will agree and acquiesce in, that we are certain scarcely any individual amongst them could have drawn up so intensely absurd, so impracticable, so suicidal a Report. The matter might be treated as something simply grotesque and ridiculous, but we are obliged to speak of it seriously because of the issues involved, or rather, perhaps, we ought to say, because of the issues which would be involved if it were possible to conceive this Report being acted upon.

It is scarcely possible to speak of the 'aggrieved parishioner,' who has already become a household word, without raising a smile on the face of an educated Churchman, or provoking a sneer of contempt from the business-like man of the world. But, in truth, it would be no laughing matter to have exposed the Church of England to the scorn of the infidel, which would be sure to vent itself in loud denunciations of the guardian of truth, which is ready to submit the practices of her ministers, and, by implication, the dogmas of her faith, to the caprice even of a majority of those who are to be taught them. Supposing then that the nineteen Commissioners had suggested as follows,—that whenever there occurred the introduction of any new ceremony, which was certainly legal, but which was deficient in proof as to its having been practised for 300 years, in order to allay disputes, and calm irritation, a poll of the whole parish communicants and non-communicants should be taken, every one to be taken as a *bonâ fide* member of the Church of England who should so declare himself, though he should be in the habit of attending the services of the Church and the chapel alternately, or even though he should seldom or never attend any public worship at all; and the practice of that parish should be regulated by what a majority of such parishioners should determine to be their wish, no regard whatever being had to the character or antecedents of such parishioners;—such a proposal, we suppose, would be received with shouts of laughter or with indignant

denunciations, according to the temper of the recipients. Yet such a suggestion would appear absolutely reasonable, and just, and moderate, when viewed side by side with the measure that is advocated by the nineteen Commissioners. We should then be presented with the spectacle of 500 out of the supposed 999 gaining their temporary victory, and the minority being obliged to submit to what they did not like in the hope that on the next occasion of an appeal to the people they might gain a few converts, and win the day against their opponents. We do not stop to inquire into the quarrels, the bickerings, the irritation, the ill-feeling that would be created. We do not care to gauge the proposal by its probable consequences,—consequences which would absolutely sink into insignificance when weighed against what might fairly be expected to arise out of the application of the pet scheme of the nineteen Commissioners. We ask only of any candid member of the Church of England,—Would you approve of the principle if applied in any other case whatever than that to which you are applying it now, the case of vestments, of lighted candles, and of incense? And if the Report had suggested this mode of dealing with the question, we should have urged against it, and that we think with the concurrence of nearly every unprejudiced person, that they had imported into the Church of England a fatal element of discord.

We have the profoundest respect for the judgment and opinions of habitual communicants in the Church of England. They are, indeed, for the most part, what may be called the salt of the earth, and we believe, that as far as results are concerned, the matter might be safely trusted with them. We believe that the utmost deference to their feelings and wishes ought to be shown as regards all the accessories of divine worship. Perish the candles, the incense, and the vestments, rather than the souls of the devout should be scandalized. And in saying this, we are but echoing the language that every Churchman would use. But every one we should think might recognise the desirableness of adapting the external appliances and circumstances of worship to the wants and the capacities of a congregation, without excluding from his view the danger implied in giving to the residents of a parish the power to enforce their objections to a practice which is admitted to be legal. Those who remember the surplice riots of 1842 might, one would have thought, have learned the uselessness of attempting to enforce uniformity in externals, and, what is quite as important, ought to have observed how the current of public opinion amongst religious people is setting in the direction of pomp and magnificence in worship, and of utilizing the appliances of high art for the purposes of devotion. If the Church of England is

forbidden to attract people by these means, we shall soon see a singular development in this direction amongst educated Non-conformists. If we cannot attract them to us by rites that are really symbolical of doctrine, and which derive their only value from being so, they will detach the ignorant and the uneducated from our communion, by affecting a gorgeousness of worship which appeals to the senses without influencing the heart or elevating the mind.

An issue then might have been raised, perhaps, on the question,—whether those who, by being habitual communicants, testified for themselves with the only kind of testimony that is at all reliable, that they are *bonâ fide* members of the Church of England,—whether such as these should be allowed a voice in deciding in certain cases what might or might not be desirable in the way of introducing innovations upon ordinary practices within the intention of the law. Mr. Perry had already, in the note appended to the First Report, warned his brother Commissioners on this point. We are free to confess, nay, we gladly proclaim, that such an interpretation of the aggrieved parishioner would not have answered their purpose, for in this sense the aggrieved parishioner does not exist. It is not the communicants who object to what the Commissioners are bent upon restraining, and that on two accounts,—first, because in most cases they have themselves suggested the movement, and provided the means for its being carried out, or at the least, have been consulted, and after consultation have consented to the changes ; or if they have not, the parish priest who introduced the novelties was well aware of the temper with which they would be received. In most cases, the introduction of any gorgeous ceremonial has been adopted in compliance with the eager desire of some, the consent of some, the indifference of others, perhaps the reluctance of a few; but in almost every case that we have heard of, consent, or indifference, or reluctance has soon changed its character, and the outcry of such, if outcry there is, is altogether in favour of an increase of ceremonial observances. On the other hand, it is of course easy to get up an opposition to any form of religious observance, and that especially on Sundays, when, in the darkness of the evening, the streets are filled with people who have nothing to do, and are anxious to kick up a row. But though the aggrieved parishioner has hitherto appeared almost invariably in the form of an undisciplined mob of rioters, we challenge any one to compare the opposition to the Ritual of 1868 with the hatred inspired by the use of the surplice in the pulpit in 1843. It is surely worth while to give a minute's consideration to the intense dislike exhibited by the lower middle classes

of 1843 to a practice which seems likely to become universal, or which, at least, is treated as a matter of absolute indifference now, and the state of feeling as regards the strange advance of ceremonial which the last ten years have witnessed. It is perhaps of little use for us to insist upon these points. Those who have not observed with their own eyes, or heard from the testimony of others, are little likely to be influenced by any assertion we can make; and the matter is of such a kind that the evidence is not easily producible on paper. And surely there is no more astounding fact of the day than the entire and profound ignorance in which the bishops live as to the feelings of clergy and laity as regards these points, unless indeed it be their utter want of appreciation and misconception of their meaning and intention. They will of course be credited by some of their brother Commissioners with a knowledge of the circumstances, and an acquaintance with the matters in debate; and the argument with the lay Commissioners will be something of this kind,—that if a selection of bishops who are most of them more sensible, more moderate, and less opposed to ritual observances than the rest of their brethren of the episcopal bench has been made, such persons must be a tolerably fair exponent of the feelings and views of the better sort of those who are called High Churchmen. There could scarcely be a greater mistake than this. And we think we need only refer to the questions asked during the meetings held previous to the issuing of the first Report, in justification of the opinion we have expressed.

We have been endeavouring to inculcate the view that the utmost tenderness and consideration are due to the feelings of devout communicants. It may be that, in cases which have not come to our knowledge, there has been a wanton introduction of practices on the part of the clergy where there has been no appreciative power on the side of the congregation. Assuredly we should be amongst the foremost to deprecate and condemn such conduct as that. But this has reference to individual cases which are beyond the sphere of any influence that this Review may possess or exercise over Churchmen. We are even more anxious to enter our protest against anything which shall give the appearance of a legal status to parishioners, of whatever class, or howsoever numerous they may be, in either interpreting the law or directing the clergyman in his mode of administration of divine offices. Such permission to a majority of parishioners as we have been contemplating, we say it in grave earnest, would give the death-blow to the Church of England. It would be to introduce a principle utterly at variance with all that is peculiar to her as a national Church, and would

destroy the very foundations of ecclesiastical power and authority. We do not mean to insult and outrage the common sense of our readers and their reasoning power by insisting here that what a majority of parishioners should not be allowed to have the power of doing, can scarcely with safety be entrusted to the discretion of a contemptible triumvirate who agree in nothing else but in the true or false declaration that they are members of the Church of England, and have perhaps no single purpose in common but the overthrow and subversion of that Church of which they profess themselves members. We do not care to press our *à fortiori* argument. It is the principle we are objecting to, whether that principle be conceded to a contemptible triumvirate, or to an overwhelming majority. It begins in the humble way of recognising the right of people to judge of the method in which doctrine may be exhibited in symbol, and the next step is easy. Those who can judge of the external forms will be thought able, or at least they will consider themselves competent, to judge of the language in which dogma has been expressed. What could be more reasonable than that the Royal Commission on Ritual should be superseded by another which should decide upon the point of retaining such obscure and obsolete ideas and forms of expression as Personality and Substance in the Nicene Creed; that after examination they should come to the conclusion, that whilst all were agreed as to the meaning of these words, they involved such confusion of thought, and aggrieved so many pious minds, that it would be well to substitute others more intelligible and easy? Need we go further and tell our readers, who, however, will have already had enough of the prospect before them, that the transition from the explanation of ideas and the alteration of words would be equally easy to the discussion of the doctrines themselves. Surely we need go no further. There may be some amongst the Royal Commissioners who may see these things looming in the distance, and who would do their best to avert the catastrophe which is but the natural consequence of the suggestions they have themselves thrown out. Neither need we tell our readers that there are some amongst them who, so far from being horrified at the prospect we have been delineating, would hale with delight the probability of such a development which should again render the territories of the Church and the nation co-extensive, and their boundaries identical.

The idea of an appeal to the people exactly suits the undogmatic character of the religious system of the Latitudinarian party, and we repeat our charge: the Commissioners,—some of them, no doubt, without being at all aware of what they are

doing,—have suggested the opening of the flood-gates; and if the flood-gates are to be thrown open, we, for our own part, had rather they should be flung wide open at once, that all men may see what we are about, rather than that Churchmen should insert the thin edge of the wedge, which a motley assemblage of Churchmen, dissenters, and infidels shall hereafter hammer at till the severance of Church and State is completed. All persons would have understood the proposal; but, unfortunately, no Churchman would have acquiesced in it if the Commissioners had only proposed their scheme in somewhat like the following terms:—

'We think it expedient to add one more Article to the 'Thirty-nine that are already imposed upon the clergy. The 'Twentieth Article states that the Church hath power to decree 'rites or ceremonies. We humbly submit to your Majesty 'the expediency of adding to this Article the following words:— '"but three parishioners have authority to forbid the use of '"such rites and ceremonies." Whether these words shall be 'added as another Article, to be called the Fortieth, or be inserted 'as an explanation of the Twentieth, we leave to others to decide. 'We are anxious not to abridge the liberty of the subject; and, 'indeed, it is obvious that if we are infringing in some respects 'upon the liberty of some, we are enlarging the liberty of 'others.'

And now we have said little, except very indirectly, as to the probable character of the hypothetical triumvirate of aggrieved parishioners who are to override the law. We do not, of course, know the nature of the deliberations which ended in the suggestion, that, to qualify for the battle, the declaration of membership of the United Church should be deemed sufficient. Political affairs move fast in these days, and long before any action can be taken,—if, indeed, action is ever taken upon the recommendation of this Report,—there seems every probability that the terms of declaration will have to be altered to accommodate them to the altered circumstances of the Irish Establishment. But this by the way. Though we cannot pretend, any more than we could in our last article on the subject, to guess at the nature of the debates which preceded the final determination, we cannot be wrong in saying that, of course, a plea was put in by some one, and of course overridden, that the objectors should be communicants. The plea is, in this particular case, the more reasonable, because it is (alas, that we should have to say it) round the Sacrament of the Altar that the whole battle is waged. People who are not communicants would, for the most part, be disturbed neither by vestures, nor incense, nor lights; and so if there was an unwillingness to make an invidious distinction,

the separation of the parishioners into communicants and non-communicants absolutely forces itself upon our consideration. Neither in a document, the whole and sole object of which is to override the law of the land, need the Commissioners have been very squeamish about using distinctive terms unknown in legal practice. The distinction between 'parishioners content' and 'parishioners aggrieved' is, as far as we know, equally new; and if it be alleged that the introduction of this distinction would revive all the horrors of the Test Act, and that in this case miscreants of all sorts would be induced to qualify themselves for the situation of the 'aggrieved,' what is that but to admit that the persons likely to be offended are, for the most part, miscreants, and that in legislating in favour of a minority of three or of five, the persons you are patting on the back are themselves, in all probability, liable to ecclesiastical censure?

We feel that we owe our readers an apology for dilating upon this extraordinary document, and placing before them views which will have presented themselves spontaneously to almost every mind that has given the slightest attention to the subject. Of course, if the recommendation which forms the staple of the Report had appeared in the form of an anonymous contribution to the *Times* or the *Guardian*, it would have provoked not the smallest notice. Had it appeared in an episcopal charge, people would have shrugged their shoulders and laughed in their sleeve, and elder men would have called to mind the time when a bishop, and he amongst the cleverest men and most practical of his time, thought that uniformity in the diocese of London could be enforced by insisting on the letter of the Rubric as regards the use of the Prayer for the Church Militant and the dismissal of the black gown from the pulpit, which could plead in its excuse prevailing custom as against obsolete law. In fine, there are no conceivable circumstances under which the document we are reviewing would have met with any attention, or have attracted the slightest notice, excepting the actual circumstances under which it has emanated from a Royal Commission specially appointed to investigate present disorders in the Church, with a view to securing uniformity of practice. To aggravate the absurdity of the position, it must be borne in mind that there has already set in another cycle of secessions to Rome, with which the Church of England seems periodically to be threatened. Even whilst we write, cases of this kind are occurring; and, still further to intensify the ridiculous state of affairs, we have not a doubt that many of the Commissioners, and most of the bishops, are using this very fact as an argument to show the necessity of Restraint. It was the wise act of their predecessors to drive from the Church of England the

noblest son she has produced since the time of the great Reformation,—and the consequence of what appeared the grandest success of the united episcopate charging against No. 90, has been that its interpretations are adopted by us all without rebuke or check, and that the *Times* has been forced to admit that the author of the 'Eirenicon' is entitled to hold and to promulgate the identical views for which he was condemned and suspended, in a Church so comprehensive of doctrine as the Establishment. In reference to this, we quote the following apposite passage from Dr. Newman's 'Apologia,' p. 245:—

'If conversions to Rome take place in consequence of the '"Tracts for the Times," I do not impute much blame to them, 'but to those who, instead of acknowledging such Anglican 'principles of theology and ecclesiastical polity as they contain, 'set themselves to oppose them. Whatever be the influence 'of the Tracts, great or small, they may become just as power-'ful for Rome, if our Church refuses them, as they would be 'for our Church if she accepted them. If our rulers speak 'either against the Tracts, or not at all; if any number of them 'not only do not favour, but even do not suffer the principles 'contained in them, it is plain that our members may easily be 'persuaded to give up those principles, or to give up the Church. 'If this state of things goes on, I mournfully prophesy, not one 'or two, but many secessions to the Church of Rome.

'Two years afterwards, looking back on what had passed, 'I said there were no converts to Rome till after the condemna-'tion of No. 90.'

Now, surely the parallel between 1841 and 1868 is very close. People in authority were waging a battle against doctrine. They thought they had gained a point. They had driven the leader of the school out of the Anglican communion, and several more or less distinguished men have been dropping off in the same direction ever since. But what have they really gained by it? Let the present development of Ritual and Ceremonial testify. It is not now any longer a case of theologians defending a certain interpretation of the Articles. Tract 90 has been reprinted. The views which it advocated have taken such deep root that no one would dare to prosecute another for holding them. The doctrine of Eucharistic adoration,—scarcely heard of at the time, but cherished in the breasts of those whose principles of reserve and economy were condemned, indeed, but not understood,—has now become so commonly believed, that no one ventures to attack what a few years ago people fondly hoped would dislodge the Archdeacon of Taunton from his position. And it is important to observe, that it is not this doctrine that is called in question, but only a practice which

derives its whole significance from it, that people want to put down,—that is to say, they cannot put down the doctrine; they will stop its exhibition in practice. And here we may address a few words in the hope that they may be quoted somewhere in newspapers or reviews that are within the beat of the evangelical party. It is, of course, hopeless to suppose that any of them ever take the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the sentiments of this review. They live in too narrow a circle to give us a chance of being heard directly. Yet, as they are the assailants in this charge, which is led by Lord Shaftesbury, it may be worth while for the chance of these lines meeting their eyes, in some form or other, to remind them that if they were ever so successful in their present endeavours to expel high ceremonial from the services of the Church of England, the doctrine that it symbolizes would remain untouched; nay, might possibly, if not probably, spread itself through a wider sphere. How this may be, we do not pretend precisely to determine; but this, at least, is certain, first,—that the external appearance of the churches would, to their eyes, present little difference of ceremonial from that which at present is practised—and, secondly, and what is of infinitely more importance, the worship of Christ, present in the consecrated elements, will remain untouched. If they doubt whether such worship is, in point of fact, allowable and tolerated in the Church of England, we beg to remind them of the following significant fact:—

On St. Mark's day last, the 25th of April, 1868, the following words are reported as having been spoken by Dr. Pusey, in the Theatre, at Oxford, on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of Keble College:—

'Viewing steadily in the face the awful life-and-death struggle 'around us and among us;—viewing that more personal, yet in 'one way more miserable strife, whereby some who love their 'Redeemer—whom we too love—are, by an inconceivable in-'fatuation, bent, if they could, to expel from the Church of 'England those of us who hold the faith which Keble held and 'taught,—our confidence is not in ourselves, not in man, but in 'Him whose truth he taught.' Now the circumstances under which these words were spoken are well worth considering. The Church and the University were assembled in great force, represented by the Primate of all England, with other bishops, by all the leading members of the University of Oxford, and including strangers from all ranks of society, for the express purpose of doing honour to the memory of John Keble. It may be that many members of the Evangelical party associate the name only with his earliest publication, the *Christian Year*,

the popularity of which may be taken to atone for certain objectionable expressions, such as—

> 'Ave Maria blessed Maid!
> Lily of Eden's fragrant shade;—
> Ave Maria! thou whose name
> All but adoring love may claim,' &c.

But we beg to inform those for whom we are now writing, that the name of Keble is associated with other doctrines than such as have found any explicit mention in the *Christian Year*. To know what Keble's belief and teaching was, it is necessary to read his later publications, the 'Lyra Innocentium,' and the treatise on 'Eucharistical Adoration.' We might fill a whole article with extracts from the former of these works, containing the doctrine of Prayers for the Dead and other very distinct enunciations on dogma which would, we think, scarcely be regarded as so harmless as the *Christian Year*. But our article must necessarily extend to an unusual length, and we omit everything, therefore, that is not in direct keeping with our special subject. Apologizing, therefore, to our ordinary readers, for quoting passages with which they are very familiar, we proceed to make a few short extracts on 'Eucharistic Adoration,' from Mr. Keble's Tract:—

'So must there be special adoration and worship in the heart 'of every one sincerely believing a special mysterious presence 'of Christ, God and man, expressed by the words, *This is my* '*body*.'

'Has the reverence due to this Name been ever cherished in 'the Church, as our great safeguard of the faith of His true 'Incarnation? So we know, that against ancient heretics one 'topic for effectually asserting that same faith in its integrity, 'was the analogy between it and the doctrine of the Real 'Presence in the Eucharist, testified by our adoration.

'Whatever can be alleged for peculiar devotion to the Holy 'Name, the same and much more can be alleged for peculiar 'devotion to the Holy Thing received in the Sacrament.'

'The person of Jesus Christ our Lord, wherever it is, is 'to be adored. Christ's Person is in the Holy Eucharist by 'the presence of His body and blood therein. The Person of 'Christ is to be adored in that Sacrament as there present in 'a peculiar manner by the presence of His body and blood.'

'He is then and there present *according to His human nature*, really and substantially present, as truly present as He was to any of those with whom He conversed when He went in and out among us; or again, as He is now present in heaven interceding for us.'

'That great and comfortable and (I will add) necessary truth, 'known to the faithful under the name of the Real Presence—to 'point out the inseparable connexion between it and the practice 'of adoration,' &c.—(p. 59.)

'I cannot understand these statements (*i.e.* of the Catechism) to 'imply less than a real and substantial Presence of Christ by 'the Presence of His body and blood; nor can I imagine any 'one believing Him so present, and not acknowledging the same 'by special adoration.'

'The tradition of the mother Church of Christendom in the 'middle of the fourth century was, to receive with adoration, 'just because it is the body and blood of Christ.'

'Thus we seem to have evidence irresistible, that down to the 'beginning of the ninth century, *i.e.* through all the ages of 'comparatively unbroken unity in the Church, the body and 'blood of the Man Christ Jesus—of Him who is God and Man '—was adored as present after consecration in the Eucharist, *i.e.* 'Christ Himself was adored as present by the presence of His 'body and blood.'—(p. 112.)

Again, quoting S. Augustin, *Nemo manducet nisi qui prius adoraverit*:—

'The bread and wine being once consecrated, the body and 'blood were believed to be present in, with, or under them, and . . . 'then and there to be adored; and a certain moment in the 'celebration was appointed in each liturgy, sometimes by rubric, 'oftener by unwritten custom, for such adoration to take place.' —(p. 119.)

We have been obliged, for the mere sake of accommodating ourselves to the intellectual calibre of those whom we are now addressing, to content ourselves with bare extracts, which state in the most intelligible language possible, the view which Mr. Keble so wonderfully illustrates and defends in this valuable tract. The passages are, after all, nothing more than repeated assertions of a real objective Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and the consequent duty of adoring Him as really there present; and that, independently of the faith of this or that receiver, of which we can be no judges. In making these extracts we cannot be accused of doing any more injustice to Mr. Keble, or misrepresenting him in any other sense than that we have deprived them of all benefit to be derived from their context, and from the general argument of the work in which they are contained. The quotations have been made in brief for the sake of saving space, and they have been made as numerous as they are, merely in order to show those for whom they are intended, that there is no accident about the expressions, no slip of the pen which may be accounted for by

hasty writing which it might be presumed Mr. Keble would be willing to retract. And we shall say no more here on the subject than this, that one main portion of his argument is to show that Eucharistic adoration cannot possibly be refused in reason by those who admit the real objective Presence, a doctrine which, for the most part, Mr. Keble takes for granted will be admitted by his hearers to be, by implication at least, the doctrine of Scripture, the doctrine of the primitive fathers, and of antiquity, of the Church in all ages, and specially of the Post-Reformation Church in England. The use we make of these and other similar portions of the works of Mr. Keble is the following:—

We wish to point out to the Evangelical party, if they are open to conviction, how little they would gain by any success, however great, they might attain in putting down vestments, incense, and lighted candles. Nobody in his senses cares for these things for their own sake. The battle round them is fought because they are symbolical of doctrine. What is the use then of putting a stop to them, if the Primate of all England, assisted by other bishops, and by the greatest educational establishment in the country, — the University of Oxford, — comes forward to give the doctrines which they symbolize his sanction. Is it conceivable that the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Lichfield for instance, if we may name one who is likely to make a figure in time to come, have not read Mr. Keble's works, or do not know what his teaching was? It would, indeed, be hard if we were to tie down every one who assisted at the laying the foundation stone of the Keble Memorial, to everything that Mr. Keble had said or written. But we shall be asking but little, if we say that every one will admit that all such must recognise that his teaching is tenable doctrine, within the pale of the Church of England. No one ever suspected him at least of anything but the sincerest attachment to the Church of his country, and the doctrines we have been alluding to were amongst the most cherished convictions of his life. This surely, at least, is witnessed to by the strife which was raised two years ago over the alteration of a celebrated passage in the *Christian Year*. And the same strife, we think it must be allowed, bears ample testimony to the notoriety of his opinion as well as the unwillingness he felt that that opinion should be misrepresented.

And now we have done with the Evangelical party and their system of prosecution or persecution, whichever it may be termed. We should not have given them this notice, were it not that we hope that what we have said may bring out into prominence a view which has not been insisted on as it might have been,

although it was very pointedly enunciated in the passage which we have quoted above from Dr. Pusey's speech. The relation between Eucharistic Adoration and the Ritual and Ceremonial Observances now in question, is much closer than is supposed by many of the Commissioners. Two of them distinctly regard the observances as unimportant, and 'as having in themselves and in their origin no doctrinal significance.' And it is certain that a considerable body of the nineteen, who may be considered to adopt the report without any qualification, have but a slight acquaintance, either with the subject itself or the mode in which it is viewed by the great Church party. It is much to be regretted that they were not at the Great Meeting at St. James's Hall in November last. Those who were present will not soon forget the appearance and demeanour of that great body, chiefly of laymen, who represent what we call the Church party, as distinguished from the Ritualists, who did not on that occasion appear in any considerable force. That meeting, we should have thought, must have convinced every one of the hopelessness of the attempt to legislate on such matters. For ourselves, we will say that we feel certain that the attempt, if successful, would be followed by an enormous secession from the Establishment, both of clergy and laity, both in the direction of Rome and in the Establishment of a free Church. Politicians have the example of Scotland before them, and some we know rejoice in the fact of the great secession which took place a few years ago. But we think English statesmen and English Churchmen are scarcely prepared to make themselves answerable for a similar schism in the English Establishment if once they can be got to recognise its probability and its nearness.

As we have said, we have ourselves no fear on this head. The present recommendations are too ludicrous seriously to be considered. And none other are likely to meet with much favour in Parliament whilst a Royal Commission is sitting. Meanwhile, the evil, as some will call it, is rapidly developing, and is becoming, in proportion to the rapidity of its spreading, the more difficult to deal with in the way of restraint. And if we are asked, What then is to be done? The answer is obvious,—Leave things alone :—

Μὴ κίνει Καμάριναν, ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἄμεινον.

We have no hesitation in saying that there is no disturbance in the country that is worth any notice. Those who in 1842 thought the use of the surplice in preaching a relic of Popery, if they are still of the same opinion, must, we think, look with dismay on the changed state of feeling in this country; but

those, and we believe they include in their number the majority of the Evangelicals, who would too late in the day accept the surplice as a handsome compromise between the black gown and the chasuble, must be content to find themselves beaten again; for assuredly this will be the issue.

And now we return from a digression which has not been altogether beside the point, to the criticism of the remaining portions of the Report of the nineteen who form the majority of the twenty-nine Commissioners.

Before we proceed, we have one word yet to say about the three or the five parishioners, as the case may be. It appears that the Commissioners have fixed upon these two numbers for a special purpose, viz. to ensure us that due precautions have been taken against 'frivolous applications being brought before 'the bishop.' We have read this passage a great many times, and we confess that we can make nothing of it but this,—that the nineteen Commissioners are of opinion, that no application made to a bishop by three persons (say an adulterer, a drunkard, and a profane swearer) can possibly be frivolous if it is levelled against vestments, lights, and incense. Frivolity in this singular and exceptional case is sure to be avoided in small parishes if three persons are found to concur, and in large parishes if five can agree. That is to say, the size of a parish or the density of its population are unfavourable to a calm and unbiassed judgment, as regards innovations, in the proportion of exactly five to three, a proportion which is absolutely invariable, and has no third or fourth terms to correspond to the two first, excepting $1000-x$, and $1000+y$, where x may stand for any positive number under 1000, and y may represent any positive number whatever. In our previous article we ventured to hint that it would have been well if some one had been placed on the Commission who was known to be versed in the history of the Church of the time of the Reformation and subsequent periods. But here we are tempted to think that they might have been saved from a blunder if there had been at least one mathematician amongst their number.

And such is the suggestion in the way of due precaution for avoiding frivolous applications to the bishop which commends itself to the gentle and considerate Primate of all England, to the practical sagacity of the Bishop of London, and the critical acumen of the Bishop of S. David's.

Of the four remaining paragraphs of this memorable Second Report, the two next are apologetic, whilst the two concluding ones are confined to statements of fact, as to what the Commissioners have done, and are still occupied in doing, and an allusion to a forthcoming Report, concerning which they do not

appear to be under any alarm lest some member of Parliament should forestall their recommendations, and in sight of the utter impracticability of the scheme of the triumvirate of aggrieved parishioners being carried into effect, should propose some other measure which may have a chance of success in the reformed House of Commons. Whether any such measure may approve itself to such a body can scarcely be predicted till we know what the measure is, and who are the people that will be called upon to legislate on it. But we suppose the Commissioners must by this time be pretty well convinced, from the ridicule with which from all quarters their suggestions have been assailed, that their pet scheme, at least, has no chance of becoming law.

These last two paragraphs call for no further remarks. With regard to the two others which we have called 'the apologetic paragraphs' we have yet a few words to say. They are expressed as follows :—

> 10. Our intention in making this recommendation is simply to provide for parishioners aggrieved by the introduction of variations from established usage, in respect of vestments, lights, and incense, a special facility for restraining such variations without interfering in other respects with the general law of the Church as to ornaments, or the ordinary remedies now in force.
>
> 11. In submitting these recommendations to your Majesty, we desire to state that we are anxious in no degree to abridge or curtail any of the rightful liberties heretofore enjoyed by the clergy and laity of the United Church. The national Church may well include men of varying shades of opinion, so long as they can combine in a conscientious acceptance of her recognised formularies and appointed rites. But this large comprehension seems to us to render it most desirable that in the celebration of the Church's rites there shall be introduced no novel practices which are welcome only to some but are offensive to others. All members of the Church, being expected to join devoutly in one common form and order of service, are, as we conceive, entitled to expect that no unaccustomed form be used, giving to the service a new tendency and significance, by which the devotion of many is impeded.

And here the Commissioners have again resorted to the figure of rhetoric, of which so much use had been made in their previous Report. We mean the figure which Quintilian calls *amplificatio*, and Aristotle *αὔξησις*. The *intention* of the first paragraph, which is made to refer to something provided in favour of the aggrieved parishioner, becomes in the second a *desire*, which amounts to *anxiety* not to abridge or curtail,—(the distinction of meaning of these two words in the relation in which they stand is quite beyond us),—liberties heretofore enjoyed. Of this we may be permitted to observe, in the words of the French proverb, *Qui s'excuse s'accuse.* We do not know why they should be so anxious to defend themselves from the imputation of abridging or curtailing the liberties of Her

Majesty's subjects, except on the very intelligible ground that the gist of the Report really consists in such abridgment or curtailment. Why again they should say that they do not wish to interfere in other respects with the general law of the Church as to ornaments, or the ordinary remedies now in force, we do not see. When they specially direct their attack upon vestments, incense, and lights, no man in his senses will accuse them of attacking anything else; and when they are providing a special facility for restraint, in favour of aggrieved parishioners, which would once for all stop the practices in every church where they have been adopted, they have secured their end, though it may be true in words that where three recruits could not be bribed to oppose their clergyman, they do not recommend interference; and we humbly submit that in that case people will care very little about the intentions, desires, or anxieties of the nineteen Commissioners. But we have not yet done with the apologetic paragraphs, for short as they are, they contain a little heterogenous matter mixed up with the apologies, or perhaps, as the Commissioners may think, arising out of the subject naturally. For here, for the first time in their Report, we come across a little attempt at argument, which appears to us, when divested of its verbiage, to mean—that the National Church is really not very particular about doctrine; but at least may be expected to have an external appearance of unity, which it does not in point of fact realize; and that though unaccustomed novelties on such trifling doctrines as the Inspiration of Scripture and the Eternity of Future Punishment have crept in and are sanctioned by law, yet that as believers and disbelievers on these two points are expected to join devoutly in one common form and order of service,—(do the Commissioners really believe that those who reject these doctrines join devoutly in the common form and order,—) at any rate no novelties can be tolerated in external appearance, even though the novelties complained of consist principally in obedience to the law of the Church, which is disobeyed in some point or other in probably every church and chapel in the kingdom.

But we need say no more for the present as to the main portions of the apologetic paragraphs, which have been thoroughly picked to pieces in three of the antagonistic Reports. We have yet a few words to say on the subject of the betrayal of their own opinion on the part of these Commissioners, as to the value of these rites and ceremonies. It seems they give a new tendency and significance to the service. We shall see presently that one of the counter Reports probably alludes to this estimate of Ritual. Meanwhile, we venture to observe that, if this be so, and if it be true that the vestments

so called, and the lighted candles, are, as the law has decided, quite in accordance with the rubric—the Commissioners are, on their own showing, interfering in a very serious manner, not with mere trifling external decorations, but with doctrine which, in virtue of the hitherto allowed use of these ornaments, is permitted in the Church of England. They are therefore, themselves being witnesses, touching the Prayer book in the most vital point of doctrine. This is plain on the face of their statement, whatever the particular doctrine or doctrines alluded to may be. They wish to stop these things because in their judgment they give 'a new tendency and significance to the service.' Now, supposing they had taken the straightforward course, which was, as we have above observed, quite open to them to do, viz. to propose the repeal of the Ornament Rubric; we ask,—Would they have dared to say this, 'We recommend that this Rubric be repealed, on the ground that it 'has a certain tendency to make men believe things, and a 'certain significance of doctrines which are not, as we think, 'sanctioned by the Church of England'? We are quite sure that they would not. And in addition to the charge which we just now made against the nineteen Commissioners, of exceeding their instructions in their endeavour to put down practices, when their business was to look after Rubrics which wanted amending or altering, we have now to put in the plea that they are, on their own showing, tampering with the doctrines of the Church.

That the nineteen Commissioners have not explained to us in what particular direction the tendency is supposed to lead, and what is the peculiar and special significance they thus vaguely allude to, is a great aggravation of the evil they have perpetrated. They have, as it were, brought a distinct charge against certain practices; and as two of these practices are sanctioned by the legal interpretation of the Rubric, we must repeat it, that they have brought a charge against a certain Rubric, as countenancing doctrines, which by the very fact of their being so countenanced, are, to say the least, permissible doctrines in the Church of England. They were bound in doing so,—if we can once go so far as to admit that they had any right to do so, which we do not,—they were bound in doing so, to explain in distinct terms the exact meaning of their charge. What they have done is exactly similar to bringing an accusation against a prisoner in a criminal court of having committed some crime or other, without specifying what crime. The reason surely is evident, viz. that they dared not specify more particularly. And we are gravely called upon by a body of men, some of whom are eminent lawyers and others occupying the high

places of the united Church of England and Ireland, to submit to the curtailment of the liberties which we enjoy by the law of the Church and State of England, because men who do not dare to suggest the repeal of a Rubric, seek to get rid of its obnoxious provisions by alleging that it has a tendency and significance which other people cannot discover, and which they themselves are afraid to declare explicitly.

And this is the Report of nineteen Commissioners who proclaim their acquiescence, not only in various shades of opinion being allowed to co-exist in the Church of England, but even appear to contemplate with satisfaction changes of opinion in the same individual from time to time, for this we suppose is the meaning of the varying shades of opinion in behalf of which they undertake to legislate.

We are afraid our readers are already weary with the exposure of this unhappy document; but if it be worth notice at all, it is as well that the business should be thoroughly done. And our work would be imperfect if we were to omit all mention of the remaining five Reports—signed, we think we may say by the *élite* of the Commission,—and dissenting on four different grounds from the majority of nineteen, whose Report stands at the head of the document, and has already been sufficiently criticised. The five Reports may, for our present purpose, be reduced to four, for there is no other difference of opinion between the first two set of dissentients than this, that whereas the Bishop of Oxford and the Dean of Ely give their reasons for a qualified assent to, or dissent from, their brother Commissioners, which appears to them consistent with signing their names at the foot of their Report; Sir Robert Phillimore, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Hubbard, and Mr. Gregory concur in the same view, and feel themselves thereby precluded from appending their signatures to it. What these six Commissioners have in reality done is simply to protest in a body against the attempt to stereotype by legislation for perpetual observance any use not actually enjoined. The meaning of this would be very obscure if in a subsequent paragraph it had not been explained as deprecating particular enactments on these subjects. In the general recommendation they offer, that the hands of the Bishops may be strengthened, we do not concur; but as this is a result of which there is not the remotest contingency, we can afford to be silent on the subject, and pass on to the second of what we have called the four Counter Reports.

This is signed by Mr. Coleridge and the Dean of Westminster, and here we enter upon an entirely new phase of the question. Whereas the nineteen are of opinion that there is a new ten-

dency and significance given by vestures, lights, and incense to the service, that is to say, that they will assist in enabling those who assist at the service in realizing the doctrines of the Sacrifice and of the Objective Presence, and the adoration of Christ as so Present, these two Commissioners are of an entirely different opinion. The observances in question are too trifling and unimportant to bear any such stress. They have no doctrinal significance. Some people like them, and in a free country people must have what they like, if such variety of form can possibly be adopted; but inasmuch as all parties cannot always be satisfied, some restraint may occasionally be necessary; and they remark with an irony that is only the more keen because it is scarcely perceptible, that they consider the remedy suggested to be effectual and sufficient. But inasmuch as they say that they think these observances should be restrained only when they give offence to the parishioners, we incline to wonder the less that these gentlemen signed the Report, which says pretty much the same thing without the introduction of the word 'only.' There must therefore be some *arrière pensée* here which is not at first apparent. Perhaps we shall not be very far wrong in interpreting them to mean that,

'In saying that the remedy proposed by the nineteen is 'effectual and sufficient, we must not be supposed to agree 'in the proposition that any three people out of every 1,000, 'much less any five out of 10,000 or more parishioners, who are 'householders, shall have power to override the wishes of the 'whole of the parish. These matters are so trifling, that three 'or five people may very well be expected to submit to what 'they do not like on the principle that a very small minority 'must give way to a large majority for the sake of peace. We 'could have seen our way to a representation by a majority 'being taken as the exponent of the wishes of the whole, and 'in the interests of peace we can suggest no better method of 'settling the matter in dispute. Variety of outward observances 'seems to us in itself very desirable, and as we observe that the 'nineteen Commissioners who have signed the Report have very 'plainly a single object in view, not in the least contemplated 'in our instructions, which only mention matters which may be 'deemed essential, and that object is to attain a rigid uni-'formity in matters not essential, we will not join in any such 'recommendation.'

That is the best we can make of the two paragraphs in question, which are somewhat contrary to each other, and which perhaps were written, one by Mr. Coleridge, the other by Dean Stanley.

We proceed to notice the two remaining portions of the

documents submitted to her Majesty, containing the respective protests of Lord Beauchamp and Mr. Perry, against the Report of their brother Commissioners. Of course, we are using our own language in characterising these as protests. In addressing the Queen this was not a form of words that could be used, and both of them beg to lay before her Majesty their reasons for dissenting from, and for not signing the Report of the majority. It is of little consequence by what name these concluding portions of the Report are called. The important point to be observed is, that they each of them very pointedly condemn the whole of the Report, and tear to pieces every part of it. We suppose that in this respect the Second Report of the Ritual Commissioners is absolutely unique. It is not uncommon for a set of Commissioners to issue recommendations, from portions of which one or more of their number will signify their dissent; but it rarely, if ever, happens that there is not what may be termed a considerable degree of unanimity. As to why this should not be the case in the present instance we may have a word or two to say presently. We are content here just to advert to the fact of the difference between this Report and every other that we happen to have seen or heard of. We are now concerned only with Lord Beauchamp. He rushes at once *in medias res*. The very terms of the Commission, 'such matters as may be deemed essential,' imply plainly that there are others which are not essential, in which uniformity cannot be expected to prevail. And if we do not mistake the line of argument adopted, the noble earl seems to us to mean that two different aspects of sacramental belief are tolerated in the Church of England, and that, *à fortiori*, it follows that two very different styles of ceremonial must be allowed to prevail also, or you will be favouring one class of teaching to the disparagement of the other. We do not care to endorse Lord Beauchamp's view as to the wisdom of the rulers of the Church in the early days of Queen Elizabeth in combining the two forms of administering which belong to the First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI. But the fact and the motive are alike undeniable. It was for the purpose of inclusion; and exclusion is, if not the avowed purpose, the certain result of the measures the nineteen Commissioners propose—if only they could get them adopted.

Lord Beauchamp after glancing at the recent judgment in the Court of Arches,—a judgment wholly ignored in the reasons that are interspersed with the recommendations of the Report itself,—after stating his own regretful acquiescence in the law as laid down with regard to the use of incense, and his unwillingness to restrain the use of lighted candles, which has been

allowed in the same court,—proceeds to enforce his *à fortiori* argument, that as wide latitude is not merely tolerated but encouraged, there ought to be no restraint on things manifestly in themselves innocent, and declared to be in accordance with law. And in saying that, by the terms of the Commission he is precluded from recommending legislation tending to prohibition, he must be understood to imply that his brother Commissioners in so doing have, in his opinion, exceeded the terms of their Commission. Before he concludes, Lord Beauchamp gives the Report another slap in the face. He almost, in so many words, tells his brother Commissioners that whenever they speak of restraint they mean prohibition, and that, whether they desire it or not, they have agreed upon a recommendation which seriously curtails—and here one word does duty for the two expressions *abridge* and *curtail* used by the nineteen—the rightful liberties of the subject. Perhaps, however, the most important observation made by Lord Beauchamp is that which contains the contrast between the serious disturbances of the Surplice Row of 1842 and the almost infinitesimal amount of irritation caused by the use of vestments, lights and incense. There is an evident allusion to the same disturbances in the rider to the Report signed by the Bishop of Oxford and the Dean of Ely, and from this coincidence we argue that the parallel between the two circumstances of 1842 and 1867 was brought prominently forward during the discussion, though it appears to have been allowed no weight by the majority of nineteen. Lord Beauchamp's tone is throughout manly and outspoken.

Mr. Perry's protest is more minute. Whereas Lord Beauchamp objects to the whole tenor of the report *en masse*, and gives his reasons for dissenting from its provisions in general, Mr. Perry proceeds leisurely through the document and picks it to pieces, the only portion that is not touched being the preamble and the conclusion, which have little or nothing to do with the rest of the Report. With this exception, he begins at the fourth clause and goes on steadily to the eleventh. It will hardly be necessary for us to follow him over ground which we have already traversed in this article, and our having already discussed most of the allegations and arguments—or fallacies as some will be inclined to term them—of that report, must plead our excuse for noticing only such portions of this able paper as we have not anticipated. He notices with great effect the *petitio principii* involved in the assertion of the nineteen, which he admits to be in fact correct, that no sufficient evidence has been produced to prove the use of lighted candles during the last 300 years. It was not likely that any explicit records of such things should have been kept, and he dexterously points

his exposure of his brother Commissioners' tacit assumption that insufficient evidence of usage is equivalent to proof of non-usage, by challenging them to produce any better evidence for the use of various (Mr. Perry does not say varying) coloured altar-cloths in the same church, a moveable ledge on the Lord's table, and the bringing of the bread and wine from a credence table to the altar at the time of the offertory. Mr. Perry, we think, is scarcely so successful in handling the seventh clause, and, indeed, in one unimportant particular appears to us to misrepresent it, unless, indeed, as seems probable, he is alluding to some of the debates which have not reached us. In his four distinct objections to the eighth clause we quite follow him, and his mode of treating the case is not the less forcible because of the necessity imposed upon him under the circumstances of using the language of irony and economy. And we may observe here that this difficult style of writing has been kept up from this point to the end of the Report with perfect good taste and self-restraint, the most biting observation being that in which the writer, after agreeing with his colleagues in their wish to include men of varying shades of opinion in the National Church, remarks, that 'this is nevertheless a subject which seems 'scarcely within the terms of Her Majesty's Commission.'

Need we draw the conclusion from all this? Twenty-nine Commissioners have been sitting at intervals for many months upon one Rubric of the Prayer Book. How nearly the matter may have come to blows (we, of course, speak metaphorically) during all or any of these sessions, it is not for the outside world to attempt to divine, though the evidence appended to the Reports, exhibits nearly from beginning to end, a polite and deferential style of warfare, such as becomes gentlemen who never forgot their character, whilst they were proclaiming war to the knife. The attack of the smaller fry of the Commission we pass by as not worth our notice; but the result of the whole of the deliberations, is, speaking generally, that one-third is divided against two-thirds, and that the minority have incomparably the best of the argument. What probability is there when these matters come to be debated elsewhere,—we do not say of unanimity, but—of establishing any compromise between parties which will contain, in addition to the elements contributed by the different Commissioners, persons envenomed with all the rancour of party spirit and determined hostility to each other; others who, whether they believe these disputed observances to be significant or not, will be determined to represent them as the badges of party; others again, anxious to gain some handle by which to disturb the Establishment, and nearly, all, probably bigotted in exact proportion to their ignorance, and others virulent

in proportion to the reasonableness of any measure that may happen to be proposed. The House of Commons, we fear, would exhibit little of that decorous respect towards ecclesiastics of high rank when its sanction should be asked for a method of evading the law, which seems to excite no other idea than that of the ludicrous wherever it is promulgated. Some sturdy Quaker, perhaps, will rise up and say, Either this is law or it is against law: let us, at least, understand what is to be the law in the matter, and then we will take care that in practice it shall be enforced; and the debate will end by an amendment which Lord Shaftesbury will find some one to propose for him, which shall in intelligible language propose the repeal of the Ornament Rubric. If he likes to do so, we are quite content. Let him do his best or his worst, whichever it may be called. He will be thrusting his head into a hornets' nest. But that is his affair, not ours. He will find it difficult to get rid of them. And if, *per impossibile*, he should succeed in carrying his bill, that will be the beginning of the end.

We must not close this long article without some allusion to the remarkable judgment pronounced March 28, 1868, by the official Principal of the Court of Arches. A second edition of this document issued within a few days after the appearance of the first testifies to the wide-spread interest felt in this trial. The decision has not taken us by surprise, as any one may see who will refer to our former article on the First Report. Two cases were tried in the same court, and judgment was given on the two together; but we need not concern ourselves with the case of Flamank *v.* Simpson, because it is in a manner included in the other. As far as the practices complained of in Mr. Mackonochie's case are concerned, the judgment is contained in the concluding words of the learned Judge's opinion:—

'I admonish Mr. Mackonochie to abstain for the future from 'the use of incense, and from the mixing water with the wine as 'pleaded in these articles. And I further admonish him not to 'recur to the practices which he has abandoned under protest, 'with respect to the elevation of the Blessed Sacrament, and the 'censing of persons and things.' As to two of the points complained of, the decision is against Mr. Mackonochie's practice. On the third judgment is given in his favour. Our readers all know what has been the issue. Nothing could have been more graceful than Mr. Mackonochie's submission to the declaration of the law, and in what he did he was followed by all the churches, we believe, in which the same amount of ceremonial has hitherto existed. And the acquiescence was, of course, owing much more to the tone of the judgment than to the issue itself. We need

scarcely point out to our readers how pointedly the subsequent history draws out the character of the contending parties. The defendants were beaten on two points, and those the more important of the three that were brought into court. They were willing to acquiesce, though it is quite possible that an appeal to the Privy Council might have produced a reversal of this sentence in their favour. The Privy Council has never of late years given much countenance to the idea of closing open questions or forbidding doubtful practices. Everything seems working in the way of giving the most liberal interpretation to the words of a statute. It would not in the least degree have surprised us if an appeal to the Privy Council had sanctioned the use of so incorrect an expression as Mr. Bennett has carelessly made use of in speaking of a visible Presence in the Eucharist. It might very easily have been argued that a Presence which was recognised by faith might in some sense be called a visible presence; or some noble lord might argue, that it was difficult to prove a negative, and that a Presence, though invisible to mortal eye, might yet be, by possibility, visible to other beings than men. We are far from defending Mr. Bennett, who certainly ought to have been more careful when speaking of such transcendant mysteries, but we are only asserting that there is nothing so vague and unmeaning in doctrine but what might find favour with a court which looks at the meaning of words, and cares nothing for ideas, and whose judgments have been always given in entire ignorance of dogmatic theology.

Such is the nature of the court to which the plantiff appeals, and into which the defendant is forced. Of the litigiousness of the appellant party no question can be made; of its wisdom there will be probably two opinions till the final issue of the case. We have no objection to hazard the conjecture, that the plaintiff will rue the day when he took a step so ill-advised. To our minds it seems next to certain, that the decision of the Final Court of Appeal will adopt Sir Robert Phillimore's interpretation of the law as regards the lights upon the altar.

However, we are not concerned to make prophecies which the event will soon verify or falsify, as the case may be. The value of Sir Robert Phillimore's judgment is entirely independent on the probabilities of this or that portion of it being affirmed or reversed in the superior court—nay, we do not scruple to say independent upon the matters which have been decided by it. The principles advocated in this remarkable judgment are as far-reaching as they are philosophical. In these respects it presents a most striking contrast to most of

the judgments which have preceded it in the Court of Arches. We do not say that the judgments given in this court—nor, again, that the decisions of the Final Court of Appeal—have entirely ignored the existence of a Church prior to the Reformation, which has a substantial identity with the National Church of this day. On the contrary, it has been found necessary in trials, both in the lower and the upper court, to have recourse to earlier precedents to explain later practices, and attempts have been made to reconcile the miserable ambiguities of the Articles by reference to Catholic formularies of an earlier century; but, upon the whole, the impression left upon the mind of any one who will fairly estimate the terms in which the different judgments have been issued, from the time of the Gorham case to the present day, running over a period of near twenty years, is, that those who enunciated their respective judgments were influenced mainly by the precedents of the last 300 years. It will be sufficient to mention here the influence exercised over the terms of the judgment in the Gorham case, by the fact, that contradictory opinions on the subject of baptismal grace had been avowedly and publicly held by writers of the Post-Reformation Church of England without being condemned. Of course, it may be pleaded in justification of such a course, that as contradictory opinions could not be proved to have been tolerated at any previous period, the judges were bound to take what they could get in evidence when once they had let slip the principle of taking the devotional forms of the Church in their obvious and unmistakeable meaning. But it cannot ever be forgotten that that iniquitous judgment rested on the 'uncertain and ambiguous expressions in the 'formularies,' which, it never occurred to the judges, ought to have been explained, if they were really uncertain and ambiguous, by the certain and unambiguous language which the Church, in all ages, had spoken on the subject of Holy Baptism. Nay, their Lordships absolutely decided that the very ambiguity of the Articles which, as they said, 'constitute the Code of Faith,' should be used as a valid argument for allowing differences in the interpretation of the devotional services; apparently not knowing, as the Bishop of Exeter with caustic irony observed, 'that in the fourth or fifth century, from which, 'and probably from a still earlier period, some of the doctrinal 'prayers of the baptismal office have come down, the Church 'did not frame devotions to be understood in various senses, 'so that the congregation should utter discordant prayers 'before God in one outward form with different inward 'meanings.'

It will be seen that we have very special reasons for referring to this celebrated judgment for the sake of pointing the contrast which we think is exhibited in common by itself, and nearly every other judgment that has since been given in the Court of Arches, or in the Court of Appeal, with the luminous judgment we are now criticising. Before we part from it, we must be allowed to quote the following passage from the letter of the Bishop of Exeter to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and if the Court of Appeal of the present day should be inclined to follow the lead so recklessly set them by their predecessors of 1849, and to judge matters by their probable consequences, they may, if they like, take the Bishop of Exeter's words in this sense, viz. that the probable consequences of secession from the Church, following upon a wrong decision, which are in reality more imminent now than they were then, should make them very cautious,—first, in interpreting the law aright, and, secondly, in giving it the widest possible interpretation :—

'My lord, I shall not be thought to impute wrong motives to 'your Grace, beyond the common infirmity of our nature, if I 'aver my belief that other motives besides mere justice and 'truth, swayed this sentence and your Grace in your advice 'upon it. I cannot imagine that English judges could have 'been betrayed into so grievous a perversion of justice, or your 'Grace into sanctioning it, had there not been some very power-'ful motive which, through the kindly feelings of our nature, 'blinded their and your eyes to the evil of tampering with 'justice. Common report said that such principles were even 'avowed. It was feared lest, if a true judgment should be 'given, a large number of clergymen would be driven to resign 'their office,—perhaps, to leave the Church. And so a tem-'porizing measure was adopted which, it was thought, would 'satisfy both parties, and leave the position of both untouched.'

In the Gorham case there was not the slightest danger of a secession; and yet this supposed danger was allowed to influence the decision of the judges in a case where there was no reason for considering the law doubtful. In the present case it is certain that there will be a disruption if there should be any attempt made to alter the Ornament Rubric, and it is probable that the disturbing consequences of a reversal of the decision as to lights may be much more far-reaching than any one can at present foresee. No one imagined a crisis was at hand in 1849: every one knows that it is come now. And statesmen and tacticians should be careful, we think, how they play a game, from the issues of which it is

more than probable that Rome will gain an immense access of strength.

We owe our readers a sort of apology for obtruding on their attention remarks which, though produced by the matters we are discussing, are, nevertheless, a little beside the particular point to which we were addressing ourselves. But no considerations that tend to throw any light upon the dangers we are passing through can be altogether out of place, in a case when those who are at the helm seem, from the way in which they act, to be so entirely secure and unconscious of danger, so utterly unable to discern the signs of the coming storm :—

> 'O nimium cœlo et pelago confise sereno,
> Nudus in ignotâ, Palinure, jacebis arenâ.'

And now to return. We may, indeed, heartily congratulate all true Churchmen on the tone and style of Sir Robert Phillimore's masterly judgment. What we may call the major premiss of that judgment is the 'identity of the status of the Church before and after the Reformation.' We are not concerned to express our approval of every statement that the learned judge enunciated in the course of his elaborate survey of the legal, historical, and theological evidence of that identity. Nay, we make bold to express our regret when he says that 'when 'the language of a statute is plain, I must obey it;—when the 'Court of Appeal has laid down a principle applicable to this 'case, I must follow it.' To the former part of this proposition no reasonable person could take exception. And even the latter part is so plausible that it will command the sympathies of many. We are quite content in a general way that precedents should be followed, and though a lower court must generally be guided by the precedents of a higher, we should be sorry to think that the rule can admit of no exception. Had legal precedents been always followed, we should not now be entering our protest against following, or being guided by, a precedent which has in most cases been established by following a course in direct opposition to what we have called Sir Robert Phillimore's major premiss. We believe most of the precedents which might be quoted from the decisions of the final Court of Appeal, rest upon an almost entire ignoring of the Pre-Reformation Church. And we hope that, if ever the baptismal controversy should come into court again, the judge of that day will remember the following pregnant words which we extract from the Bishop of Exeter's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury :—

'My lord, I have heard it said, that although this judgment

'is not absolutely conclusive, yet it is a precedent which every 'inferior court will be found to follow, and which even the 'highest court will be bound to respect, and not, except on 'the plainest grounds, hereafter to supersede.

'I deny that it is a precedent; technically, it may be called 'so, but morally and really it is not a precedent, but a *warning* '—a warning to future judges to be content with doing their 'duty as *judges*, which duty is to administer not to make laws; '—to beware of listening to clamours from without, or timid 'caution from within, that the consequences of a strictly right 'decision would be to introduce confusion into the Church, and 'it may be into the State,—to drive hundreds of conscientious 'men out of the ministry,—to shake the feelings and oppose the 'prejudices of a large and valuable portion of the laity of the 'Church.'

From this extract it will be seen why we demur to Sir Robert Phillimore's averment, that 'when the Court of Appeal has laid down a principle applicable to this case, I must follow it.' We repeat, we have no fault whatever to find with his own application of his principle in this particular judgment, but we emphatically enter our protest against the Court of Arches being in all cases implicitly guided by a previous decision of the Court of Appeal; it standing upon record, as it does in at least one remarkable case, that a judgment was given against law, and common sense, and equity, solely with a view to the consequences which were thought likely to follow from a judgment given in a contrary sense.

With this exception, to which we have thought it right to advert, and omitting to chronicle small differences of opinion between ourselves and the learned judge—such for instance as the historical fact of Cranmer being entitled to be classed in the noble army of martyrs—we most heartily concur in the recent judgment.

As the judgment itself occupied several hours in delivery, and fills 120 large 8vo. pages, it is probable it may not have been read so carefully and so completely as it deserves. It may not, therefore, be unacceptable to some of our readers, if we give some account in very brief outline of its more salient parts. After giving a most elaborate account of the Statutes of Uniformity, which are principally relied on by the promoter of the suit, and explaining, by reference to authorities who have written on the subject, the meaning of the terms, 'Rites and Ceremonies,'—which are treated as portions of, ingredients of, or accompaniments of, a service, the former being expressed in words, the latter in gestures,—the learned judge pronounces that

the matters complained of must be considered as ceremonies. He continues with instituting a distinction between such ceremonies as are in their own nature immutable according to the judgment of the Universal Church, and such as each particular Church may alter and adopt to varying necessities and exigencies; and here we may observe, by the way, the precise use of the word 'varying' as distinguished from its slovenly abuse by the nineteen Commissioners in their Report. However, the right or wrong use of a word is of little importance, except as it may serve to illustrate the position—

'. . . Servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit.'

If Sir Robert Phillimore has shown himself to be an acute lawyer and an exact logician, the Commissioners have, we think, established the claim to be considered, like even the Reformers of the sixteenth century, but fallible men.

The conclusion thus far elicited is obvious,—that the questions pending before him in no way affect the relations of the Church of England to the Church Catholic. To this the learned judge adds, that he is not called upon to pronounce any decision upon any question of doctrine. He then proceeds to state the case as for the promoter, which is briefly as follows, that:—

Mr. Mackonochie has added ceremonies which are expressly prohibited by the Statutes of Uniformity; that such additions are, by necessary implication, prohibited as being connected with Roman doctrine, and as such have been disused ever since the Reformation. It is the discussion of the latter clause of this sentence that has produced the most valuable portion of Sir Robert Phillimore's judgment. And, undoubtedly, we have gained from his clear exposition of the identity of the Church of Henry VII.'s day with the National Establishment of the present time, one statement which,—whatever may be said about precedents established in ignorance or for expediency's sake,—will ever remain a recognised precedent for future judges in this court:—

'These premisses, which I have stated at some length, lead 'me to the conclusion that no sound argument against the law-'fulness of the matters objected to in these articles can be 'deduced from the mere fact of their identity with the cere-'monies in use before the Reformation.'

He next proceeds to demolish the argument from disuse; and the argument is here conducted in most masterly style. It proves too much. 'The laws derived from the Rubrics and 'canons have never at any period since the Reformation

'been universally and duly obeyed.' This position, startling as it may appear, is made good by reference to facts as regards the Ornament Rubric, which, he makes no doubt, prescribes the retention of all the ornaments in use in the second year of Kind Edward VI. as deliberately and emphatically decided by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of Westerton *v.* Liddell. After this we are referred to the Canons, which order the surplice in parish churches and copes in cathedrals, the use of the bidding prayer before sermon, the passing-bell for a dying parishioner; the Rubrics, which imply the use of the credence-table, and penances, the daily service, the practice of private baptism, and other rites of which it may be said with truth, 'how much more common has been the breach than the observance of them.' Again, the argument of disuse, which prevailed with the judges in the Consistory Court of London and the Arches Court, as regards the cross and credence-table—of which it was truly said, that the instances of which any trace of them could be substantiated by evidence since the Reformation were very few and inconsiderable—was of no avail before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who pronounced them lawful. From this the judge proceeds to give an interesting sketch of the decline of Ritual and its causes, together with its revival and the circumstances that preceded and mainly caused the revival; and what may be called the preliminary portion of the Judgment ends with a graceful tribute to the founder of the Church of S. Alban's:—

'It was in this spirit that the Church of S. Alban's was, we 'know, built. In this spirit we must all hope that its services 'have been conducted. But it remains to be seen whether they 'have or have not gone beyond those bounds of ritual observance 'which the law of our Church has set.'

It has never been our good fortune to meet with a charge, or a judgment, or decision of any kind so clearly expressed, or systematically and logically arranged, as that which we are attempting to epitomize in this short and compressed notice. It is full of quotations from authorities of all kinds, which indicate an extensive acquaintance, not only with writers who have made Ritual and ceremonial or law their proper study, but with historians and preachers, down to such small fry as Fuller and Smalridge. But all these quotations we are bound to omit; and we must ask our readers to bear in mind that the quotations from authorities, the remarks interspersed with the quotations, and the inferences drawn from the two together are welded into so complete and harmonious a whole that we are by force constrained to do it a great injustice in attempting to represent it

in abridgment. It is the production of a mind logical, legal, and philosophical, and, we had almost said, theological. At least, we seem to see indications that the official Principal in the Court of Arches would have been a profound theologian if his studies had been turned in that direction.

In gradually drawing nearer to the point he is to arrive at, the judge proceeds to distinguish the classes of things mentioned or not mentioned, as the case may be, in the Rubrics of the Prayer-book. These are,—(1) Things lawful and ordered; (2) Things unlawful and prohibited; (3) Things neither ordered nor prohibited, the proper management of which must depend upon the discretion of some living authority.

With regard to the construction of Rubrics generally, there exists, side by side with Statute Law, a Common Law of the Church, which must necessarily be used in the interpretation of Statute Law. For instance, the Rubric, that the priest shall then place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient, implies a table or place from which the elements shall be brought, and hence it has been decreed that the credence is a lawful ornament. Or again, the Sarum Missal makes no mention of two lights to be placed upon the altar; but these lights were undoubtedly binding when the Sarum Missal was in use. Bishop Cosin is quoted to the same effect: 'And it is to 'be noted that the book does not everywhere enjoin and pre-'scribe every little order which should be said or done, but 'take[s] it for granted that people are acquainted with such 'common [things], and things always used already.' 'Let the 'Puritans then here give over their endless cavils, and let 'ancient custom prevail, the thing which our Church chiefly 'intended in the review of this service.' We quote the passage not so much for its importance—for, after all, the matter is simply one of common sense—but because in the judgment (p. 76) it has been inaccurately transcribed by the editor; and we take the opportunity of observing, that it is of the utmost importance that all quotations should be exactly made, not only for the sake of creating confidence in the person to whom the work is entrusted, but rather because the alteration of a single word or phrase frequently affects the meaning a whole passage. We have not compared the rest of the numerous quotations in this judgment with the original, and can only express our hope that they are more accurate than the one which we have taken occasion to verify.

The actual items of the judgment, and the arguments by which each separate decision is supported, are, perhaps, sufficiently familiar to our readers. The decision as to the lighted

candles seems to us to rest on the clearest sanctions of law. The statutable authority of the Injunctions which allow them, if proved—and the learned judge seems to think it is proved—of course would settle the question once for all. But to us this argument, whether good or bad, is quite superfluous. The argument from the *fact* of their existence among the ornaments of the Church in the second year of Edward VI. is conclusive for their legality now; and the Zurich letters—which, however, we should have been glad to see quoted in the language in which they were written, instead of an English translation—prove their retention till the time of Elizabeth.

And now, in conclusion, we would ask the promoter of this suit, and his fautors and abettors, what do they suppose they would gain, were they ever so successful in stopping lights? Supposing it conceivable that lights were put a stop to, is it not certain that there would instantly be an accession of the number of churches where the Eucharistic vestments would be used. And supposing again the Ornament Rubric to be repealed by the joint action of Parliament and Convocation—and, be it remembered, it is absolutely certain that a schism will ensue if Parliamentary legislation is alone brought to bear upon the subject—how, we ask, would the Protestant party be satisfied? There would remain as a thorn in their side unremoved, all the Eucharistic doctrine, which is the real object of attack;—there would remain nearly every external observance which distinguishes Ritualistic from Protestant Churches, spreading over a much wider area in something like exact proportion to the amount of pressure caused by persecution.

A thousand features, gestures, genuflexions, and the like will continue just as they now are, simply because legislation cannot provide against the evasion of the law, and must leave many or even most of such ceremonies untouched. Who is to prescribe what length of pause is allowable between prayers?—Who is to check the inserting of private prayers by the celebrant?—Who is to regulate the amount of raising the elements which shall be counted as elevation? The task is utterly hopeless, and if promoters of suits against their brethren would take our advice —which, however, we have no expectation or hope of their doing —they would begin at the other end, and attack the doctrine of the Real Objective Presence. They will find plenty of clergymen who are habitually expressing this doctrine in the most clear and unmistakeable language. They can scarcely, we should think, be satisfied with the results of the Ditcher *v.* Denison case. What other purpose has that abortive trial served, but to spread abroad the doctrine which was assailed, and to call

men's attention to a theological statement which has been considerably kept in abeyance? The Subjective Presence with which a previous generation of Churchmen was content, has been found to develop naturally and consistent into an Objective Presence. And what we want to impress upon the Protestant party is this, that it is too late in the day now to stop the current of belief. If they think otherwise, let them by all means try. The telegram which conveys the news of their victory will be welcomed with acclamations at Rome.

NOTICES.

'On Papal Conclaves.' By W. C. Cartwright. (Edinburgh : Edmonston and Douglas.) This tastefully-printed little volume is an enlarged reprint of an article in the *North British Review* (No. XC.). Its author is understood to have contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* those interesting papers on Italian questions which have appeared within the 'buff and blue' covers from time to time during the last seven years ; papers, it may be observed, which display a very large amount of agreement with those of the *Christian Remembrancer* on the same subject. The little work before us is not less curious and interesting, though its interest is of a rather different character. Details concerning the mode of a Papal election have an antiquarian character, excepting in so far as the future of the Papacy may depend upon them. But this future is so interesting and important to all Christendom that acquaintance with the past and with the rules of conclaves becomes highly useful, and we feel grateful to Mr. Cartwright for his careful researches in a very unbeaten tract of thought and study. For the sake of Christianity we hope that some explanation of the charges contained in Appendix A. may be forthcoming. But in any case we may recommend this volume as a mine of information hardly to be obtained elsewhere in the English language.

A good thought has been well carried out in the 'Sunday Library' (Macmillan). In our time we have had many Sunday Libraries : reprints of the old divines, centuries of sermons, and the like ; but here we have a proof of the improved view of the Sunday, and what is suitable for it,—not mere 'goody' books of the dull S.P.C.K. order, but religious and, at the same time, interesting teaching. When we say that the accomplished and ever-ready and ever-welcome author of the 'Heir of Redclyffe' has turned the annals of the Apostolic times into a narrative historically correct, and with her usual grace of style, we only announce, in the 'Pupils of S. John the Divine,' a work somewhat pleasanter than Cave, and somewhat lighter than the 'Acta Sanctorum.' In what is promised as following volumes of the series some of the most picturesque writers are engaged,—Mr. Kingsley, Mr. Farrar, and Mr. Thomas Hughes. The possible danger is, of course, in the abeyance of dogma. To be systematically undogmatic is itself dogmatic ; just as the secular view of education is itself denominational.

'The Dogmatic Teaching of the Book of Common Prayer on the Eucharist' (Longmans), by Mr. Estcourt, of S. Chad's, Birmingham, is a reply from a distinguished Roman Catholic, and a convert, to an article which appeared in this Review, and as such we feel bound to announce the publication, which is written generally with commendable good taste.

To those whose tastes lie in scurrility, in this case not unseasoned with cleverness, 'The Comedy of Convocation' (Freeman) will be acceptable. But the joke, such as it is, is tediously overdone.

Mr. L. C. Biggs has printed an annotated edition of the popular collection, 'Hymns Ancient and Modern' (Novello), which promises to be the basis of a variorum edition. A whole literature of comment, and much information as to the origin, history, authorship, and transformation of our popular English Hymns, is to be found in this pretty volume.

The Bishop of Oxford has condensed, and in condensing has gone carefully through, that monument of filial piety, the 'Life of William Wilberforce' (Murray). It now appears in a single volume, much more readable and enjoyable than in the old shape. But it has already attained the dignity of a standard book; and the present form is valuable chiefly because it will always command popularity as a gift-book.

'Vestiarum Christianum,' by Mr. C. Marriott. Messrs. Rivington are to be congratulated on this publication. It is quite a book *de luxe*, and the illustrations are admirable. We think that for archæological and historical purposes it is better than for practical ones. The attempt to show that our surplice and 'scarf' is of Apostolic date is, were it not advanced in perfect good faith, almost suggestive of a joke. Surely this is carrying the view that 'our Reformers' had a primitive ideal always in view, to an extreme. But Mr. Marriott always intends to be impartial, and he is always fair.

Mr. Perowne has published (Bell and Daldy) a second volume of his work on the 'Psalms,' which maintains the reputation earned by its predecessor.

There is something of a melancholy but deep interest in the republication of Newman's 'Sermons' (Rivingtons). They are edited by the writer's fast and early friend, Mr. Copeland; and are strictly and substantially a reprint. There is no reason to suppose that the writer disapproves of their reappearance: every reason to believe the contrary. It would be simply silly in this place to offer reflections on the amazing results which have attended these wondrous writings of this wonderful mind: the Great Day alone will disclose their effects. Being for the most part on matters which little concern controversies between ourselves and Dr. Newman's present communion, these sermons—and they include the 'Plain Sermons' as well as the six volumes of 'Parochial Sermons'—may still do much good; and we thank the publishers and editor for the spirit, for it required some, to do this service to religion.

'Metrical Epitaphs, Ancient and Modern,' by Rev. Geo. Booth (Hichens), like Martial's Epigrams, are good, indifferent, and bad;—we mention these qualities in the order of quantity. Some which Mr. Booth has consigned to the publicity of type he had better have left in obscurity; and the general impression on our mind is that the English parochial clergy have been very neglectful in their duty, if some of the scandalous compilations which we find here can have been set up in 'God's Acre.'

Mr. Clark of Edinburgh has published two volumes of Keil and Deliztsch on the Minor Prophets—a branch of inquiry too much neglected among us. We see that the same indefatigable and punctual publishers advertise in the Ante-Nicene Library a treatise of Tertullian and the works of Cyprian. Doubtless it will be cared for that this useful series supplements, but does not interfere with, the Oxford patristic translations of past days.

In the 'Footsteps of the Holy Child' (Masters), Mr. Carter, of Clewer, adds to the many devotional works which he has written. The title, as we understand it, is derived from the fact that this manual follows the first Sundays of the Church's year.

Among the useful foreign books so carefully published by Mr. Clark, of Edinburgh, we have to mention 'Auberlen on Revelation,' which is a general criticism on Rationalism, and an able one. If M. Rénan is right in his view, that to oppose successfully a belief one must have first held it, the same perhaps applies to an unbelief.

Mr. Paget, one of the wittiest writers of the day, who has hybernated for some time, has, like his famous *Owl*, only awakened with new vigour. 'Lucretia; or, the Heroine of the Nineteenth Century' (Masters), is a most amusing book; the subject of Mr. Paget's satire being the sensational novels of the day, and the demoralizing of the female mind which Miss Braddon's school has produced. There is beneath Mr. Paget's comic and sparkling flow a deep under-current of religious and moral strength.

Mrs. Pender Cudlip was formerly known, as Miss Annie Thomas, as a novel writer, not without certain proclivities to Miss Braddon's school, so to dignify her compositions; but in a 'Noble Aim' (Masters), an unpretending little story, Mrs. Cudlip has extricated herself from old associations, and in applying her talents to a religious purpose (this tale is written for the benefit of a Home of Mercy) she has redeemed some former misapplication of them. There is a slip in the first page: London has no 'Metropolitan Church.'

'Sketches of the Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church' (Rivingtons) is a very curious book in more ways than one. The author is an English lady, Mrs. Romanoff, married to a Russian military officer, and she has put into a sort of narrative or dramatic form some sketches of the inner history and outward form and practical working of the Church in Russia. This form is not, we think, a happy one. To those who like the fiction, and it is rather thin, the information will not be attractive; while, on the other hand, many who might both value and would profit by the liturgical and historical contents of what are substantially distinct essays, will be repelled by what looks at first sight like a little novel. But such as can get over this difficulty we feel assured will learn a good deal from Mrs. Romanoff. The volume is introduced to us by Miss Yonge.

'Annals of the Bodleian Library' (Rivingtons) is a perfect treasury of notes on matters archæological, academical, and bibliographical, by Mr. Macray, one of the Sub-Librarians. Few occupations are more pleasant than to be curators of famous libraries, and to pick up the domestic facts and stray scraps of literature and curiosities of authorship which are latent in ancient libraries. The Benedictines are the pleasantest of monks; and from good Antony Wood to the Bandinels, and Blisses, and Maitlands of our own days the pleasantest of companions are librarians. Mr. Macray is worthy of his fraternity, and this monograph does credit to his researches and love of his calling. There is an echo of Dibdinism in the preface which we could have spared. The Oxford authorities are wrong in translating 'The Girdlers' Company,' of London, by '*Societas Zonariorum.*' The girdles are not for

the waist, but for the hearth; they are iron frames for baking cakes: *grid, griddles,* and by transposition *girdles;* the word *grid* is preserved in *gridiron.*

Mr. Renouf is a convert, and he belongs to a remarkable section of the converts, men who have not been able to renounce their reason, and who have not seen any grounds for accepting Ultramontanism. Whether they have found in their new communion what they expected to find, it is not for us to say. That they exist is an important phenomenon. The 'Home and Foreign Review'—Mr. Lockhart's controversy with Dr. Ward—the aspect of the Oratorians generally are signs, and in their way wonders, to such as ourselves. Mr. Renouf's pamphlet, 'The Condemnation of Pope Honorius' (Longmans), settles—we use the word with thought—the question of the Pope's personal infallibility. If there is to be a General Council, and if it is to be fairly summoned and fairly conducted, this crucial question is not likely to be passed over as smoothly as that of the Immaculate Conception.

The spectacle of a good man struggling against the perverse majority of the wicked and faithless has attracted even heathen sympathies: the sight of a very silly and conceited person setting up his crotchets against the universal consent of reason and good sense has its interest too. Such as enjoy this last entertainment we can promise infinite sport in Mr. Rochfort Clarke's 'Protest against Images in the Windows of Churches' (Seeley and Jackson).

Among sermons we should like to call especial attention to a very practical volume by Mr. William Baird, 'The Hallowing of our Common Life' (Mozley). These discourses far exceed Dr. Caird's over-rated sermons on the same practical matters.

The Author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe' is among the most prolific of our writers. Her work on Names is a standard, but her severer studies are fringed with decorative fictions, the announcement of which is some difficulty. 'New Ground'—Miss Yonge is always taking new ground—is just published (Mozley): and the 'Monthly Packet,' which continues its useful, and, as we should judge from its crowd of correspondents, its popular career opens 'The Caged Lion'—a title which is mysterious in its suggestiveness.

Mr. Mackenzie Walcott has undertaken a task which might deter the most ambitious student, in endeavouring to compress into a single volume all that relates to 'Sacred Archæology,' which is the title, somewhat ambitious, of a work owning him as the author, and Mr. Reeve, of Henrietta-street, to whom we owe a long series of famous illustrated books on natural history, as the publisher. To say that Mr. Mackenzie's book is complete would be to say what the author knows that it is not; but it is a most useful manual, and within the same compass there is no work in our language which can compete with it. Mr. Walcott has long been known as an accomplished antiquary, and he has in compiling this volume gone through a course of multitudinous reading rare in these idle days.

Mr. George Huntington—formerly of Manchester, now of Tenby—has reproduced, we think with somecondensation, a series of sermons for the 'Church's Seasons' (Parker), which commanded attention when originally printed, and whose merits justify their re-appearance.

If the re-appearance of a 'Selection from Erasmus' Colloquies' (Parker) is to be esteemed a sign—which it is—of the good sense and practical wisdom with which Dr. Lowe governs Hurstpierpoint, few testimonials to the value of the school could be greater. We believe that Latin scholarship has suffered since our scholars have ceased to cultivate the use of Latin speech. Erasmus is an old-fashioned book: Cordery is more old-fashioned, and supposed to be vulgar. Perhaps we are wrong in suggesting cause and effect; but it is a fact that Latin scholarship has declined, and—is it because?—Latin conversation has been neglected. Even in our recollection it was a school practice to translate Greek into Latin.

To those whose taste affects allegories—our own does not—it will be a presumption in its favour that 'The Harvest: an Allegory,' by Mrs. F. Granville (Longmans), is introduced by Dean Hook.

'Thoughts of a Physician' (Van Voorst). We find that this modest little volume is the second of a series—'Evening Thoughts.' We wish that we were acquainted with its predecessor: the writer is a good and thoughtful man, evidently acquainted with the world and modern thought, and yet able to give to God His own. It may be called a 'Religio Medici' of the best sort.

Mr. Chancellor Massingberd is known, and valued where he is known,—and we may add that he is always favourably known,—by advocating Christian union in a practical way We mean that he takes up the schism and disunion which is at our door first: not that he is insensible to the separation of great Churches, but he is more, or first, concerned with home sins. On a subject which he has made his own, he has published a set of 'Sermons on Unity' (Rivingtons), and the volume is enriched—we use the word without affectation—by an Essay from his pen which has appeared in our own pages.

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

OCTOBER, 1868.

ART. I.—1. *Le Talmude.* Par L'Abbé CHIARINI.
2. *Geschichte des Judenthum's und seiner Secten.* J. M. JOST.
3. *Die Juden in Asien.* Dr. JUL. FÜRST.
4. *Das Judenthum.* Dr. ABR. GEIGER.
5. *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden.* Dr. ZUNZ.
6. *Syngogal Poesie der Juden.* Dr. ZUNZ.
7. *La Kabbale.* Par AD. FRANCK.
8. *Moreh Nevochim de Maimonide.* S. MUNK.

THE Talmud promises to become a household word with us. After a long period of darkness the cloud drifts apart and begins to disclose the 'terra incognita' of Judaism. But no two persons see it alike. Some anticipate a glorious prospect, beautiful as the moon in Nisan, with hill and dale and pleasant lake, vineyards and cornland, olive-gardens and cattle upon a thousand hills. Others of less enthusiastic temperament say, 'Wait a bit, till the prospect clears. The distant mountains may 'be fogbank; the lakes only mirage; the flocks a rocky desert, 'bleak and bare of vegetation, chaos come again.' Yes, let us wait; still, while the reek is clearing, by reviewing what is known we may anticipate what may be expected when the sun shines forth in his strength.

The value to be attached to the Talmud has given rise to much difference of opinion. By some it has been described as a vast mine of inexhaustible wealth, yielding in profuse abundance gold and jewels, rich and rare; confessedly also its full share of slag and refuse; branching out in all directions into endless galleries, and descending in shafts to lodes of priceless value, the wealth of which is never to be exhausted. Like miner's land in general, it is a region of innumerable superstitions, and peopled with its own Talmudic sprites and gnomes. Professing no such love or veneration for the Talmud, it is necessary that we should disclaim on the other hand all attempt to depreciate it without necessity; a dead language will not be

assumed as a decent cloak for the 'tacenda' that it contains: the rake and wallet of the 'chiffonier' tell nothing with respect to the civilization of Paris; neither do the scraps collected by Eisenmenger in his 'Entdecktes Judenthum,' and Wagenseil in his 'Tela Ignea Satanæ,' nor the indifferent Latin of modern reviewers, give a true notion of the average character of the Talmud. Scurrilous passages referring to Christianity abound in Rabbinical writings of the time of the Crusades, and have been carefully collected by Christian writers; but it should be borne in mind that the extraction of molar teeth—never a pleasing operation—may have been a horrible process under Crusading dentistry: and the shrieking of Judaism at that period may well claim our pity even now. Allowance must also be made for the disappointed ambition of a nation that beheld its hopes of a world-wide empire gradually fading into thin air. The Talmud itself contains, or rather contained, many a trace of deadly hate for the Christian name; but, so far as possible, such passages have been removed or softened down. The earliest printed text of the Talmud shows what it once contained. A copy, formerly in possession of Selden, but now in the Bodleian Library, betrays the care that was taken to remove all that might offend the eye of Christian censorship. Whole passages are blotted out, and with such determination that the ink, soaking through the paper, renders the text on the obverse side also illegible. 'Rabbi Talmud' is detected at his *incog.* toilette; his eye is patched, his beard shaved away, and his gabardine Christianized, that he may pass unchallenged amid the crowd of his persecutors. The book in question is to be found in the Bodleian, II. Act. Seld. 7—19. The truth, as usual, is neither with encomiast nor vilifier. Let us then approach our subject in an impartial spirit, with the respect due to the 'thorough' and earnest character of Judaism, that during so many ages maintained and propagated through the length and breadth of the heathen world a knowledge of the Lord Jehovah.

The object of our inquiry is a marvellous patchwork, varied and fantastic as the shifting patterns of the kaleidoscope; and for that reason a somewhat discursive style will be forced upon us, while we give as near an exposition of our text as is consistent with limited space, with modern æsthetics, and with perfect charity for obsolete modes of speech and thought. The question has been asked and brilliantly answered, 'What is the Talmud?' Our present purpose is to deduce from the past a clue for the future of Judaism. Given the origin and present position of Talmudism, what are to be its final results? Given the direction of its currents, in what state of things will it most probably issue? When the Mishna was first completed, it

referred to many subjects that were already overdated to the Jew; at the present day this is very much more the character of the Talmud; in a few years it will be wholly one of antiquarian interest. Its friends themselves are sounding its knell.

We propose in the first place to give the history and origin of the Talmud; and subsequently to point out the direction it has hitherto taken. In the night of past ages the people have been led by the Law as by a pillar of glory. In the day of the present they are still guided in their onward march, but it is by a pillar of cloud. The Babylonian Captivity reclaimed the people from their idolatrous inclinations. The theosophy of Zoroaster, which was the religion of the Mage, harmonized to a certain extent with the religious idea of Judaism. Polytheism was held in greater abhorrence by the Persian than had been the case for some generations among the Jews. Purity of life and conduct was held high in honour; truth and integrity were matters of religious necessity; and if fire appeared to be an object of worship, it was only as the purest material representative of the All Glorious. In all this the pious Jew observed a marked distinction as compared with the worship of the star-god Remphan, and Dagon, Chemosh and Moloch, the Baalim and Ashtaroth of their Palestinian neighbours, Isis and the 'latrator Anubis' of earlier Egyptian association. Hence many of the theosophical theories of the Mede and Persian were adopted by the Jews without difficulty; many also of the social institutions of Babylon were Judaized. It was not that the old faith of Judaism was in any sense superseded by newer notions; 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord,' was still the Shema early and late; but various principles and ways of thinking were engrafted during the long years of exile, that after many centuries bore their ripened fruit in the Talmud. The noble Hebrew language, in which the Law had been delivered from Sinai, in which the songs of Zion had been composed, and the prophets had denounced the coming woes, had died out; and the language of the dominant race, by the usual law of conquest, had been hybridized by the vanquished, producing a language as unlike either Hebrew or pure Chaldæan, as the Ashkenaz Hebrew of the modern German Jew, 'kauderwelsch' as it is contemptuously termed, differs from its Shemitic and Teuton progenitors. The very character also of the old Hebrew had been replaced by the square and more symmetrical writing of Assyria, and was no longer held sacred; for thus says the Mishna: 'The Targum (Chaldee sections) in Ezra and 'Daniel makes the hands unclean. Targum written in Hebrew 'characters, and Hebrew written in Targum (Syriac) characters, 'do not make the hands unclean. In no case do sacred writings

'make unclean, unless the characters be Assyrian (square), 'written on parchment with ink. According to the veneration 'in which the Holy Scriptures are held is their susceptibility of 'uncleanness; books that are of no sanctity can never make 'unclean' (Jadaïm iv. § 5). And the quaint illustrations are added, 'The bones of an ass are clean; the bones of Jochanan, 'the High Priest, are unclean: according to veneration is un-'cleanness; so that no one may turn the bones of his father or 'mother into spoons.' The names of the Jewish months became Babelized; the mystical lore of the Cabala sprung up, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the properties of numbers that furnished out the 'gematria'[1] of the Cabbalists, and the numerical theories of Pythagoras, were obtained simultaneously, and variously developed by Greek and Jew at Babylon. The old Italic philosopher may very well have encountered the heads of the Jewish Captivity at Babylon, and obtained from them a pure knowledge of the Deity, whatever may have been the direction that he afterwards gave to the knowledge so gained.

The angelology of later Judaism was from the same source; possibly it was a development of primæval truth, but in its later aspect exhibiting as a heavenly hierarchy the principal attributes of the Divine Nature. The seven Archangelar powers are but the seven Amshaspands of the Zoroastrian System. The Gnostic Æons are derived from no other source, decreasing in power as they became more remote from Bythus and Sige. So the Talmud says that if the power of Michael is as unity, that of Gabriel is as half, and the Angel of Death as an eighth; unless this last exercises a penal action, when his power is as unity. (Berachoth 4. 6.) The demonology of the Talmud was also derived from the 'doleful creatures,' 'the owls, and satyrs, and dragons,' that were the foreordained inhabitants of doomed Babylon (Isa. xiii. 21, 22). Four worthy Rabbis, comparing notes (Berachoth 6. a.), declare that the stoutest heart would quail if we could see the legions of evil spirits that beset our path. Each human being has a thousand on his right hand and ten thousand on his left. It is through them that crowds become stifling, the knees totter, the feet stumble, and Rabbis' garments wear into holes. But they do not terrify us without

[1] As an instance of arithmetical gematria the word Torah may be taken. The numerical value of the Hebrew letters ת׳ ו׳ ר׳ ה׳ is 613, a number made up of the 248 positive and 365 negative precepts contained in the Law. The human body, according to Jewish physiology, is formed of 248 component parts. The negative precepts tally with the days of the year. In the same way the eighteen Prayers or Blessings of daily use are referred to the eighteen dorsal vertebræ, which should be reverently curved in the act of prayer. [Berachoth, f. 28. b. Gem.] *Is this anything* else than 'memoria technica' for the anatomical student?

giving a remedy; they teach how we may detect their presence, and drag them to the light of day.

'Spread fine ashes round your bed, and in the morning they will be covered with marks as of cocks' feet. To make imps visible, take the afterbirth of a black cat, whose dam and grandam were first-born black cats, dry by the fire, and powder it; no demon will escape the eye that is touched with this powder. Keep the powder carefully in an iron tube, sealed with an iron signet, or the imps will steal it. The experiment is not without its risks.'

Necromancy marches in many a ghastly legend hand in hand with demonology. The following is adduced in proof of an intermediate state of consciousness after death. It is worthy of Lucian:—

'A pious Israelite in time of famine gave a piece of money to a beggar on New Year's Eve; his wife was enraged with him for his extravagance, and to escape her fury he passed the night in the cemetery. Here he overheard the talk of two female spirits, tenants of contiguous graves; one proposed to her neighbour a walk by night, to hear, "from behind the veil," what should be the fortune of the world in the ensuing year. "My dear," said the other, "here I must abide, for I am buried in nothing better than rush matting." The speaker went forth, and on her return showed that the first crops should be cut off by mildew, the second duly won. The listener returned to his home and profited by what he had heard. Next New Year's Eve he returned again to the cemetery, where the same grim scene was repeated, and with a like profitable result to the listener. But his wife got the secret of his success from him, how it was that their crops succeeded when all others failed, and in a moment of ill-temper cast in her neighbour's teeth the rush-mat burial of the daughter. The man returned to the cemetery at the end of the year, but this time there was no further mention of "nothing to wear," for the walker declared that there were so many ears to hear friendly talk, that she did not care for her part to set idle tongues going, and she should lie still. Truly therefore the dead can think.'—*Berachoth*, f. 18. 6.

These importations from the land of the 'winged cymbal' are as straws thrown up, but they indicate the deep current that was sweeping along beneath. The people had passed from Jordan to the Euphrates very much the same as Joshua had led them into the land of promise; but in three generations greater changes had been wrought in their nationality than had been effected by twelve times that number in the antecedent period, and new features were developed, the germ of which we seek in vain in the Law and the Prophets. The truly great spirits raised up by Providence to lead the people back to the land of their inheritance stamped upon them a character that has almost seemed indelible. The work was vast, but thoroughly done. A deep reverence for the Law was made the foundation. The consecration of the whole people individually and collectively to God was the superstructure. A minute interpenetration of their whole daily, religious and domestic, life by the *principles* of the Law was the object aimed at by Ezra and Nehemiah, Haggai and Zechariah and Malachi; an ardent love for the Law as

regards the past, and Messianic expectations for the future, became the spirit of Judaism; and as Moses represented the Law and the Prophets, so Ezra is the type of the Traditional and Talmudic period of Judaism. The first care of the leaders of the people after the Captivity was to seal the venerable records of God's Word, and to define the canon to which no further addition should be made. The Scripture lectionary was settled; 'Moses of old time,' from the day of Ezra the Scribe, 'had in 'every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues 'every Sabbath day.' The Psalms of David, that had served the double purpose of prayer and praise before the Captivity (2 Chron. xxix. 30; Neh. xii. 36, 46), once more resounded from Sion in antiphonal use, the singers now alternating in semi-chorus, now uniting in full swell. The Law read in Hebrew was no longer 'understanded of the people,' and therefore transfused into the now vernacular Chaldee by an assistant interpreter (Methurgeman), who relieved, as he fancied, the severe simplicity of the Word by paraphrastic amplification.

The Sabbath, that had been so loosely observed before the Captivity, and the neglect of which had repeatedly called forth prophetic warning, was restored to its full authority as a divine institution, and a devotional character was given to it, as a day of spiritual improvement; while the saving comfort of God's Word was brought home to each hillside village and sequestered vale of the people's recovered inheritance. The daily sacrifice was once more offered in the Temple. A degree of spirituality was infused into the revival of religion that had been wanting before. The people's lips were unlocked by the spirit of prayer; their hearts were warmed with spiritual applications of Scripture in Midrashim, or expository addresses, to which they had hitherto been strangers. It was the work of the Men of the Great Synagogue; and every after-age had reason to be thankful to them for their labours. The golden age was succeeded by one of silver. But the transition was not entirely sudden. The Great Synagogue had instituted an order of men called Scribes (Soferim), whose lives were devoted to the work of public instruction, and who thenceforth superseded the priests as the authorized expositors of Scripture. The multiplication of copies of the sacred text was an important element of their duties. Their dicta are quoted in the Talmud (Dibre Soferim) as of more importance than the Law, and their successors were mentioned by the Saviour as still 'sitting in Moses' seat.' An utterance of the last of this series of the golden age is recorded in the Talmud; it is a condensation of the spirit of the whole century that had preceded. 'The world,' said Simon the Just, 'is upholden by three things, Torah, worship, and universal

charity' (G'miluth Chasadim); distinguished from almsgiving by its more catholic character.

'In three respects hath *G'miluth Chasadim* precedence over alms. This latter is a mere matter of money, the former involves personal benevolence as well; the latter can only be exercised upon the poor, the former also upon the rich; the latter has only the living for its object, the former both the living and the dead.'—*Succah*, f. 49. b.

The Tanaim or Reiterators of Tradition succeeded the Men of the Great Synagogue. The Sanhedrin or Beth Dîn had now been established on the old constitutional lines of the Council of Seventy-two, instituted by Moses, and of which a trace still crops out in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xix. 8). The president was termed Nasî, or Patriarch, and distinguished, as Rabban, from Rabbi, the head of the Beth Midrash or School in Palestine, and Rab, a similar extra-Palestinal dignitary. There were two vice-presidents of the Sanhedrin; the Father of the House, Ab Beth Dîn, and Hakem, or the Wise. The 'Council' and 'Senate' of the Jews, mentioned in the Second Book of Maccabees, were, perhaps, no other than the Sanhedrin (2 Macc. i. 10; iv. 44; xi. 27). Antigonus of Socho, the earliest Greek name of the Rabbinical schools, was the first of the Tanaite series. His dictum is said to have given rise to the sect of Sadducees:—'Be not like servants, who look for pay, 'but as those who render a disinterested service, and let a 'reverence for Heaven be with you.' Zadok, a pupil of Antigonus, built upon this saying the false inference that, as there was to be no plea of future reward, there was to be no futurity. But, as the Talmud says, 'Rab argued in his sleep.'

The Jews had acquired a cosmopolitan character in their exile, and had shown considerable plasticity in adapting themselves to altered conditions of life: their rulers, therefore, dreading a relapse into old hankerings after pagan ways, hedged them in by a system of traditional principles and constitutions of the Jewish law, the deductions of one generation after another. The Halacoth, that formed the groundwork of the expository Midrash, and eventually of the authoritative teaching of the Mishna, were determinations or applications of the precepts of the Law to the living habits and religious instincts of the people. Halaca, from 'halac' (to go), as indicating the rule of action, is arranged by Maimonides under five heads: 1, Mosaic and Scriptural; 2, Mosaic, but traditional; 3, Generally received, though questionable; 4, Decisions of the wise, formed as 'hedges of the Law' (*e.g.* that the Israelite should not pledge a heathen in a cup of wine, to 'hedge off' idolatrous libation; the prohibition of kid,[1] as an article of diet, to foreign Jews in the Paschal

[1] For infringement of this prohibition one Teudos was excommunicated: he

week; Rabbinical ordinance forbidding Paschal lamb out of Palestine); 5, Prudent counsels, well to follow, but not having the force of law. The Halaca was the judicial ballast that gave steadiness to the Midrash or exposition; the Hagada or 'narrative' was the 'popularis aura' that bore the Rabbinical craft along, but was of no real authority, serving merely to illustrate and to amuse. It was a thread of brighter hue, woven in with the more sombre tissue, and serving to enliven the otherwise killing dulness of the Halaca. The five hundred fables of foxes imported by R. Meir (Sanhedrin 38), who had a taste for the 'fauna' of Palestine, were scarcely to be classed among the 'credenda' of the synagogue. These Hagadic narratives are crowded in larger groups at the close of the Mishnic periods of the Gemara, as well as interspersed throughout the substance, showing that they have been added from time to time. Parables, gnomes, and familiar illustrations were thus interspersed with more serious matter, according to the fancy and the genius of the commentator. The Samson riddle and the fable of the trees of the forest are instances of Scriptural Hagada (Judg. xiv. 14; ix. 8); as are the proverbs of the Son of Sirach and the fables of the Old Testament Apocrypha. If in the age of the Soferim ornamentation was applied with some regard to female and youthful modesty, this consideration soon ceased to be thought of any moment. The distinction drawn between these two main component elements of the Midrash is, that the Halacoth or Hilkoth were *heard* with reverence, and stored away in the memory for practical application; the Hagada was *uttered,* but went in at one ear and out of the other. It had no authority, being merely illustrative, and could find acceptation with none but the most ignorant. It has been said that Hillel, who died A.D. 8, was the father of the Halaca: he first, perhaps, attempted a systematic collection, but the vast mass of materials that came to hand when the Mishna was compiled may well have been the work of ages. There is no antecedent improbability in the idea that Moses himself may have deduced from the Law some of its latent principles as a guide to future administrators. The deductions from the Christian Law, in the Creeds of the Church, are of older date than Mosaic Hilkoth would have been in the day of Judah the Holy at the close of the second century.

The progress of the civilized world during the period of the earlier Soferim afforded another reason for hedging the people in with principles that should be as applicable in the wide world

having taught the Jews dwelling at Rome to feast in the Paschal week on 'armed kid;' the head being garnished with the ἐνδόσθια, 'en casquette.'—Schoth 107. a.

as in Judæa: for the period synchronized with the mightiest and most rapid development of civilization that the world had as yet witnessed. In Greece the triumphant struggle for existence had been succeeded by a still keener international contest for predominance, during which a literature that has never been approached sprang forth like Pallas from the brain of Jove. The year of the return from Babylon coincides very nearly with the first tragic composition of Thespis; and, during the two hundred years that followed, the annals of Greece became more and more glorious, and its literature more radiant, till it culminated in the writings of Plato and Demosthenes. These things were not done in an obscure corner of the world. The Jews were close observers of all that affected their interests. They have still been the merchants of the world, equalizing the varieties of climate by diffusing the gifts of Providence as they have been needed, and giving, through the law of supply and demand, vitality to the great marts of the world. Viewing, therefore, the marvellous rapidity of Greek development, viewing also the intimate knowledge that the Jews had gained of Oriental sources of wealth, there was danger that their religion would once more degenerate by mixture with pagan modes of thought; and the whole care of those who were building up the revived religion of the Jews was to hedge them in, wherever they might be, from heathen principle and heathen practices. Hence the application of the legal precepts to the most minute circumstances of Jewish life and manners. The latent principles of the Mosaic institutes were elicited, and brought into vital action by decisions framed from day to day by the popular teachers, 'pro re nata,' and carefully stored up in the memory of the schools. And the constitution of this judicial authority was, in truth, passing strange. The priesthood, as an educating body, had been entirely superseded. Their inefficiency had already led the way to disaster. There was no longer any peculiar caste of instructors; but, by enforcing the latent principle of a Mosaic precept, standing next to the Shema, (Deut. vi. 6—10), each man was bound to make himself master of the Law, and, in proportion to his own attainment, serve as a light and guide to others. The learned Rabbinical body that now grew up was separate from the 'people of the earth' only by their great erudition: socially, they were engaged in trade, and every variety of handicraft—carpenters and masons, metal-founders and charcoal-burners; but the study of the Law and the decisions of the schools gave them their principal occupation, to which their worldly calling was ancillary. Discrimination indeed was exercised in the choice of 'métier.' 'Ass-drivers 'are wicked persons, camel-drivers tolerably honest; sailors are

'good fellows: but the best of physicians is a son of Hinnom, 'and the most thriving butcher is a fit companion of Amalek.' (Kedushin, closing M.) Trade was a matter of necessity. 'He 'who does not bring his son up to business, trains him to be a robber.' (Ibid.) Thus Hillel maintained himself as a wood-cutter. R. Joseph, following the same occupation, used to say, 'Mine is a most handy business; it maintains me, and keeps me warm.' Another Rabbi, who was a water-carrier, was asked to decide a cause between two suitors: 'Help me first,' said he, 'to fill these pails; then I shall decide your cause according to 'law.'

Thenceforth the Synagogue, rather than the Temple, became the central object of the Jewish system, at once a place of worship, a judgment-hall, and a school; and the plan had this advantage, that wherever Jewish families settled down, they could carry with them their religion, and hedge themselves in from contact with the world without. The religion was not more ubiquitous in the wilderness than it was in the dispersion. The tabernacle, also, was not more completely stained with the 'variation of each soil' than were the newly-developed applications of Mosaic principles that were struck out by the Jews, in adapting themselves to the different climates under heaven. The assertion of Tacitus,[1] that to the Jew life in expatriation is more terrible than death, was scarcely true of the people at any period of their existence. The difficulty was to get them to return back out of the Captivity. And when they spread themselves gradually over the whole world, the gift of tongues on the first day of Pentecost, in the Christian Church, declared how wide had been their wanderings. The necessities of one locality were not those of another; Babylon, and Sora, and Pumbeditha involved different social conditions from Egypt, Greece, and Asia Minor. If the Law had been a body of dogmatic teaching, its application would have been equable and universal; but it was essentially a practical system, consisting of principles of action, domestic and religious, in many respects varying with the believer's 'habitat.' All this accumulated experience and results flowing in from every quarter met together in the Talmud, and were marked with every variety of social condition, language, habits, through contact with humanity in every phase of its existence.

Hence the Talmud is a most valuable magazine of antiquarian lore; the surface that it covers is wider than the foundation of any other system whatever of the old world. Greek philosophy as compared with it is scanty in the materials that it has

[1] 'Si transferre sedes cogerentur, major vitæ metus quam mortis.'

elaborated. Chaldæa, Persia, Egypt, even India, have contributed their contingent. Traditional principles received from the very foot of Sinai may even then have been as the echo of antecedent tradition: reaching yet further back to Abraham the friend of God, and to the very cradle of the human race, when the traditions of Paradise had not wholly died away. The Jews claim a Sinaitic origin for the Hilkoth of the wise. In a certain sense our Lord appealed to such tradition in answer to the Sadducæan deniers of the Resurrection. The resurrection of the dead was as an Halaca deduced from the designation of the Most High, as the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, *i.e.* the God not of the dead, but of the living.[1] The Talmud declares that Abraham by a prolepsis of obedience (Gen. xxvi. 5) observed the whole Law in every minute particular (Kedushin, close of Mishna). Portions of his observance in ritual matters were possibly reflected in the Law. In the Sabbatical year there would be no titheable produce for the poor in Judæa; the Talmud declares that from the time of Moses Ammonite and Moabite lands had been declared titheable in the Sabbatical year, that it was a Sinaitic Halaca (Jadaim iv. close of M. 3). So again it was a precept that a tent marked with a palm branch indicated death within, that it was unclean. Rashi affirms that it was a Mosaic Halaca, and very probably it was. In a word, given a national election, and a divinely revealed Law, we may fairly believe that traditions existed within the scope of that election and of that Law beside and beyond the 'litera scripta.' But the Talmudic coin has its obverse side. On the one side is the virgin the daughter of Sion, shaded by the palm; on the other is the superscription of the world. The very fact that they under whom the Mishnic lore accumulated were hard-handed men of toil has given a degree of coarseness to some of those traditions that must always be a serious blemish. Wisdom and æsthetic beauty mark the teaching of the chief sons of Greece. The Rabbi was occupied upon gross objects of sense, and having to commend his teaching to coarser minds than his own, shrunk not from any illustration of his meaning, however objectionable. So that his loyalty to Torah were steady, a free scope might be given to his fancy, and fancy led him into many a muddy by-way: their sayings and doings are recorded in the Talmud with a minuteness that seems malicious in its fidelity. 'Da chi mi fido guarde mi Dio' might be said by many a member of the Corps Talmudique pilloried by his fellow-Rabbin as a mark for the Eisenmengers and Wagenseils and

[1] The Talmud interprets Deut. xxxiv. 4 as a message sent to the patriarchs by Moses now about to die, and asks, 'Why commission Moses to speak to them if they were unconscious?' (Berachoth, f. 19, a.)

one-sided reviewers of after-ages. The shield Rabbinic confessedly has a Gorgon side to show. The confession may suffice without exemplification.

The first attempt to reduce the chaos of various and often conflicting decisions into anything like order was made by Hillel (Selden, Ux. Hebr. Proleg. 17), the father of the aged Simeon who received the infant Christ in his arms on the Presentation. He was Nasî or Patriarch of the Sanhedrin, and made a rough cast of the Halaca, arranging the matter under six heads, the main divisions under which the traditional decisions were marshalled, after two more centuries had passed, by Judah the Holy, compiler of the Mishna (Juchasin 56. a, Seder haddoroth 91. c). Hillel was of Babylonian extraction, and it was a saying, that the revival of Torah had come at three different periods from Babylon, under Ezra, Hillel, and Chiga, the colleague of Judah the Holy. 'If the Law were lost,' it was said, 'Chiga bar Abba could restore it from memory.' He was a mighty hunter also, and prepared parchment for his lectures from the skins of deer killed in the chase. Under Hillel the schools were filled to overflowing with the thousands of scholars that during a lengthened presidency received the exposition of Torah from his lips. Hermeneutical rules for unlocking the sense of the Scripture were first drawn out by him; but the body of rules found, like our Thirty-nine Articles, in the Jewish Books of Common Prayer, was the production of Ishmael b. Elisha, who died A.D. 121. The golden rule, of doing as we would be done by, was taught by Hillel to a Gentile proselyte as a compendium of the Law; but it must be taken 'cum grano,' for the Talmud clearly shows that one rule applied to the faithful, another to the unbelieving; and there is a very definite anti-Talmudic point in our Lord's parable of the Good Samaritan, which shows that the term neighbour is as wide as humanity. In the Talmud one law applies to injury done to Israelite property, a very different law to Gentile grievance, and in no case need restitution be made if it involved unsafe consequences. Damage caused by a stray animal must be made good, for it could not design to injure its master; but damage done by a slave who, to mulct his master in the loss, might fire a crop or a homestead, carried no reparation (Jadaim, c. iv. § 7). As a similar instance, our Lord quoted the 'lex talionis,' Exod. xxi. 23, not because it was rigidly enforced, for a money payment had been substituted perhaps from the time of Moses by a contemporaneous Halaca (Baba kama viii. § 1), but the saying gave point to the new commandment, that forgiveness of injury should for the future take the place of retributive vengeance. Mahomet, in spite of his hatred of Jews, was a copier

of the Talmud; but he reverted to the letter of the Law, and exacted in a very material way eye for eye and tooth for tooth.

There are those who would have us believe that there is no holy humanizing precept in the Gospel, but has its counterpart in the Talmud. Bearing in mind our Lord's declaration, that he came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it, and that the Law and Prophets were summed in the love of God and of our neighbour, we should indeed be surprised if the Talmud, professing to elaborate the spirit of the Law, were not attuned to harmonize in some respect with that key-note. The old wine of a kindly spirit in either case has been poured into old bottles. We willingly allow thus much, in spite of the assertion of Philippson in one of his lectures (Vorlesung xi.), and which comes from the very heart of his Judaism: 'I do not hesitate to assert,' he says, 'that the precept "Love thy neighbour as 'thyself"' throughout the whole of the Middle Ages to the 'present time has been one monstrous falsehood,' *i.e.* as a Christian principle. Much might be transcribed from the Talmud *per contra*, but to dwell upon the subject were beside our purpose. One specimen, however, may be given as referring to our Lord's allusion to Rabbinical principle. The law of divorce (Deut. xxiv. 1) is made to deal with the wife after a truly Mohammedan fashion by different Rabbis. Rabbi Shammai declares that a divorce should only result from unchastity, 'because he hath found uncleanness in her;' Rabbi Hillel, with a keen appreciation of the good things of life, urges that to spoil a dish in cooking is an unclean act, and is a sufficient cause for repudiation; while the blood of Sisera flowing in Rabbi Akiba's veins betrayed itself in his gloss on 'that she find no favour in his eyes,' for he pronounced that a wife might at any time be put away for a comelier rival (Gittin Mish. 10). It should be stated, however, that the Halaca condemns this latter notion, and that the practice of divorce is strongly discountenanced throughout the Talmud: 'Even the altar drops tears when a man divorces 'his wife, the companion of his youth; for it is written, "This 'have ye done, covering the altar of the Lord with tears, with 'weeping, and with crying out" (Mal. ii. 13, 14).'—Gemara, *ibid.*

The Hillel rule was remarkable for the discordant decisions of himself and of his rival Shammai. The two men were completely antagonistic. Hillel liberal, genial, and merciful; Shammai harsh, uncompromising, and cynical, in spite of his recorded 'mot,' 'Receive all men with a mild demeanour.' Yet the decisions of both were received as of equal authority; those of the one were orthodox, and of the other not heretical. Their followers, however, often carried their conclusions out in

a wilder spirit, and blood flowed and gabardines were torn in honour of the rival Rabbin (Shabbath Jer. f. 16).

Shammai has usually been spoken of as Ab Beth Dîn under Hillel's presidency, but, as Jost imagines, without sufficient reason: the clash of opinion was too constant and often too angry. They were heads rather of rival schools of exposition (Jost, Judenth. i. 260). Hillel's decisions are often marked by a singular breadth and freedom. The Law (Lev. xxv. 29) ordained that a house sold in a walled city should be redeemable by the vendor before the expiration of the year. The purchaser therefore of a good bargain locked up the house and absented himself towards the end of the term. Hillel decreed that the house might be forcibly entered, and the purchase-money replaced to the credit of the purchaser in the chancery of the Temple. A loan of money also (Deut. xv. 9) was cancelled on the recurrence of the Sabbatical year. But this was a bar in the way of commercial enterprise: therefore Hillel enjoined that all money loans should be made in open court, and upon a written agreement of repayment, which should be binding. Proselytes repelled by Shammai's harshness were in several instances won by the gentleness of Hillel.

There is a remarkable saying on record of one of his pupils, Hanina b. Dosa, that will bear repeating, as showing the care with which the sick received spiritual aid. He said that when he prayed by the sick he could declare which would sink and which would recover, because, 'if the prayer comes fluently to the lip, 'I know that it is heard: otherwise the sick man will not recover.' Higher powers are accorded to the prayer of faith (James v. 14). The dynasty, so to say, of Hillel survived the destruction of Jerusalem, and lasted for thirteen generations, or 400 years from his accession to office.

The series of Tanaim closes with Judah the Holy, called *κατ' ἐξοχήν* Nasî, or Rabbi simply, as the greatest who ever bore the title; and it closes, inasmuch as the Reiterators of Tradition received orally became, by the publication of the Mishna, Amoraim, Spokesmen; as the Amora's work, under the Tanaim, had been to repeat the Tana's utterances to the class as Methurgeman.

A distinct break in the Rabbinical history is made by the publication of the Mishna. It had been a thoroughly established principle that the Tanaite traditions should never be written down, partly that they might not be confounded with the Inspired Word, partly because the keen intellects of the Great Synagogue feared the cramped and narrow spirit of a written exegesis, and preferred leaving to successive doctors freedom of action. A certain degree of elasticity was therefore preserved

to oral tradition, and the possibility of progressive improvement was guaranteed. The faulty would die out, the sound would be retained, and become a centre for fresh hermeneutical and judicial ramification. Necessity at length compelled the use of parchment and ink; for in process of time Jerusalem was no more for the Jews, the daily sacrifice ceased, the world that should be possessed by the seed of Abraham was being gradually subdued to the Church of Christ. If the tide of evil was to be breasted, some strong bond of union must be created, some principle that might penetrate the people through and through, and give them the spirit of one man, and in every position of doubt and difficulty say to them in their hearts, 'This is the way; walk ye in it.'

Tradition, that had been proved to be a sure principle of union in the schools, must be extended out for the benefit and safeguard of the whole people, and thrown as a shield around to protect them. There was a sufficient reason for the restriction of old, that tradition should be preserved *memoriter;* but it was no longer in operation. The purpose had been answered, and a mass of traditional decisions and expositions of Scripture had accumulated that were beyond the grasp of the most tenacious memory; all that was of value must be put on record, or it would perish; onward growth was no longer desirable, if only the rich legacy of their ancestors could be retained. Simon b. Gamaliel, the father of Jehuda, had added to the digest of Hillel matter that had since grown up, and Jehuda early in life followed in his father's steps, and lived to see his completion of the Mishna (A.D. 219), for which the way had been so intelligently pioneered. It is not necessary that the sixfold division of the Mishna should be described, or that the various reasons that have been assigned for the name should be given. That supplied by the Rabbinical Lexicon Shulchan Aruch is probably the true one, which refers the name to the word "Sheni" (second), the Mishna, or traditional, being second to the Torah or written Law. The earlier elements of the Mishna are indicated as the 'words of the Soferim,' but the relics of every age are thrown together in very much the same kind of confusion as the salvage of a fire. So much of it as related to the Temple service was already over-dated, and an object of antiquarian interest.

A knowledge of the Mishna soon reached the Christian Fathers, by whom it was known as δευτερώσεις. Jerome first mentions it in his 'Ep. ad Algas.' Qu. 10:—'I cannot declare,' he says, 'how vast are the traditions of the Pharisees, 'nor how anile their myths, called by them δευτερώσεις; neither 'would the bulky nature of the work permit me. Moreover,

'many of them are so vile that I should blush to produce them. Epiphanius also (Hær. xv. Jud.; cf. also Hær. xiii. 26) says:—'The Jews have had four streams of those traditions that they 'call δευτερώσεις. The first bears the name of Moses the prophet; 'the next they attribute to a teacher named Akiba; the third 'is fathered on a certain Andon, or Annon (Hannasi), whom 'they also call Judas; and the sons of Apamonæus (Asamonæus) 'were the authors of the fourth.' Again, Augustine, writing shortly before the time of the publication of the Jerusalem Talmud, says:—'Beside the Scriptures of the Law and Prophets, 'the Jews have certain traditions belonging to them, not 'written, but retained in memory, and transferred from one 'to another, and named δευτερώσεις.' (C. Adv. Leg. et Proph. ii. 1.) And again (§ 6):—'Deliramenta Judæorum, ad eas traditiones quas δευτερώσεις vocant pertinentia.' The Fathers were not likely to remain ignorant of a movement that had been made, as Maimonides (Zeraïm Pref.) says, with the express intention of checking the further growth of the 'kingdom of impiety,' a Rabbinical term for Christianity. But the Mishna had not exhausted its material. The surplusage was collected by R. Chia and R. Hoshaia, in an appendix termed 'Boraïtha' (Extravagantes), which, with the Mishna, gave fresh subject for discussion. These were worked diligently by the Amoraim, until the reduction of their expositions also became necessary in a written form.

Thus the Jerusalem Gemara first appeared A.D. 340; but it was not sufficiently exhaustive, neither was it outspoken enough on the subject of Christianity. The Babylonian Gemara, therefore, was put forth A.D. 498, and with the Mishna forms the authoritative Talmud, the growth altogether of seven centuries; from this period also Rabbinism dates its birth, or rather, this was the starting-point of its petrifaction. The Gemara generally takes the form of scholastic discussions on the Mishnic text, whose order it follows throughout; the Halaca being the moderator between two Rabbinical disputants on some point of practice. The discussion is in Socratic form; the question is put and argued backwards and forwards, passing from Torah to Mishna, from Mishna to the supplemental matter of Boraïtha and Tosaphta. At the close Halaca, as judge, determines the point, or a fresh start is opened out on some other subject for further Rabbinical opponency. Though much use is made of Scripture, nothing is more disappointing than its application. A word is sufficient by way of proof, be the general sense of the quotation what it may. Sometimes, however, interesting variations of meaning are suggested by the use of an unpointed text.

A few instances of the Talmudic application of Scripture may not be without interest. The Rabbins say that search for leaven must be made with a candle before the Paschal Feast. The reason given is very much on a par with the memorable 'etymon' of 'King Pepin,' as derivable from *ὅσπερ*. Starting with the precept, 'No leaven shall be found in your houses' (Exod. xii. 19), it is observed that 'to find' is the correlative of 'to search:' 'and he searched . . . and the cup was found' (Gen. xliv. 12). But 'search' (happesh) was made by candlelight: 'I will search Jerusalem with candles' (Zeph. i. 12); therefore leaven must be searched after with candles. The Exodus shall be mentioned on the Paschal Feast by night, because it is written that it shall be had in remembrance 'all the days of thy life.' 'The days' would imply only the day-time; 'all the days' includes night as well as day. Man is bound to bless God for evil as well as for good: with all thy heart, *i.e.* with both thine inclinations, be they better or of a more wayward character, as anger, &c.; with all thy soul, even if He deprive thee of life; and 'with all thy might,' *i.e.* with all thy substance (becol meôd'ca); and here follows a string of punning paranomasiæ that have the true Gemara ring; 'or the words may signify, for every measure (middah) that He hath meted (mod'ca) unto thee, thou shalt praise Him' (môdeh). 'That ye may be clean from all your sins before the Lord' (Lev. xvi. 30) refers to the day of atonement, but it applies only to sins against God, 'for with respect to sins against our neighbour satisfaction must first be made,'—a truly righteous gloss, that, to the credit of the Talmud, enforces the same view of repentance elsewhere; *e.g.* (Berachoth 19. a): 'In a money matter, repentance profiteth not until such time as satisfaction hath been made to the injured party.' 'I AM that I AM' is interpreted as 'I AM HE who have been with you in your 'Egyptian bondage; and I AM HE who will be with your 'captivity amid the nations.' Moses answered, 'Lord of the universe, sufficient unto the hour is its trouble.' 'Then go tell them,' said the Blessed, 'I AM hath sent thee.' According to the Talmud, it was a fortunate matter for the canonical authority of the Book Ecclesiastes that it begins, as one of the Books of the Law, with 'Dibre,' and ends by enforcing the precept Deut. vi. 2: otherwise it would have been rejected. A judicious collection of the Talmudic applications of Scripture is still a desideratum. The Gemara shocks a sense of religious propriety, the Deity being frequently introduced as an interlocutor. Irreverence is the mildest term that can be applied to such passages of Hagada. The Gemarist might have learned propriety from Horace (Ars Poet. 191—201). The language of

the Gemara is as much less pure than that of the Mishna, as the latter falls short of Hebrew purity. The style is perplexed with abbreviations and ungrammatical ellipses, and in many passages it is rendered as difficult as possible of reference for all to whom Gemara has not been received as mother's milk. Indeed it is a matter of pride to the Jewish Rabbi that the Talmud is a rock on which Christian erudition has so frequently come to grief. The study of it must be preceded by a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, a single word being often the index of an entire passage.

The wonderful moral confusion of the Talmud is nowhere more strikingly exhibited in a short compass than in the prayer put by the Gemarist into the mouth of R. Nechonia Ben Hakkana (Berachoth, f. 28. b), on entering the school, or Beth Midrash, and quitting it again in the evening. In the morning the prayer runs: 'I beseech Thee, that no scandal may 'occur through fault of mine, and that I trip not in matters of 'Halaca (judicial determination), so as to cause my colleagues 'to exult; may I not call impurity pure, nor purity impure; 'and may my colleagues not blunder in matters of Halaca, so 'as to cause me to exult over them.' The prayer is worthy of an honest Rabbi, and there is something of the publican's humility in its sentiments. The evening prayer is wholly that of the harsh and arrogant Pharisee: 'I thank Thee that Thou 'hast given me my portion among those who have a seat in the 'Beth Midrash, and that Thou hast not cast my lot among the 'people that sit in the corner. For my part, I early rise, and 'they early rise: but I rise in the service of the Law; they rise 'for trifling matters. I labour, and they also labour: but I 'labour and receive a recompense: they labour, but receive 'nothing. I run, and they also run: but I run in the direction 'of the life of the world to come; they run towards the pit of 'destruction.' The sweet water and bitter could scarcely have flowed from one source.

As regards worldly knowledge, the Talmud from time to time brings passages to the surface that startle by their partial anticipations of modern science. Astronomical knowledge was more likely taken by the Jews to Babylon than borne away from thence. The Book of Job (xxvi. 7) indicates the germ of a true astronomy: 'He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing.' Possibly, therefore, it was from Babylonian Jews that Pythagoras learned the heliocentric system (Aristot. de Cœlo, ii. 13). The Talmud says: 'He who hath the opportunity of studying astronomy and 'geometry, and misseth it, doth not contemplate the work of God, nor see His handiwork.' But Hebrew astronomy is of

older date than Talmud. The names of the planets, milky way, &c., are pure Hebrew, which would scarcely have been the case if Hebrew astronomy had been wholly derived from Magian sources. Epiphanius says that the 'Pharisees' of his day were great astronomers; and he gives the names of the sun, moon, and planets, and, so far as analogy can be traced, they are pure Hebrew. His name for Mercury, Χωχὲβ ὀζμόδ, is simply the star 'par excellence' (*β' ἀζμύθ*). The zodiacal signs are given by him in Hebrew equivalent, as they are also found in the Midrash Esther. Another writing of Talmudic antiquity, the Bereshith Rabba, describes the orbital period of the different planets (Fürst, Jud. in Asien, i. 42). The planets in the Talmud are 'walking stars.' Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, are respectively 'Splendour, The Star, Redness, Righteousness, Sabbatic.' The planetary orbits were believed to be peripheric, and obtained the name of 'seven firmaments,' of concentrical relation. An eighth firmament held the fixed stars, and the zodiac formed the ninth. The tail of the Scorpion was projected with scientific accuracy on the western verge of the 'River of Light,' or milky way—a providential arrangement, for otherwise 'the sting of the scorpion would have been fatal' (Berachoth 58. b.).

Solid truths are for ever tarnished by the puerile rubbish that is heaped around them in the Talmud. So here the Deluge is said to have been caused by the removal of two stars from the Pleiades, which let down the waters from above the firmament; and the Bear was then robbed of two of her whelps (stars) to plug up the holes: an arrangement that was preferred to the alternative of creating two new stars, 'because there is nothing new under the sun,' which may serve also as an example of Talmudic application of Scripture. The principal stars were not grouped of old in constellations, but they were numbered by the letters of the alphabet; then by two letters which formed a word, as 'ash,' the bear, &c., which seems to be the only satisfactory way of accounting for the Hebrew term for the Bear, 'Dôb' being the name of the animal. Much might be added on the subject of Talmudic astronomy. Comets were known as 'shaft stars,' long and beaming from the heavenly quiver (Berachoth, *ib.*). The phenomenon of periodicity was noted by R. Joshua (A.D. 89), the cycle of 70 (73) years indicating possibly Halley's comet. R. Samuel, however, who boasted that the paths of the firmament were as familiar to him as the streets of Nahardea (ibid.), confesses that the nature of comets was a mystery to him. Another Rabbi, declaring that the stars of heaven were numbered by him, was asked by a colleague how many grinders nature had given him; 'but,' added he, 'if Rab

'cannot answer the question without thrusting his fingers into 'his mouth, how is it likely that he should tell the stars of the 'firmament?'

Mahomet, in spite of his antipathy for the Jews as a people, borrowed many ideas and expressions from the Talmud, which he reproduced in the Koran (Geiger, Was hat Mahomet aus dem Judenthume genommen); while its medical lore was largely drawn upon by Avicenna and Averroes, a subject that would also repay careful investigation.

Such, then, has been the Talmud in its origin. It is the result of an almost necessary development. Starting with the axiom, that the Law of Moses is binding on the children of Abraham in every generation, its precepts have been applied to the changing habits and customs of the Jews in different ages and under various climates; by a literal interpretation, when possible, otherwise on the 'ci-près' principle; rarely by giving a new direction to its enactments by authoritative decisions, as instanced under the Hillel *régime*. It is this application of the Law to the needs of Jewish society, by a process slow and gradual, that has made each successive stage of development, in a certain sense, more valuable than its predecessors. Thus, if the Law has been likened to water, the Mishna, which gave a later direction to its precepts, was as wine; the Gemara, which declared the sense in which the Mishnic Hilkoth were to be received, was as hippocras. It was not that the Law was less, or the traditional decisions and expository matter were more sacred; but the latest phase of legal exposition was the most binding, and where the rule of action that it laid down was clear and decisive, no antecedent declaration need trouble the inquirer. Judaism has usually been described as a rigid monotone, admitting of no melodious inflection, no fundamental harmonies; whereas it has shown itself to be sufficiently flexible in principle for the introduction of any amount of modulation. If time has brought in by slow degrees some discordant element, Judaism has obeyed its own laws of harmony; the discord, duly prepared, has been duly solved; a new key-note from time to time has been struck, and the principles of action that have been observed hitherto are fully equal to the development of any amount of religious reform for the future. Our Lord, who came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it, has pointed out those modes of dealing with the law, that in the end will be accepted by Israel as its highest glorification. The further prosecution of this thread of thought will lead us to consider

THE TALMUD IN ITS RESULTS.

If the positive teaching of the Talmud has been a principle of union to the synagogue, its insufficiency and weakness have also been conspicuous in various periods of the history of the Jewish people. It has its negative as well as its positive pole. The circle of religious thought will no doubt be established at some time in harmonious flow, and all will in the end agree in one system of truth; but the current will complete its broken communication from the negative side. The faithful Jew, of course, believes that the union is destined to take effect from the positive side, and that the Talmud will hold its ground till Christian and Mahometan shall enter the Jewish family, in accordance with Zechariah's prophecy: 'Men of all languages 'of the nations shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, 'saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that God is 'with you' (Zech. viii. 23). But, even amongst its own, the Talmud has not been able to hold its ground. Its worst foes have been they of its own household.

In the middle of the eighth century the Karaite sect arose, having Anan for its leader—scarcely its originator. And the growth of heresy has still been the same. The seed of thought has been sown broadcast over many minds; the distinctive word has hovered upon many lips, until the teacher destined to give it a full expression has stood forth; and then the seed has started into life simultaneously over the entire field, and shot up rapidly, 'first the blade and then the ear.' Thus the chaotic intricacies of the Talmud were already felt by many to be no trustworthy guide, when Anan, who, as a descendant of David and a man of acknowledged sanctity, had aspired to be Resh G'lutha or head of Babylonian Judaism, placed himself in front of the thousands that were ready to abjure Talmudism, and gave consistency and a name to the party known down to the present day as the Karaite, or Scriptural Jews. They reject the entire mass of tradition, whether oral or written, and declare that the Law of Moses is the only code that God has made binding on His people. Thus the Karaite stands in the same relation to the Talmudist, as the Protestant to the Romanist. It has been affirmed that this sect represented in its origin the dregs of the ancient Sadducæan party that disappeared on the destruction of Jerusalem; if so, after many days, the dry bones revived, and stood up once more 'an exceeding great army.' In the first tumults that arose in consequence of this clash of opinion, Anan was thrown into prison. Fortunately for him, the caliph regnant was a 'dilettante' in astronomy: the vizier was therefore persuaded by Anan that he

agreed with the caliph in his theory of the heavens; that himself was a 'miladian,' and, like the Moslem, calculated the new moon from its birth, *i.e.* from the time of its emerging from solar conjunction; and that it was in consequence of his rejecting the lunar cycle of the Jews that he had been made martyr in the cause of science; his loyalty therefore was held to be unimpeachable, and he was released. It may be observed in passing, that it was a source of great triumph to the Karaite, and of heart-burning to the orthodox, when in a particular year the Paschal Feast was kept by the latter according to the tables, but with the old moon still visible in the heavens. The Karaite was guided by the actual phasis of the moon; and in a similar way the year of intercalation was determined by what may be called familiarly the 'rule of thumb.' A head of barley was taken between the first and fourteenth of Nisan; and if the grain rubbed out freely, and showed fitness for harvest, the year was an ordinary year; otherwise a month was intercalated (Makrisi ap. De Sacy, Chrestom. Arab.). The followers of Anan held him in the highest veneration, and affirmed that he would have been numbered with the prophets had he lived in olden time. Abulfeda says that he expressed a half faith in Jesus as the Messiah, and accused the Jews of having committed a great crime in putting to death one who was so eminent for purity of life and doctrine (Ibid., and Jost, i. 298).

The Karaite tenets, summed in ten articles, very nearly express the Jewish faith under the first Temple. Prophetic inspiration is affirmed, the Resurrection, and Judgment; also the belief that God prepared His people by affliction for their final redemption. The strangest episode in the Karaite history, if true, was their establishment of a kingdom, extending from the mouth of the Volga to the Don. The ruler of this district being unsettled in his religious opinions, took a Christian teacher into his confidence, and asked his opinion of Judaism, whether he did not prefer it to Mahommedanism, which of course was allowed. Then he took a Moslem Ulema aside and asked him whether he did not consider Christianity to be just the worst kind of religion he knew. 'La Illah ilah Allah' was the reply. The point having been thus settled in favour of Judaism, as the Karaites were in force, Khozar became a Karaite Jew, and a Karaite dynasty was established that held its ground for two centuries and a half. Karaism has been confined pretty much to Poland, the Crimea, and Palestine. The liberalized Jews of our own country, known by their brethren as 'Reformers,' hold very much the Karaite creed, only they are of more advanced opinions, and declare the virtual abrogation of such precepts of the Law as imply national existence, a local 'habitat' in Pales-

tine, and a centralized establishment. It is through the medium of such opinions that the conversion of the Jews may one day be as 'the resurrection from the dead,' but the Church that hopes to receive them must first be 'as a city that is at unity in itself.'

There has always been a degree of antagonism between the Talmud and the Cabbala. In old days the two marched hand in hand. Akiba and Simon b. Jochai, Tanaim of renown, were the reputed fathers of the Cabbala. Many of the most learned Rabbin were also deeply versed in this Jewish form of Zoroastrian lore. In after-ages a considerable defection from Judaism was led away across the bridge of the Cabbala. About 1662 Sabbatai Zwi, a young Turkish Jew of twenty-one years, persuaded multitudes that he was the Messiah, and that the Cabbala gave him power over the spiritual world. His followers were as many as 70,000. Declaring that it was his mission to rebuild the Temple, he headed a numerous caravan and entered Jerusalem. The orthodox Jews, however, made it dangerous for him to remain, and he removed to Smyrna, where he assumed the ball and sceptre of royalty. A visit to the Sultan led to his arrest as a traitor; and the proposed ordeal of being made a target for three poisoned arrows convinced him that Islam was the stronger, if not the better form of religion, and he engaged to assume the turban and bring over a whole army of disaffected Jews: they were as the coarse paper to which Mendelssohn compared converted Jews, formed of dirty rags, tarred string, and jute. Sabbatai Zwi professed a highly developed form of Judaism, which, as he said, might receive at once within its communion both Christianity and Mahommedanism; in time of persecution adopt either form of religion, and in the end lead to universal pacification. The sect put forth its creed which declared under one of its heads, that 'the Talmud is full of errors, and an encouragement of immorality.' The sect known as Cabbalists or Zoharites spread for a time in the Levant and Italy, but gradually dwindled away till the middle of the eighteenth century, when it burnt up again from its ashes under a Polish Jew, named Frank. As the renegade Zwi had turned Moslem, so Frank attempted to engraft Christian doctrine upon his Cabbalistic mysticism. He, too, put forth his manifesto of 'credenda,' the third article of which states: 'We believe that 'of all the expositions of the Law that offered by the Zohar is 'the best, and, in fact, the only one to be followed; that the 'Rabbin give to it in the Talmud a great number of false 'interpretations, in manifest derogation of the Divine attri-'butes, and of the charity inculcated by the Law.' The Zohar contains strange points of agreement with Trinitarian tenets, not excepting the unsatisfactory inference drawn from

the plural form 'Elohim:' and these were made points of faith. Frank asserted also the Incarnation of the Deity in Adam, that the Godhead left him on the Fall, but will be re-invested with the Manhood in the Redeemer, who will appear again in the last day as Man to reward all, Jews and others, who have faith in Him. His system, like that of the Cabbala, was essentially pantheistic, the four elements being as the body of the Deity, the 'ausgedehnte Gottheit' of Spinosa. Syncretism, as in the case of Sabbatai's teaching, was a main principle; every form of religion was to end in the mysticism of the Cabbala. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all have their mission in preparing men for this final development; a tenet that is held also by the highly intellectualized Jew of Germany. (Philippson, Vorles. xii.)

Maimonides, *i.e.* Moses son of Maimon of Cordova, and descendant of an illustrious Rabbinical lineage, was born A.D. 1135; he was better known in his early years by the Arabic name Abu Amran Musa ben Abdallah. He is 'the eagle of the Rabbins,' 'Nesher haggadol.' His boyhood and early manhood were passed under the fanatical rule of the Almohaden of Cordova, when the only alternative for Jew and Christian was to choose between the creed of Islam and the sword. Maimon, though a rigid Pharisee and Talmudist, what the Germans call 'ein Stockjude,' preferred the first, and he and his son continued to render outward conformity to the religion of the Mosque, though in inner life they were strict Jews. A more marked instance could scarcely be given of the inherent weakness of the Talmud, as a source and guide of religious principle. The Jews of the Rhenish provinces, at the commencement of that century, stood out in sharp contrast; they put their women and children to death, and made an end of themselves, rather than abjure their faith, or fall into the relentless hands of the Crusaders. In the seventeenth century the Spanish Inquisition offered the same alternative to the Jews as the Moslem, and, as before, whole families accepted Christianity in outward conformity, and were known as 'New Christians,' while they remained Jews in their hearts; pouring forth their bitterness in secret revilings of the dominant faith. A similar spirit doubtless was aroused in 1828, when Pope Leo XII. compelled the Jewish residents in the Ecclesiastical States, under heavy penalty, to hear sermons prepared for their more speedy conversion.

Maimonides continued his profession of Mahommedanism in Spain, and afterwards as a diamond[1] merchant in Africa and

[1] An ordinary branch of Jewish commerce has been the jewel trade. For a long time the whole process of working up diamonds and precious stones, splitting, cutting, and polishing them, drilling pearls, &c. was carried on by the Jews at Amsterdam. Many of the most valuable diamonds of Europe have passed through their hands.

Palestine (1165), until he was enabled to declare himself outwardly a Jew under the mild rule of Saladin, by whom he was appointed his physician in ordinary. In his writings Maimonides declares that every Israelite is bound to part with life itself rather than disavow his faith in God, and that he who apostatizes through fear of martyrdom sins grievously. The inconsistency is in a certain sense explained by an extant letter of his, in which he says that the formula first imposed by the Moslem at Cordova involved no apostasy, and that any Jew might with a safe conscience affirm 'there is no God but Allah, and Mahomet is His prophet.' Even to join in the service of the Mosque was not wrong; for there was nothing in it essentially opposed to a Jew's belief. Our thoughts naturally recur to Naaman's idea of the proprieties of religion: 'When I bow down myself in 'the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this 'thing' (2 Kings v. 18). These things are worth recording, both because they show the weak side of Talmudism, and because Maimonides was the forefather of modern Rationalism, the intellectual progenitor of the yet more highly intellectualized Spinosa. Nature had endowed Maimonides with a marvellous power of memory, a gift of catching the main clue of a whole skein of entanglement, and a *physique* capable of any amount of endurance; no mean *esquirage* of intellectual prowess. 'Primus inter Hebræos nugari desivit,' says Scaliger of him. Hitherto a blind faith in the Talmud had been exacted by the Rabbinical schools; a postulate as definite and concise as the Mahommedan formula. The Jew might inquire what was commanded, what was forbidden; but the 'why,' never. Maimonides first declared that a literal observance was not the obedience that the Law demanded, but conformity with its spirit. In his belief the Law of Moses and the philosophy of Aristotle, obtained through Arabic translations, were the two sources of all knowledge and wisdom. He was also thoroughly at home in the Talmud, and we find him for ever quoting its words *memoriter*, without indicating the particular portion from whence they were taken. Before he was twenty-three years of age, he commenced his Commentary on the Mishna in Arabic, which took the ten next years to complete. The 'eaglet' had not yet gained his pinion feathers, and the work betrays a rather nervous anxiety to find a deep meaning in the puerile extravagancies of the Talmud. He gives, under thirteen heads, the main 'credenda' of Judaism, allowing indeed oral tradition, but making no mention of the Talmud. Art. iii., expressing faith in the immaterial nature of the Godhead, virtually condemns the Anthropomorphism of the Talmud, and indicates much of the future vein of thought that runs through the 'Moreh Nevochim.' These thirteen articles, with

the 'Pirke Aboth,' sentences of the Fathers, have formed ever since a portion of the Hebrew ritual. The materials of the Commentary, the author says, are drawn not only from Judaism, but from every available source of information. In it he treats of the soul and its powers, passions, disorders, and remedies; its proper aims, free will, and a variety of moral considerations, —teaching that is strongly contrasted with that of a rigid Talmudism. Much unexhausted matter still remained on hand, and in his thirty-fifth year Maimonides commenced his gigantic work on the Talmud in Hebrew, the 'Mishna Torah,' as he called it, as a repetition of the instruction opened out in the 'Porta Mosis;' but better known as the 'Yad Hachazakah,' or mighty hand, 'yad' in Hebrew being the numerical expression for fourteen, and the work consisted of that number of sections.

'I have elaborated a work,' he says in the preface, 'an intimate knowledge of which, added to diligent study of the Law, 'will enable the student to dispense with the Talmud, for he 'will have gained an esoteric knowledge of Judaism, as exhibited 'in the Talmud.' It works up the subjects of the Talmud in a spirit of rational exegesis, and brings into something like order the chaotic salvage of the Mishna and Gemara. He insists much on the purely immaterial nature of the Godhead; all our ways of expressing it are gross and inadequate; in talking of the eternity, justice, and goodness of the Deity, we know not what we say; with Him there is neither phase nor change, life nor death, joy nor wrath, sorrow nor silence; all that we can utter with respect to the Deity is but tentative and symbolical; God alone knows Himself in perfect self-consciousness; He at once knows all, is the All that is thus known, and is the knowledge that compasses all. The work as a Commentary on the Talmud was well received; though afterwards, when its supposed anti-Talmudic tendencies were perceived, it became the object of attack from opposite quarters; from the Talmudists on account of its rationalism, from the Averroist Jews because it was not sufficiently Aristotelian. Lest his friends should tear each other to pieces, he commenced a third work, greater than the preceding, the 'Moreh Nevochim;' but written in Arabic, and with the Arabic title, 'Dalilah al Haïrin' ('A Guide for the Perplexed'). Throughout this work the Anthropomorphism of the Talmud is set right; and it is remarkable that the same statements reappear in his writings as regards prophecy, that were condemned four centuries previously in the Karaites. The fullest freedom is claimed for man, and power of conversion of the heart and spirit to the law of holiness is asserted; a notion that the schools adopted when the works of the great Rabbi were publicly burnt by the synagogue of

Montpellier. The work was translated during his lifetime into Hebrew, for he wrote in Arabic, using Hebrew characters, that the more mystical portions of the third and last section might be concealed from the Moslem. Whatever may have been the fortunes of his works after his death, he lived to enjoy a world-wide reputation for writings that showed a large heart and a Titanic grasp.

Maimonides was the precursor of Spinosa. The Rationalism of the former was toned down by the overruling guidance of a pure religious faith. Spinosa had neither faith nor imagination; both passed over and evaporated under the cold calculations of a soulless logic, leaving a 'caput mortuum' of mere intellect, of the highest order it is true, but mere intellect. It is unnecessary to enter upon the opinions of Spinosa; the question before us is one of fact rather than philosophy: the insufficiency of the Talmud to satisfy the demands of intellect. Benedict (*i.e.* Baruch) Spinosa, born at Amsterdam (†1632) of Jew parents, was imbued with Rabbinism from his earliest years. His studies were confined to Torah, Talmud, and Midrash; especial regard having been paid to the 'Moreh Nevochim' of Maimonides. A sceptical spirit soon developed itself, for which Rabbinical literature supplied no corrective. Doubt became aggravated into disbelief; the manifest want of veracity in Rabbinical writers, partly the result of ignorance and partly of wilfulness, offended his pure love of truth. At length he gave utterance to his contemptuous feelings, and was threatened with excommunication by the authorities of the synagogue. He now sought Christian society, and studied the Latin and Greek languages under an atheistical German physician. Rabbinism and the Talmud are chargeable with having driven this closely reasoning spirit, not, as Bayle has said, into atheism, but to form an independent system of thought for himself, that has done so much to poison the intellect of the young and thoughtful with Rationalism and pantheistic subtleties, that to the Christian are as pernicious as downright atheism. Thousands have imbibed the poison; few, like Göthe, have had sufficient vigour of mental constitution to fight their way through to recovered health.

The spirit of Maimonides seems to have been reproduced in Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786). As Spinosa had more in common with Maimonides than with any other antecedent writer, so Mendelssohn, though no follower of Spinosa, had points of analogy with him, derived in common from the Sage of Cordova. He often expresses with greater clearness points that were left by Spinosa, in his 'Tractatus Theologiæ Politicus,' involved in mist; but he wrote against him, and was

the precursor rather of Kant. In a quiet, unostentatious way, he has done very much to infuse new modes of thought into the most unbending of all religious communities; and has brought an enlightened reason to bear on the translation and exegesis of Scripture. That which Mendelssohn said of his friend Lessing's religion is, to a certain extent, true of his own: 'His attachment to natural religion went so far, that, owing to his zeal for it, he would permit no revealed religion to be placed by its side.' Only for 'natural' we must substitute 'intellectual' religion. His ideas were peculiarly his own; religion was with him not a matter of faith, but of action; it was revealed, not as a system of dogmatic credenda, but as a code of definite ordinances: the Law did not declare, 'This believe,' but 'this do.'

Judaism, we are told, has never suffered from doctrinal conroversies as Christianity. True, because beyond the unity of the Deity it has no credenda, unless, indeed, we except the eternity of matter affirmed by the Cabbala, and denied by the Talmud. Mendelssohn was essentially a rationalist, yet no opponent of Rabbinism, and he lived in faithful Talmudic observance. He practised the liberty that Spinosa had claimed, 'to think what I please, and say what I think,' but acted always on the maxim, that it is safer to discard nothing, until we have something better to replace it. It was his complete Rationalism that emboldened Lavater, as a young enthusiast, to call upon him to adopt at once the Christian faith, or to show him, in public discussion, the error of Christianity; his propagandism found a Nemesis in Göthe's sarcasm:

> 'Schade, dass die Natur nur einen Menschen aus Dir schuf!
> Denn zum wurdigen Mann war und zum Schelmen da der Stoff.'

One form of Rabbinism was Mendelssohn's particular aversion, the bigoted form that had sent down so strong a tap-root in Poland, with its exclusively Rabbinic schools and 'Pilpul' disputations. In Poland, to this day, no man is accepted as a son-in-law who is not well up in his Talmud. To Talmudism of this form Mendelssohn was very decidedly opposed. His great object was to break down the wall of separation that cut off his race from the rest of the world. In his day Jews were positively forbidden to enter certain continental cities. Mendelssohn himself, if travelling between Amsterdam and Frankfurt, must have crossed the Rhine at the Cologne boundary, and recrossed the river beyond the further municipal limit, making a detour of about five leagues. The main object of his life was to train up the Israelite community by cultivation and a higher education, and then to march them at once into position as free citizens; rights for which he struggled long, and, in

the end, with complete success. As a writer, Mendelssohn justly earned an European reputation for the ease and elegance of language, and the playful gentleness of wit, that adorned his reasoning of hardy intellectual vigour. Talmud, with him, was outdated, but not for that reason to be destroyed; yet there can be no doubt but that, if he could have had his way, he would have used a very wide-meshed sieve, and cleared it from its rubbish. To the residue he would then have given a spiritual application, after the example of Maimonides in his 'Moreh Nevochim.'

To conclude: the Talmud has always been antiquated. It has never known the sunshine of youth. It has still been the mouldering, moss-grown ruin. In its origin it presupposed vital action where there was nothing but death; Temple service, with the Temple hopelessly in ruins, 'not one stone upon another;' sacrificial rites, that were impossible without an altar, and for which certain prayers in words carefully numbered out were substituted, and made binding on the individual in lieu of public offering. The priestly order was for a time maintained, though deposed from the high office of instructing the people in the way and will of God, to which Rabbinism was now promoted. To the Jews of the dispersion it spoke in like manner of duties that could only be discharged in Palestine. It bound, indeed, each shred of Judaism in its position; threads crossing each other, and decussating in every community throughout the world, formed web and woof that enveloped every part of the system, as in a tabernacle—coarse in texture, but beyond measure strong. The Talmud stood at first on holy ground, and its ordinances were framed accordingly; the observance of which became impossible within the boundaries of Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek. At the present day, the Talmud is a yet more complete anachronism. It is impossible to make its precepts consist with the social and political duties of the highly educated Jew. Can the 'Shema' be duly repeated in the midst of an exciting debate; or is a moment or two to be spared for it between ring of bell and division? Could anything be more out of place than strict Talmudism amid the complications of modern society? — that strict Talmudism that accepts the plea alone of risk to life in defeasance of the smallest ritual observance, and only allows the plea so long as danger lasts. And, in truth, these difficulties, pressing unevenly under varying conditions of society, have, of late years, caused much controversy among the Jewish people. Frankfurt may be named as the centre of action. Here, some years since, a Jewish association was proposed, having for its basis the three propositions: 1. That religious development is not inconsistent with the Law

of Moses; 2. That the composition known as the Talmud has no authority over the associated, either in a doctrinal or in a practical point of view; 3. That neither Messiah nor return to Holy Land is to be expected or desired: the locality where each Israelite is born, and has exercised civil duties and enjoyed municipal rights, is his abiding Zion. The association, it is true, can scarcely be said to have flourished. But the sentiments put forth represented a deeply rooted feeling; and they are avowed by a large and increasing number of enlightened Jews at the present day; neither are they likely to die out.

The present phases of religious opinion among the Jews are capable of the usual threefold division—right, left, and centre. 1. The orthodox Talmudists, subdivided into those who demand a literal, and those who would be satisfied with a modified observance. 2. Reforming Jews, who would sweep away Talmud and ceremonial law, and take their stand on the free spirit of prophetism, claiming a complete emancipation from religious thraldom as an indefeasible right; in other words, demanding free scope to run riot in the Pantheism of rationalistic Germany. 3. The more moderate party, who hope to develop a higher spirituality from the old historic form of Judaism. The ceremonial law with them is valuable only as a hedge, to keep their people together, and apart from other forms of religion, such as Heathenism, as they call Christianity, modified by the Gospel; and Heathenism, as they call Mahommedanism, modified by the Korân. These three forms of religion they hold to be moving in converging lines, destined in the end to lead mankind to one esoteric form of religious truth, divested of external ritual, the formula of which will still be to the end, 'Hear, O Israel: the Lord thy God is one Lord; the Eternal is one.' The notion is but one form of that 'blindness in part that hath happened unto Israel' (Rom. xi. 25). Be it the care of every portion of Christ's Church to remove all obstacles in the way of the enlightenment of God's ancient people.

ART. II.—*The Creed of Christendom ; its Foundations and Superstructure.* By WILLIAM RATHBONE GREG. Second Edition. London : Trübner and Co. 1863.

IT is not without a sense of grave responsibility that we venture to criticise the work before us. When a man of high moral tone and character, of great ability and power of expression, has thrown into a brief and compact form all the difficulties which he finds in Christianity, it is highly probable that he will specify many to which we are not provided with an immediate solution. It may be that on certain points, not really affecting the essence of the Christian faith, mistakes have been made by large portions of the great Christian family; mistakes which need to be corrected and replaced by sounder views. It may be that difficulties, which at present harass the minds of many devout and excellent persons, will almost provoke a smile among our descendants. And yet they too, though they will marvel to think that we could have been perplexed at what seems to them so simple, will most probably have doubts and hesitations of their own to furnish food in turn for the wonderment of the generation that follows them. And so, perchance, will the world go on; until the last of the redeemed has been gathered into Christ's garner, and faith is swallowed up in sight. A religion without any doubts or difficulties might be suited for such beings as the seraphim, but it could hardly by any possibility be a religion for such a creature as man.

We say that these things may probably happen, because as a matter of fact they have happened. When S. Austin in his 'De Civitate Dei' argues against the existence of antipodes, he does so under the impression that the fact of their existence would in some way imperil the truth of Christianity. *We* see that he was mistaken alike in his facts and in the supposed consequences of those facts. An instance of the second kind of difficulty may be seen in the well-known case of Galileo. To *us*, brought up to regard the Copernican theory of the earth's rotation round the sun as practically proven, it seems a source of wonderment that such texts as 'He has made the round world so sure that it cannot be moved' should have been pressed with such naked literalness. As, however, the case of Galileo is somewhat threadbare, let us glance for a moment at a later illustration of our position.

A very aged Presbyterian minister told the present writer that when he, Dr. ——, was a young man, he was assured that there was not one in ten among those who walked the boards of the Parliament House in Edinburgh who did not believe David Hume's argument against miracles to be triumphant. Now, for aught we know to the contrary, there may exist now, as there existed then, a considerable number of Scottish advocates who are more or less sceptical concerning the truth of Christianity. But respect for their own credit, as men of intellect and culture, would most certainly prevent them from expressing the slightest confidence in anything now felt to be so weak as the once celebrated reasoning of Hume. 'All which Hume has made out,' says a writer of our day, 'and this he must be considered to 'have made out, is, that no evidence can be sufficient to prove a 'miracle to any one who did not previously believe the existence 'of a being or beings with supernatural power; or who believed 'himself to have full proof that the character of the Being 'whom he recognises is inconsistent with His having seen fit 'to interfere on the occasion in question.' This reduction to a minimum of the effect of Hume's elaborate essay is not the work of one of 'the restrained and shackled' clergymen to whom Mr. Greg refers in his eloquent and touching preface. It is the language, as many may remember, employed by Mr. John Stuart Mill in book iii. chap. 24, of his 'System of Logic.' Now it is our deliberate conviction, that Mr. Greg's small volume is replete with arguments which are calculated to dazzle and perplex for the moment as effectually as did that of Hume, but which in another age will be considered to prove just about as much as is proved by that of the famous sceptic of the eighteenth century.

It is desirable before proceeding further, that we should state what *we* understand by the words which our author has chosen for his title. If we were to attempt to make a brief epitome of the 'Creed of Christendom,' we do not know that we could do it more befittingly than in the following words:—'That, in 'consequence of an original and hereditary enfeeblement, man— 'every man without distinction—has lost the power of fulfilling, 'and even of thoroughly knowing, his duty upon this earth, and 'of assuring the salvation of his soul after his death, and that 'thus he would have perished without resource, if God had not 'come in human form to re-open to him the sources of pardon, 'of virtue, and of life.'

We conceive this summary to be a fair one. It represents the mind of the vast majority of Christians, spread over a wide extent both of time and space. It is the groundwork of the religion professed alike by Cowper and by Fénélon, by Nikon

and by Laud, by Baxter and by Ken, by Loyola and by Knox. On it are based the writings of the Schoolmen as well of Luther, of S. Bernard and S. Anselm, of S. Augustine and S. Athanasius, of S. Chrysostom and S. Cyprian. Further back we will not, for the moment, extend our list of names. As regards the statement itself, it has been already remarked in this Review, that it might have proceeded from a member of almost any of the largest bodies of Christians, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anglicans, Orientalists, Roman Catholics: and this is in itself no slight proof of the genuineness of the claim here made for it. *E contrario*, if we find any proposition put forth as part of the 'Creed of Christendom' which would not command the assent of a fair majority of Christians, which would not be acknowledged by that majority as a true representation of its sentiments, we conceive that we have a right to repudiate it. If, for example, any man should say that 'the Christian conceives 'that, *by an arbitrary decree of the Most High*, the virtuous soul 'will be assigned to happiness, and the vicious soul to misery,' we should suppose that what he really had in view was not the 'Creed of Christendom,' but simply the 'Creed of Calvinists.' That the Calvinists are a large and influential part of Christendom is undeniable; but no man is justified in taking a part for the whole: and we regret that this should have been done by Mr. Greg, not only in the passage just cited from his book (p. 279), but in other passages also, if not so directly, yet at least by implication.

But having stated in its briefest form what *we* conceive to be the 'Creed of Christendom,' the further question then arises, What is the basis of this Creed? by what steps did we, who profess it, arrive at such a conviction? That this is a distinct question from the previous one concerning the *substance* of the Creed may seem too obvious a truism to require statement. And yet the distinction does seem to be very frequently ignored; sometimes by the defenders of the faith, but still more often by its assailants. Such confusion of thought has a tendency to prejudice the case. It would indeed be more desirable that we could all act up to the Apostolic precept, and be ready to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in us.[1] But the task, in such days as those in which God's providence has cast our lot, is not an easy one. It must often happen that numbers whose entire life would be to them a burden and an unreality, if it were not for their firm and practical grasp of the 'Creed of Christendom,' may have so little experience in the analysis of their own sentiments and mental

[1] 1 Peter iii. 15.

processes as to be unable to afford to others, with anything like precision, a statement of the grounds of their belief. Far from being prepared with such an *apologia* as S. Peter exhorts us to cultivate, they would probably injure the strength of their case in the eyes of bystanders, by the apparent want of connexion between their premisses and their conclusions.

Nevertheless such discrepancy would, on any other subject but that of religion, receive its due meed of allowance. Wordsworth, in one of his earliest ballads, has urged that children may be 'taught the practice of lying' by the injudiciousness of parents, who insist on a reply, not merely to the question whether they prefer one thing or place to another, but to the further demand *why* they prefer it. Nor is the difficulty confined to children. Many will recollect the story of Lord Mansfield's advice to a man who, though untrained to legal habits, expected to be called upon to exercise judicial functions in a distant colony, 'Give your decisions, they will generally be 'right, but do not give your reasons, for they are sure to be 'wrong.' The eminent judge knew his friend to be a man of strong sense, but he also knew that he was a person unaccustomed to inquire into his own grounds of action, and that he would most probably fail in discerning, and in explaining to others, the real grounds on which his conclusions were based. We might cite, as bearing on this theme, a passage of much beauty from Professor Shairp's 'Essay on Wordsworth.' But it it unnecessary; for here at least, if we mistake not, we have Mr. Greg on our side. 'The only occasions,' he writes at p. 276, 'on which a shade of doubt has passed over my convic-'tion of a future existence, have been *when I have rashly* '*endeavoured to make out a case, to give a reason for the faith* '*that is in me, to assign ostensible and logical grounds for my* '*belief.*' If we feel the responsibility of essaying any such task within the brief space which our limits allow, the sentiment does not spring from any fear of causing 'a shade of doubt' in our minds, but simply from the dread of failure in the attempt to set the grounds of our belief before others.

But it seems a duty to run the risk: *nec ullum periclum sine periclo vincitur.* Having summarily stated *what* we believe, we proceed to consider *why* we believe it.

To us there appear to be three great factors of Christian dogma: human reason, the Bible, the teaching of the Universal Church. Human reason is certainly competent, as an Apostle has told us, to demonstrate from the works of creation 'the eternal power and Godhead' of the Creator. It also plays a highly important part in the adjustment of tradition with Holy Scripture, in the exegesis of Scripture, and in the consideration

of the nature of the claims made by revelation: for, with the lamented Charles Marriott, we certainly hold that it is impossible for any man heartily to believe that in which he does not in some sense think that he sees reason. The second factor, the Bible, comes to most men last in point of time, as it certainly comes last, *taken as a whole*, in the history of mankind. For the Christian Church must have taught for at least sixteen years without any writings of the New Dispensation to appeal to. People often talk in a lax manner, which seems to imply forgetfulness of this important fact. One might imagine from their language, that after S. Paul had been struck down on the road to Damascus, his primary duty on the recovery of his sight must have been the study of the Holy Gospels. They forget that at that period not one of the four had been published, and that the Apostle's own Epistle to the Thessalonians is most probably prior in point of date to any one of them.

Now references to the Bible, and certain difficulties connected with it, must occupy the latter part of this short paper; but, before we arrive at that portion of our critique, it is necessary to dwell a little on tradition and the teaching of the Catholic Church. It strikes us as not a little remarkable, that throughout Mr. Greg's book of nearly 300 pages, there is not, we believe, one single allusion to the claim of the Christian Church to teach. Yet surely, if the Church's authority be resisted or condemned, it ought not to be wholly ignored. To say nothing of the testimony borne by Scripture in favour of that claim, the existence of the Church as a teaching body during the first fourteen centuries after the Christian era, cannot seriously be called in question. Take the lectures of M. Guizot, 'Sur la Civilisation en France.' M. Guizot is a layman, a Protestant, a statesman, and not one of the 'restrained and shackled' clergymen. Yet M. Guizot declares that, throughout the earlier Middle Ages, but for the Christian Church the Christian religion must have perished. M. Michelet, and M. Michelet's reviewer in the *Edinburgh* some twenty-two years since (Mr. John Stuart Mill), give very similar evidence; evidence which might from the mouth of lay witnesses be multiplied indefinitely. Indeed laymen occupy a conspicuous place in the Church history of the time. It would be no slight gap that would be effected in mediæval annals, were we to strike out all notice of the influence exercised by such men as Alfred of England, Louis IX. of France, and the poet Dante. And what these men effected on a large scale, was re-enacted by other laity within the smaller circles accessible to them. Of course the work of the priesthood was closely intertwined with that of such lay sons of the Church: the great poem of Dante could hardly have had an

existence apart from the works of S. Augustine, S. Gregory, and the Angelic Doctor. But of the existence of a very considerable amount of laic thought and action in the Mediæval Church there can be no question whatever.

Can it be fairly said, that since the disruption wrought by the Reformation the teaching of the Catholic Church has been in abeyance? We apprehend not, so far as regards the great central truths which compose that 'Creed of Christendom' herein set forth. For, by every law of evidence, the agreement on certain points between parties who differ strengthens the proof on behalf of those points wherein they so agree. The doctrine that man's nature has in some way become estranged from God, and that God sent His Son into the world to redeem mankind, is as much the 'Creed of Christendom' now as it was a thousand years ago; neither has it been shown that any doctrine which can be justly termed the property of Christendom at large has been disproved, or had to be retracted.

But not only has the Church set forth this Gospel in hymns such as the 'Te Deum,' in creeds such as that of Nicæa, in prayers such as the Litany employed by the English Church, and in catechisms and treatises; but appeal is also made to a written book. The writer of these lines had the good fortune to be warned in boyhood against the error of those who would make this book in and by itself the sole source of the Christian faith. His father, a layman, deeply respecting many good men of the Evangelical school, and owning many obligations to the excellence of their precepts and examples, yet pointed out the great debt which we all owe to tradition, as in all the concerns of practical life so also in that most important one of religion. His earliest recollection in connexion with the famous dictum of Chillingworth was the conviction that it was false, hollow, and utterly untenable; a conviction which the experience of thirty years has simply deepened and intensified. Not long after his first acceptance of this teaching, he received from his master, as a present on leaving school, the 'Table Talk' of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and therein he read as follows:—'It is now 'twenty years since I read Chillingworth's book, but certainly 'it seemed to me that his main position, that the mere text of 'the Bible is the sole and exclusive ground of Christian faith 'and practice, is quite untenable against the Romanists. It 'entirely destroys the conditions of a Church, of an authority 'residing in a religious community, and all that holy sense of 'brotherhood which is so sublime and consolatory to a meditative Christian. Had I been a Papist, I should not have 'wished for a more vanquishable opponent in controversy. I 'certainly believe Chillingworth to have been in some sense a

'Socinian.' With Coleridge's dictum may be compared the experience of Kant. That famous metaphysician declares, that certain Protestant bodies in Germany were wont to say to him, 'Do not go to man for your belief, but look for yourself in the Bible, the Word of God.' Only, says Kant, they always added, 'But mind, you must not find anything there that we do 'not find; because if you do you are wrong.' 'My good 'friends,' was the natural retort of the philosopher, 'you had 'much better tell me beforehand what you *do* find, and then I 'shall know what to look for.' And in point of fact, by Augsburg Confessions, by Westminster Confessions, and similar documents, Protestant communities do tell us pretty plainly what to look for; nor do we know of any single communion that really *acts* upon that cuckoo-cry of 'the Bible, and the Bible only,' however eagerly they may repeat it.

We have spoken for a moment of individual experience. Mr. Greg implies in the opening sentences of his book that such experience as the above is very rare. An inquirer, he says, finds the Chillingworthian view of the Bible 'to be universal 'among all religious sects, and nearly all religious teachers; 'all at least of whom in this country he is likely to hear.' If this be really true, we regard it as a great misfortune. But we certainly did hope that other inquirers beyond our own circle had heard of Coleridge, had looked at some such books as Mr. Gladstone's 'Church Principles considered in their Results,' had in some way come across Roman Catholics or High-Church Anglicans so as to be convinced that Chillingworth's creed, however popular, was assuredly not the 'Creed of Christendom.' We believe that Dean Hook is perfectly justified in saying that neither Luther, Melancthon, or Calvin ever promulgated any such principle as that of Chillingworth;[1] and if in the present day all those 'who profess and call themselves Christians' could be polled, we do not imagine that it would be possible to obtain the suffrages of one-third of their number in its favour. Consequently it seems strange to us that the very first words of Mr. Greg's book should be the following:—

> 'When an inquirer, brought up in the popular theology of England, questions his teachers as to the foundations and evidence of the doctrines he has imbibed, he is referred at once to the Bible as the source and proof of all. "The Bible," and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants.'

Surely it should after this be understood that Mr. Greg's book is an attack, not so much upon the 'Creed of Christendom' as upon 'the popular theology of England.'

This is not the only general principle whereon we find our-

[1] Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. i. (New Series.)

selves at variance with our author, and consequently more or less precluded from following him with any satisfaction into details. We would specially indicate as samples of this wide and pervading difference (1) his views respecting dogma; (2) his convictions respecting the faith of other men.

1. As regards dogma our author speaks as follows:—'Religious truth is therefore necessarily progressive, because our 'powers are progressive—a position fatal to all positive dogma.'

Now we by no means deny that there is a sense in which the Christian Church, like its Divine Founder while on earth, increases in wisdom. But why is this admission fatal to dogma? Let us take the case of another science which, like theology, is a deductive science, that of mathematics. In mathematics certain leading truths, enshrined in Euclid's Elements of Geometry, may fairly be regarded as dogmas. Such are, for example, these following:—The three angles of every rectilinear triangle are altogether equal to two right angles: in all right-angled triangles the square of the hypothenuse is equal to the squares of the remaining sides. Now from age to age our knowledge of mathematical truth is progressive. The Alexandrian geometricians discover for us the properties of the conic sections; Descartes applies algebraic notations to geometry; Leibnitz and Sir Isaac Newton simultaneously invent the wonderful method of analysis involved in the principles of fluxions, or of the differential calculus; Sir William Rowan Hamilton has just bequeathed to us a theory of quaternions; and many look forward to fresh triumphs which shall place the integral calculus on a more scientific and less empirical basis than that which it at present occupies. Nevertheless, through all these discoveries the positive dogmas recorded by Euclid remain absolutely firm and unshaken. And, indeed, fixedness in first principles, far from thwarting scientific progress, in some cases absolutely aids it. 'He never forgot,' says Dorner, in speaking of Origen, 'the difference between 'that which was certainly believed by the Church and his own 'theological speculations; nor failed to command unconditional 'recognition for the latter, while content that the former should 'be simply examined and tested. *It is such an equilibrium of the 'fixed and the alterable as this that renders progress possible in 'the Church.*'[1] Most utterly, then, do we deny the correctness of Mr. Greg's dogmatic and unsupported assertion, that progressiveness in truth is fatal to all positive dogma.

2. With all of us, except the exceedingly devout, it is a difficult task to realize the unseen. The world, with all its

[1] On the Person of Christ. Section ii. chap. i. (Div. i. vol. ii. p. 105, Eng. Tr.)

charms and glories, is present to the senses, and too often effaces the recollection of the truths apprehended by faith alone. The 'philosophical theist' believes, with the Christian, that all our thoughts, words, and actions are known to God. Even Xenophon could see how much influence upon conduct teaching of this sort ought to exercise; and he justly eulogizes his master Socrates for enforcing it on his hearers.[1] But which of us from day to day, from hour to hour, really brings home to his conscience this solemn truth? How many of our thoughts and utterances would be simply impossible, if we did realize the Omnipresence of the Creator; if we always kept in mind that all 'things are naked and laid bare to the eyes of Him with whom 'we have to do!' But if we were to tell any assertor of the doctrine, whether theist or Christian, that his inconsistency proved that he did not really believe what he professed, such a speech would justly, we think, expose us to the charge of a lack of fairness and of charity.

Now we cannot help fearing that Mr. Greg does expect Christians to act up to their faith on pain of being thought unbelievers in their own creed. In the fifteenth chapter of his book, he discusses the question whether 'Christianity is a revealed religion.' In a note he admits that those who accept the doctrine of the Incarnation must necessarily regard the teaching of Christ as a divine revelation. But his statement includes an insinuation which is—so far as our knowledge of theistical works extends—something absolutely singular and unique. His words are as follow:—

> 'Those who believe that Christ was God—if any such really exist—must of course hold that everything He taught was *ipso facto* a divine revelation. With such, all argument and inquiry is necessarily suspended.'—P. 208.

Now it is hardly possible that Mr. Greg, a man of warm and generous mind, can have intended to insinuate that the vast body of Trinitarian Christians, whose views he opposes, are one and all deliberate hypocrites, saying one thing and meaning another; what he must mean is, we presume, that the vast majority, nine hundred and ninety-nine in every thousand, of those who profess the Divinity of Christ, do not realize the meaning of their own words, and consequently must be set down as disbelievers in the mystery of the holy Incarnation. To us this charge appears just as fair and charitable as that to which we have just referred. There are probably thousands of theists who unconsciously disbelieve in the Omnipresence of God; and

[1] Memorabilia, lib. i. Of course Xenophon says 'gods:' but this Polytheism does not directly affect the question.

there may be thousands of professing Trinitarians who are unconsciously semi-Arian, or possibly even Socinian, in heart. But when we think on various phenomena of Church history; when we call to mind such a life as that of an Athanasius, an Augustine, a Bernard, a Xavier, a Henry Martyn; when we think of all that is involved in high mystical views of the Holy Eucharist, whether set forth by Cyril of Jerusalem, by Luther, by Bellarmine, or by Donne; when we consider Christian hymns, from the almost Apostolic Φῶς ἅγιε to the mediæval 'Dies Iræ,' and Toplady's 'Rock of Ages;' when we reflect on that vast multitude of men and women of every age and country and condition who have lived and died on the spiritual food of 'the 'most powerful thought that ever addressed itself to a human 'imagination,'[1] we feel utterly at a loss how to argue with a writer who says to us, 'You none of you believe this.' Sure we are that we are speaking for tens of thousands when we declare that there are those to whom, without belief in the Incarnation, life would be a burden, and the history of mankind a wholly insoluble enigma.

But what further can we say to one who, with all the varied and accumulated evidence of sincerity before him, seems unable even to conceive that Christians do really hold their Lord and Saviour to be God? To an ordinary opponent we might be inclined to recommend the study of Mr. Liddon's 'Bampton Lectures,' or Mr. Plumptre's 'Christ and Christendom.' But we have not so far compared Mr. Greg's admissions respecting Holy Scripture with Mr. Liddon's or Mr. Plumptre's method of appeal to its teaching, as to be able to decide how far the lecturers reasonings of these devout and able writers would, on Mr. Greg's principles, be admissible. In the meantime the best statement in opposition to our author's form of Socinianism would probably be found in what may be termed the S. Helena paper on the Person of Christ. Whether it was actually dictated by Napoleon or not, does not affect the value of the general argument. In any case, theists who acknowledge God's providential government of the world would do well to ponder over the following words: 'There is no God in heaven if a mere 'man has been able to conceive and execute with full success 'the gigantic design of securing for himself supreme worship, 'by usurping the name of God. Jesus Christ is the only one 'who has dared this.'[2]

[1] Arthur Hallam.

[2] The original document, a very short one, may be seen in the excellent work of a French barrister, M. Nicolas, who believes in its authenticity: 'Etudes philosophiques,' 3ème partie, chap. i. (Paris: Vaton.) It has twice appeared in English in organs of the Scottish Episcopacy: in the *Gospel Messenger*, 1857; and in the *Scottish Guardian* for July 1866.

Disbelieving not only in the divinity of Christ, but also in the belief of others in that central doctrine of Christianity, Mr. Greg rejects, as might be expected, the truth of Christ's resurrection. His chapter on this vital point is a very singular one. The records (that is to say, the four holy Gospels) are in his judgment 'quite sufficient to prove that *something of the kind*' —the italics are Mr. Greg's—'occurred.'

'The agreement of the several accounts shows that *something of the kind* occurred; their discrepancies show that this occurrence was not exactly such as it is related to have been.'—P. 193.

Mr. Greg proceeds to argue that S. Mark's account is the most trustworthy. By comparing it with the rest he arrives at the conclusion that our Lord's body was taken away, that a figure dressed in white told the women that Christ was risen, and that the women saw some one whom they believed to be Him. Having shown to his own satisfaction that the discrepancies will not allow us to accept more than this, Mr. Greg gives his readers the choice of three theories: *Firstly*, that our Lord may have been not really and entirely dead when taken down from the cross; *secondly*, that He may have been really and entirely dead, and that His apparition to His disciples may belong 'to that class of appearances of departed spirits for 'which so much staggering and bewildering evidence is on 'record;' or, *thirdly*, that the women 'mistook some passing individual for their crucified Lord.' After giving *us*, however, the choice of these three theories, our author adds, 'We do not *ourselves* definitively adopt any of these hypotheses' (p. 199). Now the question of the Resurrection has been well treated by many recent authors. Mr. Plumptre's discussion of the subject in the book just named is extremely good; M. de Pressensé's, in his 'Jésus-Christ, Son Temps, Sa Vie,' &c.[1] perhaps still better. M. de Pressensé argues: that had our Lord been taken from the cross alive, (1) His subsequent existence would have been that of a mangled mutilated man, and not that free, glorious, ethereal life which we read of during the great forty days; (2 and 3) that no men can ever be shown to have risen from the depths of despair to the heights of joy and courage in the way the Apostles did on the strength of a mere vision, or a sheer mistake. For details we must refer the reader to Pressensé's work, or (as we believe may be done with equal confidence) to Norton 'On the

[1] Paris: Meyrueis. We regret to be compelled to state M. de Pressensé's Protestantism has led him into some grave mistakes. These, however, does not affect his anti-infidel reasonings, which are singularly clear and forcible, and well deserving of the praise bestowed on the book by Father Hyacinthe and Archbishop Darboy.

Genuineness of the Gospels.' In the meantime, it is remarkable that the change in the tone and temper of the Apostles so constantly urged by Christian apologists is most fully admitted by Mr. Greg :—

'We know that the Apostles, during the lifetime of their Lord, were very far indeed from imbibing His spirit, or fully apprehending His doctrine. They could not embrace or endure the sublime conception of a suffering Teacher and Redeemer; of a victory to be achieved by death; they were dismayed and confounded by their Maker's crucifixion; they had no expectation of His resurrection; and when His hour of calamity arrived, "they all forsook Him and fled." Disciples who so little resembled and so imperfectly understood their Lord during His life, could not be adequate representatives or expounders of His religion after His death, unless some new or strange influence had come upon them of energy sufficient to rectify their notions and to change their characters. The death and resurrection of Christ must have worked, and evidently did work, a very great modification in many of the notions of the twelve Apostles, and materially changed their point of view of our Lord's mission.'—Pp. 169, 170.

Undoubtedly. We agree with every word of this statement, and only regret that necessary abbreviation has lessened its force. But how in the world did the resurrection of Christ affect His disciples, if it most probably never happened, and may be accounted by one of three hypotheses, any one of which would make it no resurrection at all? We can only suppose Mr. Greg to mean that the change in the Apostles was wrought by the combined influence of Christ's death, which he thinks most likely true, and of His resurrection, which he thinks most likely a fable. Not, however, having space to pursue this subject further, we here quit it with the following words of a layman, Mr. Peter Bayne :—

'Any one accustomed to the valuation of historical evidence will, on reflection, admit that, when several witnesses affirm a particular fact, one almost infallible test of their correctness is that their statements are confused and various in matters of detail. Only when the statement is concocted beforehand are the witnesses of a tale unanimous. The variations in the evangelical account of the resurrection, turning as they do upon sequence of time, number of persons, order of incidents, are precisely and convincingly those which, supposing the witnesses to speak the truth, they could not possibly have invented. Norton points out, with his usual force and felicity, that by precisely the same kind of argument as sceptics bring forward to discredit the narrative of the resurrection, the assassination of Cæsar could be proved to have never occurred.'[1]

We must now turn to another phase of the question. Mr. Greg's book is, for the most part, a summary of all possible objections to the evidence adduced on behalf of Christianity as

[1] Fortnightly Review, vol. iv. (First Series), Art. on the 'New Life of Christ,' by Strauss.

commonly held and understood. In one point of view the advantage of an assailant in this species of warfare is immense. Brief and trenchant assertions can be made in a few lines which require many pages of explanation by way of reply. It must be ever thus. Rousseau, with all the skill of a man of true genius, has compressed the general objection to the argument derived from prophecy into a single half-page of his 'Emile.' A masterly reply from M. Nicolas occupies some fifty pages of his 'Etudes Philosophiques sur le Christianisme.' Similarly, a full examination of all Mr. Greg's difficulties would require at least a dozen numbers of this Review, if they were devoted to that task and to nothing else besides.

Now it *may be* said, that if there be any doctrine lying open to plausible objections, to which you do not all see an immediate answer, you ought to renounce that doctrine. Such a line of conduct is, of course, conceivable; and its observance would lead persons, according to their individual temper and resources, to very strange and very varied results. In all human probability no two persons would be found to agree. Speaking for himself alone, the present writer must frankly declare that, if he followed out such a principle, he could not possibly stop at the point where Mr. Greg has stopped. The plausible objections to 'philosophic theism' seem to him quite as serious as those which can be alleged against Christianity. To Mr. Greg the former class of objections may appear to be of a hollow and cavilling character. That is precisely what *we* think of a large number of his objections to revelation. Prince Albert de Broglie, in his admirable critique upon the 'Religion Naturelle' of M. Jules Simon, asks how many persons M. Simon could persuade to sign *his* manifesto of doctrine; which is, indeed, almost identical with that of Mr. Greg. If we may judge from such testimony as comes in our way, the adherents of these two earnest and highly-gifted men would be very few. Christians would stand aloof, not as questioning theism, but as being dissatisfied with mere theism alone, because it does not seem to them to be anything like the whole of God's gracious gift of knowledge concerning things divine. Atheists, Comtists, pantheists of every description, will feel no sympathy with the views of one who believes in a personal God, and in His justice and providence, and who cherishes (to his honour be it spoken) so high a tone of morality, and such a deep sense of the sinfulness of sin. 'Pantheism,' it has been truly said, 'is vague in its ideal of duty, and hence it is slow to censure 'what *we* call evil and what *it* calls a lower good; never meeting sin with wrath against the sinner, but rather putting it 'down with pity for the man who is fated to do the ugly work

'of the universe.' 'Positivism,' says the same writer, 'does not 'fall into the same blunder as the old school of infidelity, and 'roundly declare the tidings of religion to be false: she suspends 'her judgment. She is not so rash as to say that there is no 'Supreme Being, and no immortality; but she says that you 'cannot *prove* the existence of a Deity, and a life beyond the 'grave.' We borrow these words from a magazine of far other tone and tendencies than this which the reader holds in his hand. But they seem to proceed from a calm bystander,[1] and to justify our conviction of the deep gulf which lies between the disciples of a Spinoza, or a Comte, and Mr. Greg.

But having spoken of the advantage possessed by such an assailant as our author, we have now to speak of a disadvantage. It is this: *that no merely or even mainly negative book on religion has ever been known to live.* A few short years, and Mr. Greg's book will rest with the works of Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, Toland, Chubb, Tindal, and the like. That he is far superior to any of these in reverence, in earnestness, in faith, is perfectly true; but his book possesses, in common with theirs, this distinctive feature of negativeness, and the result will inevitably prove identical. He may have effected some good in once more exhibiting the untenableness of that foolish cry, 'The Bible, and the Bible only;' he may have done much momentary harm in unsettling the faith of those who have unhappily been nurtured in that imperfect scheme. The former portion of his task will be so much aid to those divines who, from Provost Hawkins, Mr. Sewell, the authors of the 'Tracts for the Times,' &c. down to Mr. Vaux,[1] have been doing their best to disabuse the minds of their countrymen, and to show the futility of that most one-sided and hollow dictum.

The main exceptions to the usual fate of would-be-destructive literature are probably the poems of Lucretius, the works of Rousseau and Voltaire. But are not these exceptions apparent rather than real? As regards Lucretius, there is much force in the suggestion of Mr. Sellar, that a great part of that poet's frantic opposition to the idea of divine interposition in the ordering of the universe is an assault on the popular mythology of Greece and Rome, and not such as need really interfere with the Christian conception of a 'Reign of Law' continually carried on by an all-wise Creator. And when we call to mind the philanthropy of Lucretius, and that sense of the infinite

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[1] The author of a paper called the 'Modern Spirit,' in *Fraser's Magazine* for May 1867.

[1] 'An Open Bible.' A popular lecture, by the Rev. J. Edward Vaux, M.A. Price one penny. London: Palmer, 1868. Three thousand had been sold by last May; we do not know how many since.

which has made his poem a favourite with such devout minds as that of John Keble, we shall hardly appear unreasonable if we decline to regard the 'De Rerum Naturâ' as a complete instance of the success of negative teaching. It is a keen sense of the beauty of his language, not sympathy with his atheism, which attracts readers to the pages of Lucretius. Rousseau again wins attention by his subtle analysis of human passion, by his proclamations of the glory of external nature, by his appeals to her dictates in opposition to the conventionalism of the eighteenth century, far more than by his profession of faith in the person of the Savoyard vicar. And if the real philanthropy of Voltaire, as evidenced in the case of Calas and others, if his wit and perfection of style still attract attention to some portions of his writings, yet of all the negative parts it may be safely asserted, with the language of a recent most able piece of criticism, that 'the number of his readers is probably 'diminishing, and it is hardly likely that it should ever in-'crease.'[1]

Now Mr. Greg is well aware of the imperfection of all mere negations. He says in his preface:—

'I trust that it will not be supposed that I regard this work in any other light than as a *pioneering* one. A treatise on religion that is chiefly negative and critical can never be other than incomplete, partial, and preparatory. But the clearing of the ground is a necessary preliminary to the sowing of the seed. Nor, I earnestly hope, will the book be regarded as antagonistic to the faith of Christ. It is with a strong conviction that popular Christianity is not the religion of Jesus that I have resolved to publish my views. What Jesus really did and taught, and whether His doctrines were perfect or superhuman, are questions which afford ample matter for an independent work.'

These words were published in A.D. 1850. We have now reached 1868. For eighteen years have our author's disciples—we know that he has such—been in possession of his negative results. For eighteen years have they waited, and waited in vain, for the *positive* doctrine which he is to impart to them. But men cannot go on for ever waiting thus. The adherents even of 'philosophical theism' will be in danger of lapsing into pantheism and atheism, or else—may God of His mercy grant it—they will grow weary of the hesitating utterances of mere theism, and accept the simple declarations of the real 'Creed of Christendom.' About 150 years ago, a French physician, La Mettrie, put forth a creed of which the following summary is given by Schwegler:—'Anything spiritual is a delusion, and 'physical enjoyment is the chief end of man. As for belief in a

[1] From 'Voltaire as a Theologian, Moralist, and Metaphysician,' in *Fraser's Magazine* for November 1867.

'God, it is equally groundless and profitless. The world will 'never be happy till atheism is universal. Only then shall we 'have no more religious wars; only then will those fearfulest of 'fighting men, the theologians, disappear, and leave the world 'they have poisoned to return itself.'[1] Positivists in our own day pronounce this kind of manifesto to be too fierce, and too confident. They admit it to have been a mistake; at any rate it has not answered; Christianity being on the whole, to all human appearance, far more vigorous now than it was when La Mettrie wrote. But will any greater success attend the haziness of a creed which says, 'We know nothing about these things 'either in one direction or the other; we cannot affirm, we 'cannot deny'? It may be more fashionable for the moment, but the human heart sooner or later insists on some reply, and the mass of men would, we really believe, prefer outspoken atheism to such abnegation of all right to hold a creed at all.

A similar cloud hangs over the far nobler and loftier doctrines of philosophic theists. They speak with stammering lips, and their ambiguous utterances fail to command for any length of time the attention of any large fraction of mankind. Let us, by way of illustration, set side by side the following declarations on a subject of vital importance which deeply affects the mind of thousands:—

Creed of the Catholic Church.	*Creed of a Philosophic Theist.*
'I believe . . the third day He rose again from the dead' (Apostles' Creed). 'And the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures' (Nicene Creed).	'I believe that "something of the kind occurred," concerning which "three different suppositions may be adopted," but "I do not myself definitively adopt any one of these three hypotheses."'

Greg's Creed of Christendom, pp. 193, 199.

For at least twelve hundred years has one of these declarations resounded through the homes and churches of Christendom. Where are the worshippers who are prepared to proclaim the opposing statements as part of *their* service? We say the *worshippers*, for we entirely agree with those who maintain that a religion, to be worthy of the name, must offer some reply to the questions:—(1) 'Whether there is a Supreme Being who cares 'for man? (2) Whether there is an after-life and a retribution? '(3) Whether there is forgiveness of sins with God?'[2]

[1] Handbook of the History of Philosophy, Dr. Stirling's translation, p. 189. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1868.

[2] We take these questions as set down by the late Mr. Isaac Taylor in his 'Restoration of Belief.' For remarkable and independent coincidence, see Prince Albert de Broglie's reply to M. Jules Simon.

Now, before we comment upon Mr. Greg's replies to these all-important queries, it is right to say that our narrow limits compel us at present to leave untouched very many of the really difficult, interesting, and thorny problems with which his work abounds. In our judgment none of these difficulties touch the *essence* of the 'Creed of Christendom;' and taken altogether they seem to us far less weighty and serious than those which beset the attempt to disbelieve the orthodox Christology, and to hold mere theism. Once allow *their* sense of the word 'superstition,' and the atheistic authors of the 'Système de la Nature' (published in 1770) seem to have reason and history too upon their side, when they affirm that 'any theism is necessarily but 'a direct step to superstition, *for pure theism is a position not 'possibly tenable.*'[1] But we do not shrink from admitting that such a problem as the inquiry how the dogmatic value of Scripture can be maintained, if strictness of verbal inspiration be given up, is a deeply important one, which has not yet been considered as it deserves. With much diffidence we venture to refer to an article in the *Christian Remembrancer* for January 1863, entitled 'Calvinism and Modern Doubt,' as probably containing the best approximation to a solution which has yet appeared. Then again, as regards prophecy, Mr. Greg seems to think that as good predictions as those of the Jewish seers may be found in heathen literature. Well, he has the whole range of Greek and Roman classics before him, and how many instances does the reader suppose that he adduces in support of his view? Precisely *one*. That most striking passage in the second book of Plato's 'Republic,' which has been referred to by several Fathers of the Church, by Rousseau, by Archbishop Trench, by Mr. Oxenham, and numbers more, is here made the basis of a theory. Even granting (which we think fairly open to question) that the mental attitude of Plato, his drift and purport, when he penned those noble words, thoroughly resembled those of Isaiah when he composed what we make to be his 53d chapter; still, what *is* the value in such a case of an induction based upon a single specimen? We declare that the whole of Mr. Greg's chapter on the Prophecies only leaves on our minds the impression of a single difficulty; and it were strange indeed if with our imperfect knowledge some single one should not emerge. That single one is the existing state of the city of Damascus.

A very learned Bampton Lecturer, Mr. Farrar, has pronounced Mr. Greg's volume to be the *most* formidable assault of recent years upon what is usually considered orthodox Christianity. It

[1] Schwegler, as above, p. 191.

may be so; and in that case we must frankly avow that we have not much dread of the results of other books of the kind. As we have said more than once, few assailants—we must except M. Jules Simon—have exhibited anything like so high a moral tone, so ardent a desire for truth, so intense a hatred of evil. But even Mr. Greg appears to us to be not wholly free from that hastiness in accepting negative conclusions which is so characteristic of all his school. We wish that they would sometimes call to mind a sublime thought of Origen in his 'Contra Celsum.' As, says that great thinker,—as Christ for a time kept silence before His judges, even so does He now often keep silence, and bide His own time until He sees fit to speak. Mr. Greg assumes the spuriousness of the Book of Daniel. Before he publishes another edition of his book, let him undertake a serious reply to the wondrous learning and powerful arguments of Dr. Pusey's great work, as well as to the labours of Hengstenberg. Books of such calibre cannot be simply ignored and put upon one side. If they are thus treated, we shall know what to think of the reasoners who so treat them. Again, there is the argument from the similarity of the Hebrew of Deuteronomy to the Hebrew of a far later age. Let him now answer the observations upon this topic put forth by Dr. William Smith[1] in his calm, learned, and able volume against Drs. Colenso and Davidson. We feel little doubt but that before long other difficulties (as that, for instance, concerning Damascus) may be satisfactorily grappled with.

One word upon our appeals to lay authors in this paper. The great evolvers of dogmatic decisions in opposition to heresy have been commissioned servants of Christ, in the ministry of His Church. This is only what might naturally be expected; just as judges have most frequently been the creators of law, and physicians of the discoveries of medicine. But a considerable number of the best apologists for Christianity have in all ages been laymen. If dogma has been thrown into shape and the mind of the Church been expressed by an Athanasius, an Augustine, an Anselm; the defence of the faith once for all delivered unto the saints has been waged not only by an Origen, a Butler, and other great ecclesiastics, but likewise by such champions as Justin, Tatian, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius, Pascal, Leslie, Nicolas, De Broglie, and many more such, who are all laymen. Perhaps the laity, mingling more with the world, have sometimes known more of the world's mind, and can confront it better. Perhaps, too, the good providence of God has willed to overthrow the stock cry of priestcraft urged against

[1] Published by Messrs. Longman.

the clergy when *they* argue for His truth. If any of our readers feel themselves called upon to study the case on behalf of philosophic theism, we should recommend in the first place a perusal of the profession of the Savoyard vicar, which occupies about one-eighth part of Rousseau's 'Emile.' Biblical criticism has added much to the attack in detail, but Rousseau's genius has compressed into a small space the substance of the main attack on Revelation, and more recent scepticism has added but little to his masterly summary. Then let him read those admirable chapters in the 'Etudes' of M. Nicolas, which are specially directed against Rousseau. A study of M. Jules Simon's 'La Religion Naturelle' should come next, to be conjoined with that singularly forcible and eloquent rejoinder by Prince Albert de Broglie, of which an epitome has recently been given in our own pages.[1] If Mr. Greg's book be read after the study of these four, a large amount of its strength and its weakness will be known and understood by anticipation.

There is a great resemblance between the mind and reasonings of M. Simon and Mr. Greg. We think, with the late Isaac Taylor, that a religion does require plain answers to the questions propounded a few pages back, and that we seldom obtain such answers from theists. One of the most powerful parts of M. de Broglie's essay consists of a comment on the reticence of M. Simon concerning the question whether God pardons the penitent. M. de Broglie expresses in vigorous language the writer's sense of the freezing chill which such a religion strikes to the hearts of all who know themselves to be sinners. Mr. Greg is in this respect far more outspoken than M. Simon. He declares (p. 243), and prints the words in italics, 'that *there can be no forgiveness of sin.*' That he feels its sinfulness so deeply is the glory of his book: that he sees no road to forgiveness is but too probably only the logical consequence of his disbelief in the incarnation and atoning work of Christ. The possibility that by generous repentance, by earnest love, by the knowledge of his own weakness, the sinner may rise, in a strength not his own, to as high a place as that once occupied—nay even, in some few cases of special earnestness, to one higher still—is naturally enough denied by Mr. Greg. The fact that we are often unable to undo the *external* consequences of sin is accepted as a proof that there can be no pardon for the penitent.

What marvel that, with such a tenet as part of its essence, 'philosophic theism' has flourished by itself—simply *nowhere?* Not in Greece or Rome, where polytheism with all its deplorable

[1] *Christian Remembrancer* for April 1868, Art. 'Lines of Demarcation.'

immoralities overlaid it; not in India, where pantheism swallowed it up; not in Mahometan lands, where a book largely borrowed from the Bible has at any rate shielded the nakedness of its austerity; not in Palestine, where a revelation, with its cheering promises, protected and invigorated it; not in Christendom, where a fuller revelation has taken it under its fostering wing. For the reasons of this failure, we may refer to the paper in M. de Broglie's 'Questions de Religion et d'Histoire;' we can only here call attention to the fact, and state our own conviction, that those who reject a divinely-furnished sanction and addition to the truths they hold will not long, save in rare and isolated cases, retain possession of those truths themselves. Natural religion, blessed, fostered, and developed by Christianity, is rich and powerful; natural religion, attempting to discard the aid of revelation, and to stand alone, is poor, and weak, and miserable.

But 'I earnestly hope,' says Mr. Greg, 'that my book will not be regarded as antagonistic to the faith of Christ.' Possibly it is not so, if Christ be not God, and if His Church has been permitted, despite His gracious promises, to practise fearful idolatry for more than 1800 years. If the Incarnation be one tremendous and awful falsehood, then—but not otherwise—this book is not antagonistic to the faith. It is true that just as M. de Broglie thinks of M. Simon and his small school, so do we (in company with Isaac Taylor) think of Mr. Greg and many more—that they are far more indebted to the influence of the Catholic verities than they themselves are at all aware. The very conception of a martyrdom for truth, which gives rise to one of the most pathetic passages to be found in Mr. Greg's volume, or indeed in any work of this nature, was rarely heard of before the trial of One who said, 'To this end was I born, 'and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear 'witness unto the truth.' Many of the difficulties urged by Mr. Greg against the reception of that truth as embodied in the real 'Creed of Christendom' (which Mr. Greg almost throughout most mistakenly identifies with ultra-Calvinism), will, we trust, be considered from time to time in the pages of this magazine. And yet we feel very sadly and sorrowfully how large a part of Mr. Greg's differences from us lie entirely beyond the reach of argument. To us such a volume as that of the lamented Dr. Mill against Strauss is convincing, satisfactory, and elevating; and we say this after a careful study of Strauss's volumes. Mr. Greg has apparently never looked at Mill, and it is very possible that its entire tone and ethos would to his mind seem all but unintelligible. To a man who finds it hard to conceive that thousands of all climes and ages have

believed and do believe, with all their heart and minds, in the mystery of the Holy Incarnation, a vast multitude of thoughts, and words, and deeds of Christians must ever remain a riddle and a mystery. Well, we at least are satisfied with our company. *Sit anima mea cum sanctis!* Would that we could hope that such a mind as Mr. Greg's could learn to be dissatisfied with *his* associates, and to join the vast and continuous and widespread throng of the worshippers of Christ the Lord!

ART. III.—1. *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes.* Collected and edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M.A. (Camden Society).

2. *Political Poems and Songs.* Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M.A. Two vols. (Rolls Series.)

3. *The Repressor of overmuch Blaming of the Clergy.* By REGINALD PECOCK, D.D. Edited by CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D. (Rolls Series.)

WE are apt to think that the witty canon of S. Paul's, who held up to the world's ridicule the 'drab-coated men of Pennsylvania,' because he had lost a few hundreds by their repudiation, was purely a product of modern times; but, in fact, we have his exact counterpart in the twelfth century. At that period Walter Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, and Rector of Westbury-upon-Trym, having been defrauded of some of his clerical dues by the intrusions on his domain of the Cistercian or White monks, determined to revenge himself on this already powerful order by his pen. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us of this quarrel, himself taking a lively interest therein, as a friend of the Archdeacon, and an enemy of the Cistercians. 'He was a man,' says Giraldus, 'of conspicuous fame for his knowledge of letters, and illustrious for the wit of his courtly language.' In high favour with Henry II., and one of the King's travelling justices to administer the law, he was wont, when put to his oath to render justice to all, to make the reservation of Jews and White monks, to whom, he said, he would show neither justice nor equity. 'Wrong it were,' said he, 'that they should receive justice, who act unjustly towards all men.' An abbot, highly extolling his monastery to the King, in the presence of the Archdeacon, as 'the place most hateful to the devil,' Mapes replied, 'No doubt the spot is hateful to him, for here it is that many of his good friends receive castigation.' 'Why so bitter against the Cistercians?' said the Abbot. 'Because I know well their immoderate claims,' said the Archdeacon. 'Indeed, if 'you knew them better you would think them much more 'moderate,' said the Abbot. 'Thus the very devils are forced to 'speak the truth,' answered the Archdeacon: 'moderate, indeed, 'is your claim, if judged by its merits.'[1] Many other of these repartees are recorded by Giraldus; but at length, the Arch-

[1] Of course the point of this appears much better in the Latin.

deacon being on his sick-bed, and apparently near his end, a deputation of Cistercians went to him, to excite him to penitence for his hard sayings, and to propose, as an atonement, that he should take the habit of their Order. Upon this the Archdeacon summoned his servants, and said, 'Should I, in any 'fit of weakness or wandering sense, ask to be invested with 'the Cistercian habit, straightway bind me with chains and 'restrain me as a lunatic.' Then he desired the monks to leave him, and that he might be troubled with such visitors no more.

Walter Mapes considered that he had a mission, perhaps not a more disinterested one than that of Canon Sydney Smith to defend Chapters; and this mission was to write down the new order, which, according to him, with all its pretences to austerity and extra holiness, was a great deal worse than the old ones. To his devotion to this mission we owe, in great part, those clever and spirited satires which are scattered up and down in mediæval manuscripts, many of which have been collected and edited by the learned labours of Mr. Thomas Wright. For if, as Mr. Wright thinks, not many of Mapes' own satires remain, and none of those which he specially directed against the Cistercians, yet, nevertheless, the Archdeacon set the fashion, and gave the pattern for these pungent effusions, which are not to be regarded simply as 'the expressions of hostility of one 'man against an order of monks, but of the indignant patriotism 'of a considerable portion of the English nation, against the 'encroachments of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny.'[1] These poems assumed a definite and special character, and were distinguished by a peculiar designation, namely, 'The Poems of *Golias* the Bishop.' 'Golias Poems' came to be a term of distinct meaning. From this the French term *goliard* or *goulard*, implying a clerical satirist, wit, or buffoon, was drawn, which appears in Chaucer in an English dress.

> 'He was a jangler and a *goliardeis*,
> And that was most of sinne and harlotries.'
>
> *Miller's Tale.*

That these poems were intensely popular, the numerous translations made of them into French and English sufficiently testify. They were the foundation of the grand poem of Piers Ploughman, and, as a standing protest against ecclesiastical abuses, they may be held to have fitted men in no small degree for the teaching of Wycliffe, and afterwards for the Reformation. But there is one special effect of them which we desire to notice before proceeding to give a few specimens of translations from Mr. Wright's collection, and that is, the effect which they

[1] Introduction to Mapes' Poems (Camden Society).

may have had in creating the popularity which surrounded the first establishment of the friars in this country. In a remarkable passage in Piers Ploughman's 'Crede' (which is a poem entirely distinct from the 'Vision' of Piers Ploughman, and by another writer), the influence of the 'Golias Poems' is suggested as the probable cause of the origin of the friars.[1] The old orders had been so held up to ridicule and contempt by these satires, that a new order, proceeding on entirely different principles, seemed naturally to arise out of them. If this were so, and the 'goliards' were indeed instrumental in bringing so many proselytes to the ranks of the Mendicants, a curious retribution awaited them. For, in a few years' time, when the first fervour of the friars had abated, and greed and luxury began to display itself among them, it was at the head of these orders that the whole power of clerical satire was hurled. Both the 'Crede' and the 'Vision' of Piers Ploughman exhibit this, and numerous sharp effusions upon the friars will be found in Mr. Wright's volumes edited for the Master of the Rolls, and in the Appendix to Mr. Brewer's 'Eccleston.' Lordly bishops and lazy monks are now almost forgotten, and every wit steps forward to have a fling at the ubiquitous and obtrusive brethren of S. Dominic or S. Francis, who jostled the parish priest out of his dues, levied toll upon the faithful in the very teeth of the monks, and made the trade of the pardoner of none effect, as notably appeareth in Dan Chaucer. And now to give some specimens of these Golias Poems. The first, printed in Mr. Wright's Camden Society Volume, 'The Revelation of Golias the Bishoppe,' has, as he tells us, been frequently translated. Two versions are given in the Appendix, the first of which is in very harmonious English. As a specimen, take the satirist's views on bishops, archdeacons, and rural deans:—

'Woe to the horned[2] guydes of this poor mangled flock,
That doth both hurt and maim the same with armed head,
Whiles on their hornes they beare eche one of them a locke,
And do not feede their sheape, but with their sheape are fedd.
And yf he anie fault amonge the people finde,
That our faithe is broken, to saye he will not spare,
And drawe them to the lawe, and fast there doth them bynd,
Till he hathe pulde their fleece, and made their purses bare.

'I read the chapter next, and there did understand
The Archdeacon's trade and life, whose course was next of all,
If anie thinge by chaunce did scape the Bisshoppe's hand,
With toothe and naile to snatche, and teares in peices small.

[1] 'I trowe that some wikked wyght wroughte this orders,
Thorugh that gleym of that gest that Golias is y-calde.'—l. 479 (Ed. Skeat).

[2] Allusion to the mitre.

And when he hears the pleas of persons at debate,
In forme of canon lawe he worketh subtiltie;
For he the canon law can turne even in like sorte
To Symon's court, which is th' Archdeacon's mercurie.

'The Deane is th' Archdeacon's dogge, that waighteth near and farre;
But with the canon law his barkinge grees not well,
For he doth discorde singe, and from the rule doth jarre,
And is to Symon like that did both buye and sell.
The Deane is like a hound that can the foote find out,
And by the sent can seke where he may luker get,
And can by sleight bringe in clerkes' purses all about,
Whom he had caught before within his maister's nette.'

Nor do the inferior clergy fare any better than the dignitaries in the hands of this bitter satirist:—

'The person dothe commit the soules of all our sheepe
Into the vicares hands, withe spirituall power;
But to himself the rentes and profittes he doth kepe,
Which boldlie without feare he lettes not to devoure.
He doth his wandringe soule in many partes devide,
And dothe tenne churches hold or moe within his handes,
And yet he cannot well in eche of these abide,
Muche like an accedent, that in no case still stands.
And higher is the roofe advaunced of his hawle,
Then is Allhollowes churche, made highe with hands of men,
In valewe eke much more did cost his wenches pall,
Then all th' alter is worth, that covereth altres tenne.
He maketh toyles and parkes and buyldinges conninglie,
And coynes, and other toyes, and ringis to weren on hande,
And all this he dothe make of Goddes patrimonie,
Whom he fees at his doore, and lettes him naked stand.
The vicare rules the soules committed to his charge
Even as he dothe his owne, for to the end he maye
More freelie other leese, he lettes his own at large,
First to be lost, and thus to missecheeffe leads the way.
Thus all enormitie dothe from the clergie rise,
And where they ought on God to set their mynde and care,
They myddle with affayres and forbidden marchandise
And occupie themselves with much unhonest ware.'

The next poem in the Camden volume is a very clever and spirited piece, and one of the most rhythmical in flow of the whole collection. It is called 'Metamorphosis Goliæ Episcopi,' and is, as Mr. Wright suggests, a satire upon the intrusions of the monks on the Universities. We think the 'Robertus theologus corde vivens mundo,' about whom Mr. Wright is puzzled, can be no other than Grosseteste, the great light of Oxford in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and if so, this will to a certain extent determine the date of the poem.

It is rather startling to find at that period the monks spoken of thus:—

'Gens est hic nequitiæ, grex perditionis;
Impius, et pessimus hæres Pharaonis,
Speciem exterius dans religionis,
Sed subest scintillula superstitionis.

'Gentis gens quisquilia, gens hæc infrunita,
Cujus est cupiditas mentis infinita;
Istos ergo fugias, et istos devita;
Et hiis ne respondeas "non est sic" vel "ita."'

With no less freedom, vigour, and smartness is the great mediæval iniquity, the Court of Rome, with all its bribery and corruption, handled. Bishop Golias has clear and strong views upon the state of things in the Eternal City. We shall try to set these before the reader in a modern version, though we are far from being able to do justice to all the sharp antitheses of the Latin.

GOLIAS ON THE ROMAN COURT.

'Vice to scourge I shall not spare, though rebellious be my strain.
How I hate the honied draught hiding drug of bitter pain!
How I hate th' embroider'd robe covering breast of rugged steel!
And the braying ass in lion's mantle cloth'd from head to heel.

'Vile are they who dress their crimes in sunny looks of festival,
Honey hanging on the lips while the heart is steep'd in gall!
Tempting honey! but too often found to lack true honey's sweet;
For the face to mask the bosom's evil thoughts it is not meet.

'In the mouth are words of virtue, in the deed is crime and ill:
Snowy white the outside coating, but within is pitchy still:
When the head is sick and tainted all the members feel the woe;
When the root is bad and faulty will the fruits its nature show.

'Rome's the head of all the world, but the head in every sin;
From this head impure and vicious evil streams their course begin:
Vice flows on in rapid whirlpools from the source to utmost bend,
And the river early tainted is polluted to the end.

'Rome will welcome all, but chiefly to their goods her welcome's paid;
To her court they may have access, but her court's a market made.
Here's a traffic for each honour, title, dignity, or right;
Money here can work all marvels, turn the darkness into light.

'Here's a Consistory sacred where all causes may be tried,
But for suitors and for counsel one fixed law will still abide:
If your money be not ready, Rome knows nothing of your cause;
Whoso makes the readiest payment ever pleads with most applause.

'In the volume of Decretals there's a chapter known at Rome
Which prescribes that suitors ever with full hands to suit shall come.
Give, if you would have it given; they've their suit as well as you,
And the measure that you mete with to repay is ever due.

'In your case the rate of progress is the rate at which you pay:
If you wish your suit to move on, bribes must ever clear the way.
Arm'd with these you need not tremble, even if Tully's self should plead;
There's an eloquence in ducats which you'll find unique indeed.

'Of this court there's not one member but of coin the charms can see,
Coin, well marked, well rounded, beauteous in its fair benignity;
Comely is its shape and pleasing, and in Rome 'tis well approved:
When its voice is heard in pleading every barrier is removed.

'Feed the hand with coin in plenty, you've a wisdom none can meet;
E'en the lore of great Justinian vanquish'd lies before your feet.
Canons of the ancient Fathers, what are these but chaff so light,
Vain and useless? while on solid grain the purse is fasten'd tight.

'Rome in other graces frugal, not in avarice and greed,
Has to spare for him who spares not, to the close is close indeed:
Gold is still its golden idol, and Saint *Mark* of saints the best;
Of the altars where it worships, holy *chest* excels the rest.

'If the Pope you would petition, of this you may be assured,
There's no standing for the poor man; to the rich the suit's assured.
Should the grudging hand be backward to produce the fitting sum,
Straight he answers, "You're a bungler, from your pipe ill accents come."

'If you're curious, know the title *Papa* draws its force from hence,
For that he *sucks down* the viands bought at other folks' expense;
Or if French you favour, rarely is the derivation found,
Twice divide the Gallic *paez*, here is meaning apt and sound.

'Still his fees the Pope is seeking, and the whole official tribe—
Porter, Cardinal, and Runner—none of them despise a bribe;—
All are seeking, and if haply you should one of all neglect,
Then a universal failure to your matter straight expect.

'Far and wide your gifts you scatter, nor do single gifts suffice;
You must still repeat the medicine, and repeat not once or twice.—
O ye purses swelling roundly, straight to Rome I bid you wend;
Here you'll find a physic potent that shall your distension end.

'Here are foes to pouch right skilful that will gently ease its ware:
First one pillage, then another; gradually the spoil they share.
Vain it were to mention singly each one of the robber band;
All conspire the purse to throttle, till it dies beneath their hand.

'Yet a marvel! like the Titan's liver grows the purse once more;
Loses wealth again to find it, dies to flourish as before.
Thus in her own special manner Rome upon the purse doth feed,
That when it is emptied wholly, still the store is full indeed.

'Liberal suitors find their profit, and return with mitred head;
Jove assists them not to triumph, Pluto governs all instead.
Honours now adorn the creature made by nature vile and dumb;
Thus from fish's dung the jewel, from base clay do paintings come.

'To the rich by rich is given, that in turn they may obtain;
All donations have a reference to some future likely gain;
And the law that here's established is well known and honour'd too,
If of gifts to me you spare not, then I'll spare not gifts to you.'

The next three poems in the Camden volume breathe a sadder tone. In satirizing the inordinate covetousness of Rome, 'Golias' could speak of an evil which did not touch him personally and nearly. But in the simoniacal, luxurious, and careless lives of the bishops of his own land he felt a present pressing grievance, and the tone varies accordingly. He had his complaint to make both as a Churchman and as a poet.

'Jam mendicat miserè chorus poetarum;
Nulli prodest imbui fonte literarum.'

But, as a Churchman, in accents of deep earnestness he exclaims:—

'By doctors of the law the law's made vain;
The lay-folk hate the clergy, peace is slain.
No longer to the Cross men turn their eye,
Nor does that symbol bless'd make discord fly.
Man's life is bounded by the shortest span,
Yet where can love of truth be found in man?
The people justly scorn the priests of God;
Naught save confusion and fell strife's abroad.
Woe to the shepherds who the flock won't feed,
Nor when the wolf draws nigh to succour speed;
His steps they follow not Himself who gave,
An offering of great price, men's souls to save.
Woe to those highly placed in Moses' seat,
Who their own precepts tread beneath their feet;
Like Moses do they stand in honour's place,
But not like Moses lead a life of grace.
Woe to you hypocrites, children of woe!
Who hide ill deeds beneath a specious show;
And, call'd to higher life your flock to lead,
In error snare them and in error's meed.
Mens' persons in respect ye have for gold,
And ever to the poor your aid is cold;
Reason's fair light and justice are oppress'd
When he who gives the most obtains the best.
As upon bribes ye seize with grasping hand,
In vain the needy just redress demand:
A vigorous championship the rich secure;
Codrus a limping help will find, if poor.'

The poem reprinted by Mr. Wright from Flacius, 'Ad Christi Sacerdotes,' is a most spirited and beautiful exhortation on clerical responsibilities and duties, and can scarcely be called a satire, as there is no direct attack upon the clerks of the day contained in it. The next, however, called 'Goliæ Versus de Sacerdotibus,' is of a different character. Here the attacks are smart, telling, and vigorous, some of them being not producible in a modern translation. The great point is the want of chastity in those who presume to officiate in the highest mysteries. Of course, in the view of the satirist, the married priest was equally to be condemned for this fault as the one who lived in concubinage; but we shall have more to say on the subject of priests' wives presently.

We come now to a poem in which either Walter Mapes himself, or a disciple and imitator, speaks in a genuine and hearty tone on a theme which he delights to handle, and of a class which he feels well deserve his satire. The bitter hatred of the witty Archdeacon against the White monks has been before alluded to, and no doubt there was much in the high pretensions made by the Cistercian to extra austerity and holi-

ness, as well as in the abnormal and extraordinary privileges which he enjoyed from the Pope, to provoke the attacks of Churchmen of the old school. Many would not see the sense of this new-fangled reformation of the old venerated Benedictine rule, which had nurtured so many saints, and which governed such great and noble establishments as already in the thirteenth century adorned England. We confess to a complete sympathy with the disciple of Golias in his views; and, knowing what we do of the history of the Cistercians, and how their loudly proclaimed asceticism quickly issued in the magnificent luxury of Fountains and Vale Royal, we appreciate his penetration in the view which he takes of the Order:—

'THE DISCIPLE OF BISHOP GOLIAS CONCERNING THE WHITE MONKS.

'Now, my muse, you've slumbered long:
Arise, be brisk, and tune your song,
And curb your lay due bounds within;
"In many words there dwelleth sin."

'Behold of monks an order famous
Has from heaven dropp'd down to shame us,
To prostrate Babel's tower of pride,
Make idol gods their faces hide.

'These are wondrous chaste and sparing,
Foes to pride and vain ensnaring;
Cold and hunger still affecting,
Thus the life divine expecting.

'Rude their dress, and vile to see to,
This hard fare and couch agree to;
Few their words, and scant of sense are;
Only spirit's charms intense are.

'Earth they scorn for joys of heaven,
Thus an hundredfold is given;
Realms of bliss they lay strong hold of,
These alone rejoice when told of.

'Lord, of these brethren guide and friend,
Thou who shalt judge us at the end,
Make me a brother of their band,
Join me with them in that bless'd land.

'Why! of these monks your praise is striking!
Other folks don't share your liking;
Wolves are they like in sheep-skin clad,
For tricks their name and rapine bad!

'To chastity they have small claim,
Robbery and theft is all their game;
They're famous truly—but for taking—
Like kindly soil prepared by raking.

'On diet slight false lies they nourish,
A heart of greed in rags can flourish;
In silence dwell a soul of gall—
False piety's of value small.

'For present gain is still their quest;
They stuff their pouch with others' best.
The poor man's penny fills their store—
The Devil's thralls for evermore!

'Two plagues there are beyond all pest;
Heaven, earth, and ocean them detest;
The scourge are they of every land,
Nor zeal nor care against them stand:

'One is the cattle-plague most foul,
The other the Cistercian's cowl.
These vex the world with ravage fell:
Which is the worse 'twere hard to tell.'

The 'Complaint of Golias to the Pope' is in many ways a singular poem, but we do not incline to think it from the pen of Mapes, as we hold the last poem to be. The 'Complaint' is on the ground of the neglect of learning, a frequent topic in these satires, and especially of classical learning. The gibes, as the allegorical and figurative method of expounding Scripture, are scarcely veiled. The poem is written with great spirit and acuteness. We give a short specimen of translation:—

'Once 'twas enough of Æneid's line,
Or rolling Thebaid's periods fine,
To have the lore;
Precepts of ancient sage to scan,
And of the brethren in the van,
The past t' explore.
Now 'tis more worth to hoard up gold,
Than to know all the battles bold
Of Lucan's song.
They guerdon'd now are wont to be
Who the bless'd branch of Jesse's tree
Can trace along;
Or can the bramble's story tell,
Or how on fleece of Gideon fell
The wondrous sign.
Yet what avails to me to know
All this, if in condition low
I still must pine?

* * * *

Good Shepherd, it were shame to thee,
If, driven from theology,
Lay life I sought;
From priestly calling set me free,
Or my hard portion pitying see,
To live on naught!
Contented with my lot I'd stay,
If for my pains a decent pay
A prebend gave;
Enough for me a modest rent,
Which, my days still in study spent,
From want might save.

Probably the most famous poem in Mr. Wright's Camden volume is the 'Confession of Golias.' This, together with the 'Revelation of Golias,' Mr. Wright considers to have a stronger claim to the actual authorship of Mapes than most of the others. The fame of the 'Confession,' however, rests on a different ground. It contains the stanzas which, somewhere about the sixteenth century, were constructed into the famous drinking-song of the bacchanal priest, and which indeed for bold profanity can scarcely be surpassed. Mr. Skeat (Preface to 'Piers Plowman's Crede') says well that this poem is 'distinguished by a peculiar subtlety which has not always been 'understood.' After giving it a very attentive consideration, we hold that the witty satirist had two objects in view in the poem. He wished to satirize the careless and licentious lives of the priests, and their degraded moral sense, by putting into the mouth of one of them a nominal confession which is really no confession, but a justification of licentiousness. But he had another object also in view, and in this we trace the genuine *malice fine* which in our view makes Walter Mapes so thoroughly the Sydney Smith of the twelfth century. Hugh de Nunant, bishop of Coventry, had, like Mapes himself, been a great opponent of the monks, having expelled them from Coventry in order to introduce secular clerks. The monks had retaliated by publishing very bad stories about the Bishop, and we are inclined to think not without some foundation. If the Bishop's life was somewhat irregular, it was a touch of fine irony for Mapes to make his drunken priest carry his confession to him; and if, as we suspect, the Archdeacon and the Bishop were good friends, it is probable that the sly hits of the 'Confessio Goliæ' were repaid in kind. It is impossible to furnish a full translation of this clever poem, as some of the stanzas are not fit for an English dress. The following may serve to give an idea of it to those who have not met with the original:—

'THE CONFESSION OF GOLIAS.

'I am toss'd like a ship without guide,
Like a bird that is rock'd in the air;
By no bonds of restraint am I tied,
Still with kindred rapscallions I pair.

'In broad ways of youth's pleasures I pace,
Slave of vice, and by virtue unmoved;
Keen for frolic much more than for grace,
The soul less than body beloved.

'To be grave seems the gravest of ills,
But delightful the service of Love;
Honey-sweet, with enchantment it fills
Those who strive their allegiance to prove.

* * * *

'*Secundo*, I'm forced to concede
That by play I'm too easily led;
But when luck quickly leaves me in need,
Brilliant verses are drawn from my head.

'Chapter three of the tavern must treat,
That spot ever dearest and best;
Here I'll stay till the angels I meet
Come to sing the death-song for my rest.

'In the tavern I'm purposed to die,
With my lip to the sparkling wine;
So the angels despatch'd from on high
May pray for this toper divine.

'Oh, good wine is the lamp of the soul!
Leaps the heart steep'd in nectar on high!
In the tavern I love the full bowl,
But the bishops' thin liquor I fly.

* * * *

'Each man has his natural gift—
My good verses good wine must inspire;
All the casks for the best I must sift,
To find the right tap for my lyre.

* * * *

'To thee, sainted prelate, I fly,
Whose life is of strictness exact;
Let him to inculpate me try
Who is pure in each word and in each act.'

The pungent sting of this last stanza is evident.

In the clever little poem on the 'Raptor mei pilei' it is evident that Mapes, or some imitator of his, intends to satirize the indiscriminate and profuse use made by the clergy, even for the most frivolous secular purposes, of the awful weapon of excommunication:—

'Destruction seize the man who stole my hat!
His death be sudden, dread, and wonder'd at!
Eternal pains his wretched shade pursue,
No Lethe nor Elysium be his due!

'Let the vile thief in bitter tortures die,
Fever, the rot, and madness on him lie!
May the Lord blot him from His book of grace,
And Æacus in torments fix his place!

'Upon his life may condemnation be,
Ever with evil eye watch'd blightingly!
Alone, uncared for, may he pass his days,
And in hell's depths may furies him amaze!'

The ingenuity, wit, and point which characterised the repeated attacks upon the avarice and licentiousness of the clergy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may well serve to establish a much higher standard for the literary power of those

days than is usually adopted; but, perhaps even more than with the epigrammatic smartness, we are struck with the deep and intimate acquaintance with the classical authors which is displayed by these mediæval poets. Dependent as they were for their acquaintance with Horace, Virgil, Lucan, and Juvenal upon rare manuscripts, and having to contend against the ecclesiastical prejudice which looked upon all heathen writers as sons of perdition and to be rigidly avoided, they yet were familiar with the best Latin poets of old days, in a way which is not often found even now, when such acquirements are at so vast a premium. The following may serve to give some idea of how classical quotations are used in the very clever poem, 'Contra ambitiosos et avaros,' printed in Mr. Wright's collection:—

'From the prelate's fount the streams of evil flow,
Yet the wrath of justice falls on those below;
Thus the poet's adage truth again doth show,
"Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

'In what clime of earth, under what heavenly sign,
Dwells there one single prelate of life and heart benign,
Worthy the Lord he serves, worthy the Cross divine?
"Rara avis in terris, nigroque simillima cygno."

'As the Jew from swine's flesh starts with loathing back,
So, in these, of virtues e'en the sparks do lack;
Lust and sensual appetite lead them in their track—
"Credite me folium vobis recitare Sibyllæ."

'Would you scan more closely, and the reason try:
From dignity and freedom clerks are fallen utterly;
Rome hath fallen wholly, and truth cannot descry,
"Et si non cecidit, potuit cecidisse videri."

'Rome, with wealth distended, like a tumour grows,
The fell disease is hasten'd by all that to it flows;
'Tis the verse of Horace which everybody knows—
"Sincerum est nisi vas quodcunque infundis acescit."

'For a life licentious now each monk is known,
With nod and wink he shrinks not his guilty friends to own;
In the cloister destin'd for love and peace alone—
"Vivitur ex rapto, non hospes ab hospite tutus."'

The priest's concubine was the staple subject for sensation stories in the Middle Age, and the monks and friars delighted to magnify the torments that awaited the unfortunate clerk who indulged in forbidden matrimony. It is pleasant, therefore, to come across something of early date on the other side of the question, and to see how a poet of the thirteenth century could protest against the degrading asceticism which ventured to contradict the laws of nature. The poem 'De Concubinis Sacerdotum' in the Mapes Collection is a curious mixture of sound Scriptural view with a *badinage* which a little approaches the

profane. The following represents some of its more sedate stanzas:—

'What doest thou, O pontiff fell?
One lawful wife, thine edicts tell,
'Tis sin to keep; thus shamefully
Thou leadest to adultery.

'Well may the priest against thee plead;
Whom God hath join'd twere fault indeed
Apart to tear: women from man
Who severs, contradicts God's plan.

'Not Innocent, but Nocent, he
Who thus opposes Deity:
The Lord the sacred union made;
The Pope his curse upon it laid.

'Yet Zachary had wife and son,
Greater than whom I know not one;
By him our Saviour was baptized:
Such error then be stigmatized!

'Paul, to the higher heaven upraised,
With holy mysteries amazed,
When back he came, high truths to tell,
For each to marry, said, 'twere well.'

* * * *

The poems which follow on the same subject, called 'Consultatio Sacerdotum' and 'De Convocatione Sacerdotum,' are, like the 'Confessio Goliæ,' thorough Mapesian bits of satire, cutting all ways. Twenty priests are met together to bewail their hard lot in having to give up their concubines; and the ridiculous lamentations which they make over this interference with their domestic arrangements, while they serve indirectly to condemn the Pope, who, by forbidding lawful matrimony, showed that he expected a high degree of self-restraint from such poor creatures, also at the same time satirize most unmercifully the clergy, who are made to proclaim their own weakness and immorality. There is a reckless jocularity about these poems which shows itself inclined to spare nothing, sacred or profane; and the occasional allusions to Scripture, marked by anything but a devout spirit, make us rather doubtful as to the amount of any sort of faith possessed by the writers of them. The very genius of Rabelais presides at the composition, and shakes with suppressed laughter while the pungent touches are jauntily thrown off. But there are other of the Golias poems of quite a different stamp. These breathe the tone of that bitter disappointment and sorrowful but unavailing regret which must have weighed heavily upon the unfortunate cœnobite who had entered the monastery in the vain hope of finding the life of pure religion and the society of devout spirits to cheer and strengthen him. The mediæval monastery, instead of being the

home of religion, was too often the centre of low intrigues, and covetous schemes for the acquisition of other men's goods. The White monks, who made high professions of asceticism, soon became the wealthiest of the orders. Their much-prized privilege of being visited only by their own abbots shielded them from the prying eyes of strangers, and when the visiting abbot himself came, all that he inquired was as to their temporal state and worldly possessions. Their observation of their rule and their state of spiritual advancement did not occupy the visitor's attention. This is well put forth in a short poem in the Mapes Collection, which we shall endeavour to reproduce :—

'When father abbot goes to view
How his young daughter fareth,
As notice of his visit, he
A cartel huge prepareth.
This bids the brethren not to fail
To give his grace the meeting ;
At such a grange, they are inform'd,
They may expect his greeting.

'They meet his reverence, when he comes,
With bread and fish and wine ;
They lead him to the house prepar'd
With flowers and tapestry fine.
The table handsomely is decked,
He's dress'd and fairly seated ;
The day in jollity is spent,
At cost not small he's treated.

'Hence on due inquisition bent,
To th' abbey forth he rides ;
But visits first th' Infirmary,
Where license still abides.
'Tis there he takes his meals so rich,
'Tis there he dwells at ease ;
The monks' poor cells he does not view,
His taste they do not please.

'Next day the brethren meet and hear
The bill of visitation ;
Of temporals is all the quest,
To morals no relation.
If any, zealous for the rule,
A strict inquiry pray,
Unless he be a man of note
He makes but little way.

'Hence comes it that full many a crime
Long rusts, unown'd, conceal'd.
No zeal of prelate cares to cause
These mischiefs to be heal'd.
For three days' space proceeds the course
Of solemn visitation ;
The visitor is honoured well
With feasting and potation.

The hosts who pay him duty meet
Receive his benediction:
Of favours there's a bounteous crop,
Of praise a great ascription.

'At length is fashion'd the report,
Which tells that all is right;
But not one thing is specified,
Save what is small and light.
One point is certainly display'd—
The visitor's scant care;
Two heads of garlick is not worth
Whate'er is written there.

'Your pardon, brethren, if I speak
With words too fast and free,
And gibe more sharply than 'tis fit
At clerks of dignity.
Take to yourselves the corn, I beg,
And throw the chaff away;
And that I be from honours kept,
For me God's mercy pray.'

We have thus given sufficient specimens, though necessarily in the very inadequate form of translation, of those clever and spirited productions, the Golias poems. Commencing with the witty Archdeacon of Oxford, and continuing to be written in imitation of him by many hands through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, bearing one special and marked character, namely a bitter vein of satire against the clergy in all grades, from the Pope to the presbyter—they must have doubtless taken great hold of the more educated mind of England, and have shaken hither and thither the rotten edifice of mediæval ecclesiasticism. But one point remains to be touched upon with reference to these satirical poems. Most of those which we have quoted were written long after the appearance in England of the friars, which took place early in the thirteenth century. But we find, as has been remarked above, no satirical touches directed against the mendicant orders. The old-established orders, both secular and regular, are unmercifully scourged, but the proud brethren of S. Dominic, and the crafty followers of S. Francis, do not appear in those characters which were afterwards so firmly fastened upon them.

The reason may have been that these poems were chiefly produced at the Universities, where the friars were at first popular, and that the very object and intent of them was to disparage the old-established clergy by way of recommending the new orders. Without doubt the Golias poems had something to do with creating the popularity with which the mendicant orders were at first received, and which in the first fervour of their zeal they well deserved. But now for the Nemesis. Mediæval religious satire had been at first directed exclusively

against the established clergy, and had passed by the irregular and erratic brethren. In a short time, however, it is found fixing itself on these, almost to the exclusion of everything else. Satirical attacks upon the friars are so familiar to us all from the Piers Ploughman poems and the history of Wycliffe, that it is unnecessary to quote many specimens. Probably the most bitter and crushing exposure of the friars is that contained in the poem called 'Piers Ploughman's Crede,' which, as Mr. Wright shows ('Polit. Poems,' i. 304), is no doubt by the same author as the poem called 'The Complaint of the Ploughman,' which he has printed. In this composition the four orders are each specifically attacked for some peculiar vice; and it is observable that the attack comes, as in the 'Vision of Piers Ploughman,' and also in the poem to be presently mentioned, from the point of view of the working-man, the hard-handed tiller of the soil, whose grievance against these orders, supposed to be specially devoted to his service, seems to be the strongest of all. The 'Song against the Friars,' in Mr. Wright's first volume of 'Political Songs,' is an extremely sharp and amusing composition. The friars here are satirized unmercifully for their pedlery, and for making good merchandise with the good wives when the husband is away:—

'Thai dele with purses, pynnes, and knyves,
With gyrdles, gloves, for wenches and wyves,
Bot ever bacward the husband thryves
Ther thai are haunted tille.
For when the gode man is fro hame,
And the frere comes to our dame,
He spares nauther for synne ne sham,
That he ne dos his wille.
Zif thai no helpe of houswyves had,
When husbandes are not nine,
The freres welfare were ful bad,
For thai shuld brewe full thynne.'

This poem is, in fact, of the very spirit and sentiment of Chaucer's 'Pardoner's Tale.' Special mention is made here, as in most of the Friar poems, as to the way in which the regular clergy were ousted and overborne by the sturdy mendicants:—

'Bot now this londe so neghe soght is,
That unnethe may prestes seculers
Gete any service, for these frers;
That is a wondre thing.
This is a quaynt custome
Ordeyned ham among,
That frers shal annuel prestes bycome
And so gates selle ther song.'

In another poem on the Minorite friars, which follows in the same Collection, they are accused of making an absolute god of

S. Francis, of hanging up his picture for the people to worship in place of the crucifix. The author of the 'Complaint of the Ploughman,' having been careful to observe that he has dedicated another poem to the friars, expends his energies upon the clergy, whom he lashes unmercifully. In genuine Golias fashion he attacks all:—

'Popes, bishops, and cardinalls,
Chanons, parsons, and vicare,
In Godde's service I trowe been fals,
That sacraments sellen here,
And been as proud as Lucifere:
Eche man looke whether that I lie;
Whoso speketh ayenst her powere,
It shal be holden heresie.'

Polit. Songs, i. 329.

The introduction of the word 'heresy' shows that this poem comes from a Lollard source, but this was by no means the case with all the satirico-religious poems of this period, and cannot, we think, be fairly asserted even of the great poem of the 'Vision of Piers Ploughman.' The satirical attacks upon the clergy were due for the most part to the overwhelming sense of the worthlessness, carelessness, and avarice which preyed upon the mediæval Church, and which in fact are as strongly put forward in the records of councils, and by great prelates like Grosseteste, as in the sharpest of the Golias poems. We have only one more poem against the friars to notice, but this is so striking and peculiar a composition that it cannot be passed by in any sketch, however slight, of mediæval religious satire. We allude to the alliterative poem of 'Jack Upland,' with the reply of Friar Daw Topias, and 'Jack's Rejoinder,' printed now for the first time in Mr. Wright's second volume of 'Political Songs and Poems.' Among the many good services done by Mr. Wright to antiquarian lore, the publication of these poems is certainly not the least. Jack Upland is, as Mr. Wright observes, a name of exactly similar character to Piers Ploughman, and represents the discontent and bitterness of the working class against the friars, who pillaged and deceived them:—

'And for that freers challenge
To be the greatest clerks of the church,
And next following Christ in living;
Men shuld for charitie
Ask them some questions,
And pray them to ground their answere
In reason and holy writ.'

Then follow a number of questions specially based on the peculiarities of the rules of the friars, and their notorious ways

and practices, some of which questions were rather hard to answer:—

'Why make yee so costly houses
To dwell in, sith Christ did not so;
And dede men should have but graves,
As falleth it to dede men? . . .
* * * *
'Why make ye men beleeve
That he that is buried
In your habit
Shal never come to hel?
* * * *
'Why steal ye mens children
For to make hem of your sect,
Sith that theft is against God's hests,
And sith your sect is not perfect?'

It is a singular fact that this charge of kidnapping children is not denied in the reply of the Friar, and is established by the strongest evidence in the transactions of the House of Commons.

The reply of Friar Daw Topias to the searching questions of Jack Upland is a vigorous *tu quoque* upon the Lollards and Wycliffites. The charge of intriguing with women, so constantly made against the friars, is retorted here upon the Lollards; but to this Jack Upland replies, that if the Friar can prove this against any of his sect he will forfeit a hundred pounds. It is curious to find the Lollards described as a sort of anticipation of the Puritans:—

'Who tyteth bot ze
The anet and the mente,
Sterching your faces,
To be holden holi;
Blaunchid graves
Ful of dede bones,
Wanderynge weder-cokkes,
With every wynd waginge.'

Wycliffe is, of course, described as the angel from the bottomless pit, and 'Maximin and Maniché' never worked such mischief as he did. The charge of building fine houses, so contrary to the rules of the friars, is not denied by their advocate, but defended on the ground that man, being superior to the beasts, ought to have a better house than they, which seems but a lame defence. It is also quaint enough to find Friar Daw arguing gravely that 'preletis and persouns' may very properly pay taxes, but 'neither freres ne annuellers' (*i.e.* chauntry-priests, who were often either friars or canons). These very curious poems must be studied in detail by all who would fully enter into the mind of the Lollards and anti-Lollards; but we may observe that religious satire has here quite changed its tone from what it was two centuries before in the hands of Walter

Mapes and his imitators. There is no playfulness, no *badinage*, in the Wycliffite attacks on the friars, and their rejoinders. It was invective on both sides in sober earnest. Persecution had stepped in to embitter the dispute; and though the stake threatened those who would not cease railing at the clergy, yet the clergy were railed at more furiously than ever; and, what between open enemies and sarcastic friends, we are inclined to think the clerical order had but a sorry time of it in England at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It was now that a bishop stepped forward to exert his energies for abating this nuisance, and, not content with being abused, gravely remonstrated with people for abusing him. Upon this his brethren began to fall upon him for his apologies; and the upshot was that Bishop Pecock, the unfortunate prelate in question, became the most thoroughly well-abused man in England. The curious work in which he stands forth as a champion of his order against the evil-tongued Lollards and Golias men, is called 'The Repressor of overmuch Blaming of the Clergy.' The author had undertaken to advocate what would now be considered somewhat startling paradoxes, viz. that bishops were not necessarily bound to preach, nor even to be resident in their dioceses. Having set himself to defend these abuses, as well as a great number of others, Pecock was satisfied that no one henceforth could abuse the clergy, for that he had shown that they were thoroughly in the right. The result, however, was not what he expected. The clergy were abused more than ever, and Pecock himself most of all. Men's sentiments were not to be 'repressed' in this way. The unfortunate bishop who had undertaken to set all things right, drew upon himself a perfect storm of odium. He was railed at by the Lollards for defending gross abuses; he was railed at by the friars for having vilipended their preaching, and called them *pulpit-bawlers;* lastly, he was railed at by the bishops, and more than railed at—very nearly burnt—by them, for the horribly injudicious defence he had made for them, which, in fact, was the deepest condemnation of their misdeeds, and the most complete justification of the satirists.

The perusal of these quotations of mediæval poems, covering a period of more than three hundred years, may serve to dispel some illusions with regard to the great religious movement in the sixteenth century. This was due, not to any new light let in by Luther, but was the determined, and at last resistless, advance of opinions and feelings that had long been current in this country—viz. the hatred of ecclesiastical tyranny, corruption, and intolerable abuses, which had been all zealously and systematically upheld by the Court of Rome, but which had never been acquiesced in without vigorous and telling protests from some at least in our land.

ART. IV.—1. *Biskupa Sögur, gefnar út af hinu Iskuzka Bókmenta félagi.* Kaupmannahöfn, 1858—1862.

2. *Kristni Saga, nec non Thattr af Isleifi Biskupi.* Hafniæ, 1773.

3. *Hungurvaka Saga, ok Thattr af Thorvalldi Vidförla.* Hafniæ, 1778.

4. *Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiæ.* FINNI JOHANNÆI. Hafniæ, 1772—1778.

5. *Die Bekehrung des Norwegischen Stammes zum Christenthume.* KONRAD MAURER. München, 1855–56.

PROBABLY no nation is as rich as the Icelandic in records of the everyday acts of private and social life in times far removed from our own. Iceland having no political position and history, the chroniclers of the island occupied their pens in detailing all particulars that could be of any interest in the lives of their chiefs, bishops, and lawgivers; so that in their writings we have set before us a minute picture of the social life of the Norsemen from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries.

If the wars and political changes which wrecked and reconstructed Europe affected the remote frozen island hardly at all, there were yet quarrels and changes, small and insignificant enough when compared with those being carried out on an extensive scale elsewhere, but equally calculated to elicit manly virtues as high and pure as those which characterised the heroes of chivalry, and incidents as striking and poetical as any which European history has made famous. Adam of Bremen (A.D. 1067), in his Ecclesiastical History, speaks thus: 'Spending a 'holy life in great simplicity, since they seek for nothing beyond 'what nature yields, the Icelanders can cheerfully say with the 'Apostle, "having food and raiment, let us be therewith con-'tent." For they have their mountains for towns, and springs 'for their delight. Happy, I say, the race whose poverty no one 'envies, and happiest in this, that they have now all received 'Christianity. There are many remarkable points among their 'customs, especially charity, from which it comes that, with 'them, all things are common both to strangers as well as to 'natives. For a king they have a bishop, and to his nod all the 'people attend. Whatever he has laid down, whether from God

'or from Scripture, or from the customs of other nations, that 'they have for law.'

The Icelandic Literary Society has been rendering historians a good service in publishing the Lives of the Ancient Bishops from the MSS. which had long been lying neglected in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, and we can only regret that the Society has not added a Latin translation, so as to render them accessible to those who are not familiar with the old Norse tongue.

As affording us an insight into the ecclesiastical arrangements of the Church when establishing herself on fresh soil, and adapting herself to the peculiarities of an intelligent and vigorous people, they are of singular interest.

Iceland accepted Christianity as the established religion in the year 1000, at the National Council, or Althing. At that time there were many Christians in the island, and already buildings had been erected as oratories, but were not served by priests. There was also a large party of men disposed to favour the new religion, not from conviction of its truths, but swayed by political motive. The Icelanders were a merchant-people, and their paganism interfered prejudicially with their trading between Christian ports.

Three missions had been sent to Iceland, but none had succeeded in doing more than converting a few natives here and there; but when King Olaf Tryggvason sent an embassy to the island insisting on its becoming Christian if it wished to trade with Norway, and threatening death to those who ventured into his harbours unless they were baptized, the National Council felt that whatever might be the advantage in another world of accepting the religion of the Cross, the advantage in this world was too palpable to be rejected, and Christianity became established by law before there was a priest in the island.

The Church had now simply to occupy the field opened freely to her, and to which she was cordially invited. The manner in which the task was accomplished is curious.

The heathen commonwealth of Iceland had been patriarchal in government. In each fjord lived a great chief, with numerous retainers. Small farmers became clients of the chief of their district. If he refused to take up their quarrels they were at liberty to transfer their allegiance to some other chief; and where the land was rich, and there were many wealthy men, the rivalry between the chiefs was great, and entailed long-standing feuds. Each chief of a district was a *godi* or priest, and offered sacrifice in behalf of his clients. The number of these priests was limited, and if a chieftain lost his wealth and friends he often was relieved of his priesthood as well, by an aspiring neighbour.

The possession of a *godord*, or temple-right, was the highest honour a man could obtain next to being elected lawgiver for the whole island. The *godi* was not priest and chieftain merely, but he was magistrate for the district as well, and settled law-suits which were not of such importance as to be referred to the great council held once in the year at Thingvalla.

Directly that Christianity became the established religion, a spirit of rivalry sprang up among the chiefs, who vied with one another in building churches, each being eager by that means to secure for himself a pre-eminence in his fjord or valley, as being the one who possessed the church, and the one therefore who, under the new order of things, would occupy a position analogous to the *godi* of former times: to this was also added the hope that, by securing the burials of his clients in the churchyard of his own dedication, he would attach their relatives to him by a right which they would hardly venture to dispute. The Eyrbyggja Saga also tells us that an impression prevailed, that the man who built a church had as many places to dispose of in heaven as there were seats in the church he erected on earth.

The law did not enjoin the building of sacred edifices, but required that those who built them should maintain them in repair, and should provide for the necessities of public worship. Each church, inasmuch as it was built on land belonging to a chief, became the personal property of that chief, and those who attended it did so by his permission, and were thereby laid by him under an obligation.

The number of missionaries sent over from Norway being very few, there were but two ways open to the chiefs of supplying the altars they had set up with priests to officiate at them. One was by being ordained themselves; the other was by obtaining the ordination of one of their clients, or domestic servants. A priest had no fixed salary. All he had to live upon was what his lay master chose to allow him, or what he could get by fees. The patriarchal system of the old religion had accustomed the Icelanders to expect their chiefs to act as priests, and consequently we find many of these large farmers—for they were nothing more—ministering to their retainers, relatives, and clients in the churches they had themselves erected. On these men their priestly character necessarily sat light, and their lives were rather those of worldlings than of clerics. We read of an acolythe Kalfr, who was 'the largest farmer in the north land' (Sturlunga S. v. c. 27); of a priest Ingimund, who commanded a merchant-vessel trading in wine, corn, honey, and clothes (Sturlunga S. iii. c. 6); of several priests invested with the magistracy, and even with the office of supreme lawgiver.

The churches that had been built were invariably of wood. As late as the thirteenth century it was a matter of amazement that the cathedral of Holar did not fall when all the bells were rung; and then a stone church was the greatest rarity.

The old Church laws of Iceland mention cases where a chief had possession of a church, and provided for his educating a youth to be priest in it. 'It is permitted to the man to have a 'little priest trained for the church. He must make the agree-'ment with the youth himself when he is sixteen years old, but 'if he is younger, then the covenant must be made with his legal 'protector. And the agreement shall be held inviolate that they 'make with one another. No further engagement is made than 'that the man takes lawfully a priestling, and he is bound to 'support and educate him, and so to bring the youth up that it 'may not bring discredit on the lad or his relations; and he 'must treat him as his own child. But if the young man will 'not learn, and if he hates his books, then he is to be set to 'other work, and used hard, but not so that he may in any way 'be wounded or bruised. And if he wishes to return to his 'learning, then he is to be kept to it. And when he has been 'ordained, and is a priest, then the man who had him educated 'is bound to provide him with vestments and books for the 'mass. The priest is to serve the church for which he has 'been educated, and there every holyday he is to sing a mass 'and matins and vespers, unless reasonably hindered. The 'man who is churchwarden (*i.e.* the guardian and proprietor of 'the church) has the power, if he is dangerously ill, of making 'over his priest to his relations; and in that case, should the 'churchwarden recover, the priest is free. But when the priest 'dies and leaves property behind him, then the church and the 'churchwarden inherit three hundred ounces, and if he has 'more, the rest goes to the relatives of the deceased.'

This law is exceedingly curious. It shows us how completely the chaplain was the slave of the master, and how absolute was the ancient power of the churchwarden. These priests were necessarily under the entire control of their patron, and they were by him, as appears in the civic laws, regarded in precisely the same light as hired labourers. Thus the 'Sturlunga Saga' tells of a priest who was employed by his master in house-building; and in the numerous quarrels between the chiefs during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the clergy dealt blows in their patrons' behalf as stoutly as other domestic servants. So we hear of Priest Knutr always going armed; of Priest Hogni chopping a man down who would not lend him his boat; of another priest, Adalrikr, killing a farmer who had charged him with theft; and of a Priest John, who took part in

a fray and killed his master's adversary when asking to be allowed to confess.

The position of the bishop was hardly less beset with difficulties than that of the priest. The bishops were at first simply missionary bishops, 'ad hoc ipsum ordinati, ut gentibus prædi-'casent verbum Dei' (Theod. Monachus, c. 8), without fixed sees; so that we find the same man at one time in Denmark, at another in Norway, then in Iceland, and afterwards in Greenland.

The first resident bishop in Iceland was Isleif, son of Gizur the White. Later, the episcopal residence was fixed at Skalholt; and later still, a second bishopric was established at Holar. For the maintenance of the bishops the old temple-tax was awarded; this was a small rate which had been levied in heathen times on all landowners, for the support of the ancient religion and its rites, and it became now the revenue of the bishop. But the sum was too small for the purpose, and it was of necessity that the head of the Icelandic Church should be a man of large private means. Of Isleif we are told:—'He was pinched 'in his housekeeping, in such demand was his money; the in-'comings were small and the outgoings great, consequently his 'housekeeping was a matter of difficulty' (Hungurvaka, c. 2); and again:—'When he returned to his bishop's seat he was at 'Skalholt, but, because half his land was the personal property 'of Dalla his wife, it was difficult for him to manage; for at 'that time there was no tithe, but a rate was laid on all land' (Isleif's Thattr). When Gizur, the second bishop, fixed the episcopal residence at Skalholt, he endowed it with his own property, and the rights of his mother Dalla were again an impediment to his liberality, as they had been to his father and predecessor in the see.

'At first, during a portion of his episcopate, he could not occupy all the land at Skalholt, as Dalla, his mother, claimed half as her own during life; but when she was dead, and the bishop inherited the whole of the property, then he made it over to the church at Skalholt, and which he himself erected. This church was thirty ells long, and he dedicated it to the Apostle Peter; many other costly gifts did he give to this church, lands and moveable property, and made all over to it, on condition that it should be for ever the bishop's seat, as long as Iceland is inhabited and Christianity is maintained. Bishop Gizur gave the church at Skalholt the white vestment with purple, which since has been used as the best.'—*Hungurvaka*, c. 5.

The condition of the Church was greatly improved by the introduction of the tithe, which was imposed on all the land in 1097, during the reign of Gizur. The 'Hungurvaka' gives this account of it:—

'These men were coeval with Bishop Gizur, the priest Sæmund of Oddi, who was so able a man, and better educated than most, and Marcus Skeggjason, the lawgiver, who was the wisest man and greatest poet of his time. These men took counsel together, and brought other chiefs into conference with them, and decided to introduce a law that the people should value and tithe their property half-yearly, as is the custom in other Christian lands. They, by their recommendation and urgency, persuaded the people to submit to the tithe, and the money so obtained was thus portioned:—One share went to the bishop, one to the church fabrics, one to the maintenance of the clergy, and the fourth to the poor, and no such support to the wellbeing of the see was after obtained as this introduction of tithe, which was brought about through Bishop Gizur's care, and which was granted because he was so much beloved.'—*Hungurvaka*, c. 6.

In Iceland, as in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, the clergy were married. The first Bishop of Iceland, as we have seen, had a wife, and was succeeded on the throne by his son. It was not till the thirteenth century that episcopal celibacy became in vogue. Thus Archbishop Eskil, of Lund, who abdicated in 1178, left a family, and there is no reason to suppose them to have been illegitimate; the sainted Bishop Paul (d. 1210) and Bishop Magnus (d. 1236) had also wives. Moreover, the ecclesiastical laws of the Scandinavian countries provide for the priest's wife in various contingencies. They specify what she is to inherit after her husband's death, and what is private property lawful for her to take to herself, and what is ecclesiastical property which she must not meddle with. To give one instance. The Norse laws, Lands Lag Erfdatal, order: 'When there is a 'funeral wake, let the priest and his wife and one serving-man 'be invited; and at the banquet, he is to sit on the high seat, 'and his wife at his side.'

The churches were of wood, probably not unlike those at present used in the island; oblong buildings, with gables to the east and west, surmounted with weathercocks, and banked up on the sides with walls of turf six to eight feet thick, reaching to the eaves, and the roof turfed as well. Within, the chancel was separated from the nave by an elaborate deal screen gaily painted, such as exist in numerous churches in the island to this day, the ancient carving and colouring being faithfully reproduced as the old churches decay, and are replaced by new ones of the same perishable materials. The windows were covered with the amnions of sheep, which kept out the cold and admitted a sickly yellow light. The lamps were fed with seal oil, and the candles were of tallow. The furniture of the churches was of a varied character. King Harald Hardrada gave Thorir of Steig a cloak of dark purple lined with white skins, and this was turned into an altar-cloth. The following curious story is told in the 'Saga' of King Harald Gille:—

'King Harald was a very generous man. It is told that in his time Magnus Einarson came from Iceland to be consecrated a bishop, and the king received him well, and showed him much respect. When the bishop was ready to sail for Iceland again, and the ship was rigged out for sea, he went to the hall where the king was directing, saluted him politely and warmly, and the king received him joyfully. The queen was sitting by the king. Then said the king, "Are you ready, bishop, for your voyage?" He replied that he was.

'The king said, "You come to us just now at a bad time, for the tables are just removed, and there is nothing at hand suitable to present to you. What is there to give the bishop?"

'The treasurer replies, "Sire, as far as I know, all articles of any value are given away."

'The king: "Here is a drinking-goblet remaining: take this, bishop, it is not without value." The bishop expressed his thanks for the honour shown him.

'Then said the queen, "Farewell, bishop! and a happy voyage."

'The king said to her, "When did you ever hear a noble lady say so to a bishop without giving him something?"

'She replies, "Sire, what have I to give him?"

'The king: "Thou hast the cushion under thee."

'Thereupon this, which was covered with costly cloth, and was a valuable article, was given to the bishop. When the bishop was going away the king took the cushion from under himself and gave it him, saying, "They have long kept company." When the bishop arrived in Iceland to his bishop's see, it was talked over what should be done with the goblet that might be of service to the king; and when the bishop asked the opinion of other people, many thought it should be sold, and the value bestowed on the poor. Then said the bishop, "I will take another plan. I will have a chalice made of it for this church, and consecrate it, so that all the saints of whom there are relics in this church shall let the king have some good for his gift every time a mass is sung over it." This chalice has since belonged to the cathedral of Skalholt. And of the costly cloth with which the cushions given him by the king were covered were made the choristers' copes which are now in Skalholt.'—*Heinskringla Saga* xiii. c. 12.

Another singular story is connected with a stole. Björn, of Hiterârdale, a friend of King Olaf the Saint, was bathing one day with the king:—

'The king and his men went into a bath, and their clothes were on the edge, and a tent was pitched over the pool. It was the custom then for men to have ribbons wound round their legs from the shoe to the knee, and more especially people of rank. Now, both the king and Björn were thus gartered. Björn got first out of the water, and he went to his clothes, but stumbled on those of the king; and as he was not considering particularly what he was about, before the men were dressed he had laced his legs with the king's garters. This was noticed, and there was an outcry; but the king pacified them, and bade Björn keep the ribbons. Björn thenceforth wore them through his life, and he was buried in them. Some time after, when his bones were dug up and taken to another church, these ribbons were found undecayed about his legs, but everything else had rotted. And now they are used as mass stoles at Gard in Akranes.'—*Bjarna Saga*, p. 19.

Much exceedingly curious information touching the advance made by Christianity in Iceland, and the peculiar customs which prevailed, may be gleaned from the early Sagas, relating the lives of celebrated champions, such as Grettir, Gisli Sur's son, Björn Hildæla Kappi, or narrating the events which took place in certain valleys and fjords, as the Laxdæla, the Eyrbyggja, or Vapnfirdinga Sagas. But the most interesting records of the kind are those of the Lives of the Bishops; and when we consider the scanty information which has reached us of the acts of our own bishops and archbishops in the same ages—the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries—it is astonishing to find so much, and such minute particulars, recorded of the everyday lives of these remote prelates.

The principal documents which have come to us are the 'Kristni Saga,' the 'Hungurvaka,' and the memoirs of each bishop. The 'Kristni Saga' is a history of the introduction of Christianity into the island, and contains a record of the history of religion from 981 to 1118. In addition to this, we have the 'Life of Thorvald Vidförla,' who first introduced Christianity into the island. The 'Hungurvaka' is a relation of what took place in the Church of Iceland from 1056 to 1175. The 'Kristni Saga,' the 'Thattr of Thorvald,' the 'Hungurvaka,' and the 'Life of Bishop Paul,' have been published with a Latin translation. The rest are in Icelandic alone.

The first Bishop of Skalholt was Isleif, a man of comely appearance, upright in all his dealings, charitable, and peaceable. He was elected to his office by popular acclamation, and sent to Germany to be consecrated. He visited the Emperor Henry III. and presented him with a large white Polar bear from Greenland, which delighted the Emperor. He then visited Rome, with letters from the Emperor to Leo IX. He was consecrated on the feast of Pentecost, at the Pope's express desire, by Archbishop Adalbert, of Bremen, 1056, and returned the same year to Iceland, where he was well received. He had many difficulties to contend with during his pontificate, for he opposed the supreme magistrate of the island, who had married his former wife's daughter; and was troubled with stray bishops from England and Ireland, who interfered with his authority.

After a reign of twenty-four years he died, A.D. 1080, whilst celebrating the Sacred Mysteries at the Althing or General Parliament in the summer. During his episcopate there were six foreign bishops in the island: one was John, an Irishman, who was afterwards martyred by the Wends; another was an Englishman called Bjarnvard (Bernard), who consecrated some churches, bells, bridges, and springs, fords and rocks, and spent twenty years in the island.

Isleif's son, Gizur, succeeded him. He had been ordained priest some years before, and had married shortly after, and visited Rome in company with his wife. Gizur was consecrated by the Archbishop of Magdeburg in 1082. His wife, Steinunna, was a good manager, and kept house as discreetly as had Dalla, Gizur's mother, for Bishop Isleif.

In 1102 Gizur divided his enormous diocese. The north of Iceland, which is the most populous portion of the island, is cut off from the south by a vast belt of desert and ice mountains; and Nature herself pointed out the necessity of separate organization for both political and ecclesiastical government. A wealthy priest, of the grassy vale of Hjaltadal, gave his paternal estate at Holar to the Church, and Gizur seized the opportunity for founding a second bishopric. A suitable person to occupy the new and important position of first Bishop of the North had next to be discovered. By vote of the people, John Ogmund's son was elected. The Bishop of Skalholt gladly confirmed the nomination of the people. He and John had been educated together in his father's house, and John had been the bosom friend of his brother Teit.

The life of Bishop John of Holar must be given in detail. We have three Sagas narrating his acts, the Elder Saga of John Ogmundson, the Saga by Gunnlaug the Monk, and a third, more modern, and of little importance.

The Saga of Gunnlaug was written about the year 1203: it was originally written in Latin, but was translated shortly after into Icelandic, and the original has not survived. Arngrim the Abbot, in 1350, makes mention of this Saga in these words:—'This Gunnlaug composed in Latin the life of the blessed John, 'first Bishop of Holar; and he testifies, in the prologue of his 'work, that he undertook to do so at the prayer or command of 'Gudmund, Bishop of Holar.' In the Icelandic version, where the author speaks in the first person, the translator has added, 'says brother Gunnlaug,' or, 'so says Gunnlaug the Monk.' The passages where the author alludes to himself are important. In speaking of a school built by the bishop, he adds, 'as we have seen with our own eyes.' And when he mentions the pupils of John Ogmundson, he observes:—'All the most learned 'men in the northern district were brought up at Holum; and 'many of the wisest scholars died in our days; and that I may 'mention some of his best pupils whom I have myself seen——.' He names Klœng the Bishop, Abbot Hrein, and others.

The Elder Saga was written about 1200, and differs from the Saga of Gunnlaug in a few unimportant particulars. That they were written independently of each other is abundantly evident.

John was a son of Ogmund, a man of birth and property in the island. When a child, he accompanied his parents to Denmark, and became a guest of King Swain. One day his mother sat at dinner with the Queen. The child put forth its hands towards some delicacy on the table, and the mother rapped it over the knuckles, to teach it better manners. 'Do 'not act thus, dear Thorgerda,' said the Queen, 'for the hands 'you strike are those of a bishop.' Whether said in joke, or through prophetic instinct, the words were treasured by the mother, and remembered in after years when verified by the consecration of her son.

On the return of the family to Iceland, John was entrusted for education to the care of Bishop Isleif. It is pleasant to hear that he always bore a tender affection and reverence towards the Bishop of Skalholt. Many years after that Isleif had been laid in his grave, John said of him, 'My foster-father was of all men the most courteous, the most energetic, and the best.' And when some detractors affirmed: 'No one talks of Isleif now,' the Bishop of Holar said, 'That do I; for I will always praise him, whenever I hear holy men mentioned.'

When John was ordained deacon he went abroad, and reached Denmark on a Good Friday. He immediately went to the church where was King Swain, and entered as the priest read the gospel. But the priest had a bad voice, and his reading was so unedifying that the impetuous young deacon, unable to control his zeal, made his way to the altar, threw a stole over his shoulder, snatched the book from the minister, and declaimed the Gospel of the Passion with such power, and in such a musical tone, that the King and all present were enchanted, and after service was concluded Swain invited him to his court. One night, whilst John was with the King, he had a dream. 'I dreamt that I was in a great minster of wondrous 'magnificence, and that I entered the choir of the church, and 'where stood the Bishop's throne was seated our Lord Jesus 'Christ, and at his footstool sat King David, striking his 'harp and playing exquisite music: now, Sire, lend me an 'instrument, and let me try to play it as he played.'

Swain immediately provided him with a harp, and John recalled on it the music he had heard in his dream, and so beautiful were the melodies that the King and his company burst forth in praise to God.

From Denmark John went to Norway, where Magnus reigned at that time. He arrived at an unfavourable moment. A young Icelander, Gisli by name, had killed a herdsman of the King, who had murdered his father. Magnus, highly incensed, threw Gisli into prison and sentenced him to the gallows. Teit, son of

Bishop Isleif, was at Drontheim at the time, and he made ineffectual attempts to obtain the liberation of his countryman. Unable to bend the King's determination, he had recourse to violence, broke into the prison, struck off the prisoner's fetters, and released him. The King immediately ordered his body-guard to surround the Icelanders. Teit and his party drew their swords, and vowed they would defend Gisli to the last drop of their blood. Blows would have been struck had not Gisli, who was a lad of fifteen, started forward and surrendered himself, declaring that no one should die for him.

Gallows were erected in the plain where the Thing, or Council, was to be held, that all might see the execution. The Icelanders looked on, sullen, with clenched hands and contracted brows. John trembled with suppressed indignation. When the gibbet was up, and Gisli was being led beneath it, John cried to King Magnus, 'Sire! you gave me a cloak last winter; may I do with it what I choose?' The King looked angrily towards him, and told him to act as he thought proper Then John went to the young man, and fastened the cloak round his neck, and fixed the hood to his shoulders. So Gisli was hung in the King's mantle, and the disgrace of the death was by this proceeding, in the eyes of the Norsemen, changed into an honour. The rest of the day the King was in high ill-humour. The audacity of the Icelanders had thoroughly ruffled his temper.

John, however, had not done with Gisli. He went, when all was quiet, to the gallows, on the plea that he sought his cloak. At this point Gunnlaug introduces an incident which is not recorded in the Elder Saga, and he does it, he says, on the authority of certain wise men, but he candidly admits that the story does not find favour with every one, for, he says, many people assert that Gisli was not hung at all, but that John managed at the last moment to persuade the King to spare his life. The story, such as it is, is this: John went to the gallows, walked thrice round it, the way of the sun, genuflexed thrice, and down dropped the man. Gisli was not dead, but was unable to walk. This incident admits of an explanation without having recourse to miraculous interference. John had been allowed to arrange his cloak and hood round the neck of the lad before he was suspended, and he might well have so protected the throat that it was relieved from the full pressure of the cord. The Saga writer says that there are many different versions of this event. Some say that Gisli hung from Monday till Thursday, but, he adds, written accounts favour that which asserts that Gisli's life was spared by the intercession of John Ogmundson.

John was shortly after sent by Magnus on an embassy to Ireland, to the King of Connaught, whom the Saga calls

Myrkjartan, and Snorro Sturleson in the Heimskringla, Moriartak.[1] The object of this mission was the betrothal of Sigurd, the Norse king's son, aged nine, to Bjadminja, the daughter of the King of Connaught, aged five. A droll circumstance is related in connexion with this expedition. John, who knew nothing of Erse, was obliged to provide himself with an interpreter, and selected a man who made protestations of his familiarity with the Irish language, but who had, in fact, acquired little more than the Irish mode of making blunders.

The interpreter on approaching the King addressed him with the salutation 'Male diarik' (go ma olc duit a righ), which Gunnlaug tells us means, 'Bad luck to you, king!' And the King laughing, replied, 'Olgeira ragul' (olc re hoidhche, or dhul), or, 'It is ill travelling by night,' meaning that when a man is in ignorance he may easily make mistakes.[2]

John was with King Magnus when he visited Iona. The King was then harrying the coasts of Scotland, but he spared the holy island. 'It is told,' says the Heimskringla, 'that the 'King opened the door of the little Columb's Kirk there, but he 'did not go in, but instantly locked the door again, and said that 'no one should be so bold as to enter that church hereafter; 'which has been the case ever since.'

Nothing further of importance is recorded of John, till he returned to Iceland with Sæmund the Learned, the collector of the Elder Edda, whose friendship he had made abroad. Shortly after his return John married, being then in priest's orders; his wife died shortly after, and he then married again.

Iceland had hitherto been governed by one Bishop, but the necessity of there being a second prelate in the island had become so apparent, that Gizur, Bishop of Skalholt, urged on the island parliament the creation of a second see; and when this was agreed to by the popular voice, John Ogmundson was nominated to be the first Bishop of the North.

Gizur immediately sent John to Denmark to be consecrated by the Bishop of Lund. An amusing story is related of his arrival. It seems that the clergy and choristers of the cathedral of Lund were in the habit of turning their heads to look down the nave whenever the door opened and any one entered the church.

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[1] Undoubtedly Muircheartach, King of Munster. In 1096 Ruaidhri O'Conor was King of Connaught, and Muircheartach O'Brien, King of Munster, and also King of Erin. Moreover, the O'Conors did not affect the name of Muircheartach.

[2] The Icelandic writer spelt the Erse phonetically. His 'male,' is *m'olc*, a compact conversational form of *go ma olc*. In the King's reply the *hoidhche* may seem a crux; but as it is pronounced simply *hee*, the difficulty vanishes. The sentence would sound *olc re hee a ghul*, which is the Norseman's 'olgeira ragul.'

Bishop Ozzur disapproved of this exhibition of inattention and curiosity, and rebuked his choir for it, ordering them on no account in future to stare about them during the performance of Divine worship. John, the Bishop Elect of Holar, arrived late in the day at Lund, and he and his party went at once to the cathedral, where vespers were just ending. John had a beautiful tenor voice, and he sang with such exquisite sweetness that the Archbishop turned his head, and looked down the nave to see who was the performer. His clerks were down on him at once; 'How now, Sir Archbishop! you yourself are the first to break the rule you established.' 'You are right,' answered Ozzur; 'but there is this excuse to be made for me: I never be-'fore heard such a rich-toned voice, and I thought it was the 'voice of an angel, and not that of a man.'

The Archbishop invited John and his company to his house, and next morning John showed him the letters dimissory of Gizur, requesting the Archbishop to consecrate him. Ozzur summoned his clergy, and after consultation made answer: 'Dearest brother, it seems to me that you are the best fitted 'person to occupy the position, and bear the honours of the 'Episcopate, and I have no doubt that the see which will have 'you at its head will be blessed. However, I hesitate on one 'point. You have been twice married, and, under these cir-'cumstances, I dare not venture to consecrate you without 'orders from the Apostolic chair. Now, we advise you to go 'to Rome and see the Pope yourself, and we will write to him, 'and if, as we believe, he will grant a dispensation, then come 'back as fast as you can, and in God's name I will consecrate 'you Bishop.' John accordingly visited Paschal II., who raised no objection, and at once issued the necessary bull to Ozzur to consecrate. On the return of John to Denmark, he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Lund on a Sunday, two days before the feast of SS. Philip and James, 1106 (April 29th).

We are told that Ozzur gave John much good advice, which was affectionately and humbly received, and then the new Bishop sailed for Norway, where he purchased a ship's load of wood for church building, and then made for Iceland. He landed at Eyrar on the south coast, at the end of the summer, and his arrival caused general rejoicing. His friends and relatives in the south unloaded the ship, and flitted the timber as far as Vinverjadal, and the people of the north transported it thence to Holar.

A more imposing situation for a cathedral church than Holar can scarcely be found. The valley of Hjaltadal is perhaps the richest in the whole island. It is regarded as the garden of the north. The broad green meadows, out of which rises the

knoll on which stands Holar, are watered by a clear river, and by countless foaming streams that rise among the glacier ranges, locking the valley in on every side, except the north, where it declines to the blue expasne of the Skagajford, which opens into the Polar Sea.

In after-ages the church became very wealthy, and the Bishops of Holar possessed three hundred farms, pasturage for 15,000 cows, and the driftwood along a considerable line of coast; besides these, he owned the island of Drangey, and two *tolfæringir*, the largest-sized Icelandic vessels. The present church is modern, having been erected during the last century; within its porch lies the old bell of Holar minster, cracked; it is reported to have tolled of itself when John Arnason, the last bishop, was executed by orders of that monster of cruelty and impiety, Christian III., who stamped the church out in blood throughout his realm. But the ancient altar of stone belonging to the original minster remains, and on it is a venerable embroidered altar-cloth, whereon is figured John Ogmundson, vested in white alb with blue apparel, red and yellow striped dalmatic, blue stole with brown fringe, blue chasuble with red orphrey, and violet mitre, holding a pastoral staff in one hand and giving benediction with the other.

John spent the winter of 1106–7 at Holar, and next spring went south to the Althing, where he met Bishop Gizur. Their meeting was like that of two brothers. On his return from the council he began to repair, and to a great extent rebuild, the ruinous church which already existed at Holar. For his master workman he selected one Thorodd Gamlason. He also organized a school, and set over it a young man named Gisli Finnson, whom he had brought with him from Gothland, a person of great ability and learning, and of exceeding piety. A curious circumstance is mentioned in connexion with him:—'When 'Master Gisli spoke God's word to the people on holidays, 'then he did not preach without a book, nor rely on his own 'memory, but he sought out the writings of the Holy Fathers, 'and read from the book that lay on the lectern before him. 'This he did on account of his great humility, as he was a young 'man; but those who listened thought it more profitable to 'have instruction from holy and remarkable books, than from 'his own head and heart.' Yet he was perfectly able to speak extempore with fluency. 'His teaching was without vain-'glorious or pompous wording, and therefore God's power 'followed his speaking, and penetrated all hearts, and much 'amendment and great good results followed his exhortations. 'His instructions were delivered with great gentleness: though 'they were easy to be understood by all good men, yet to the

'learned they were full of instruction, and afforded pleasure; 'he could also reprove those who were bad, and cause them to 'fear. The consequence was, that on holidays, a crowd innume- 'rable attended church, inflamed with zeal, and hungering with 'all desire to be satisfied with the food of life, which is the Word 'of God, for they had now the opportunity of hearing either 'the beautiful teaching of the Bishop himself, or of the Goth, 'Gisli.'

During the summer Master Gisli taught the scholars in the open air, sitting, doubtless, under the south wall of the old church, where they were sheltered from the keen blasts which sweep from the ocean. A charming picture surely: before them the great amphitheatre of glaciers shining like burnished silver; at their feet the rich grass spangled with potentilla; and hard by, Thorodd, the builder, chipping the pine beams that are to serve as pillars in the new minster. This Thorodd is a shrewd man, and as he chips and chops day by day in the bright sun, with the scholars repeating their lessons hard by, he learns along with them, and by the time that Holar cathedral is built Thorodd knows Latin grammar as well as any of them.

John laboured to edify his flock as well as to build up his cathedral. He kept ever before him as his favourite maxim, 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.' He was cheerful towards all, but did not shrink from boldly rebuking vice. He urged his people to attend Divine worship on all holy days, and he bade the priests teach the congregation their portions of the service, that they might respond with intelligence. He exhorted all to visit a church or a cross daily, and there to offer up their private prayers and desires. He taught them to use the sign of the cross before commencing any undertaking, and in any temptation. He bade them, on first waking, after having signed themselves, repeat the Creed, and so confess their faith in Almighty God. Before eating and drinking they were likewise, by using this sign, to offer to God a recognition that it was from His hand that all good gifts came. He advised every one to acquire by heart the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and to repeat them seven times a day, singing them at least before going to rest. Gunnlaug adds to the Creed and Lord's Prayer the Ave Maria, but of this the Elder Saga makes no mention.

He opposed vehemently all sacrifices to Thorr and Odin, and all witchcraft, all incantations and charms, all taking of omens from the moon or from animals. He found it necessary to alter the names of the days; and for Odin's-day, Thor's-day, Freya's-day, and Surturs'-day, to substitute the names Fourth-

day, Mid-week, Fasting-day, and Washing-day. He was strongly opposed to all licentious songs, and once, coming upon a young priest who was reading 'Ovid's Epistles, and Art of Love,' he forbade him to read them, as it was his duty to keep a check on his passions, and not to excite them by lascivious poetry. The historian says, 'He loved all his people as brothers and 'children; he entered into all their joys, and sympathised with 'their sorrows. He was a father to the poor, and took care of 'the widow and the orphan.'

His next care was the formation of a cathedral chapter. He collected about him men of pious and zealous dispositions, and settled them in his house, or in houses adjoining the new cathedral. The names of some of these are given: Rikinn was his chaplain; Gisli, master of the school; Hamund, Hjalti, a kinsman, and Orn Thorkelson were his canons. Some of these were employed in diocesan supervision, as archdeacons; some went about preaching and instructing the people; some attended to the wants of the poor; others again were attached to the cathedral and taught singing, and others attended on guests. The chronicler gives an interesting sketch of the life of this little cathedral chapter. He says: 'There was not a house in the great byre in 'which they were not engaged in some useful work. The old 'men instructed the younger, and the younger, who were being 'educated, wrote. All seemed to think alike, and there was no 'bickering, and none envied the other. And when the bells 'struck up, all fell at once into their places, and went to church, 'and there was nought to be heard in choir but fair songs and 'hallowed prayers. The elders behaved with great decorum, 'and the little boys followed the example of their masters, and 'showed no inattention. These men were brought up under the 'hand of Bishop John, Klœngr, afterwards Bishop of Skalholt, 'a place he adorned with his learning, a man beloved of good 'people,—Vilmund, the first abbot of Thingeyri, Hreinn, the 'abbot, and Björn, who was third bishop of Holar, and many 'other good and learned men.'

Thus passed fifteen years, during which the Bishop ruled the Church in the north of Iceland with gentleness and discretion. Towards the spring of 1121 he fell ill, of what complaint we are not told; but it is said that he enjoyed his faculties to the last.

During his sickness one of his old pupils, then a priest in Knappadal, visited him. He had with him a book which he had written for another priest, and there was some doubt as to what was its market value, so that it had been decided by the two priests that the Bishop should name the price which was to be paid for it. When the Knappadal priest entered the room

where the dying prelate lay, John said, 'Come to me, my son, and kiss your father with the kiss of peace, as your brethren have done:' so the priest went up to him and kissed him, and then asked him to value the manuscript. John took the book and turned over the leaves with his fingers, and said, 'It is well written, but he who was to have purchased it will not have it.' 'Why so, my father? He offered to buy it at the price you fixed.' But the Bishop answered, 'He for whom you wrote the book is dead.' And this was so.

The Bishop's appetite failed, and he became very weak; but he never failed to recite his office, night and day. And when he was anointed, all his clerks stood round him, and all his scholars were gathered at the foot of his bed. Then, when he had received Extreme Unction, the Holy Eucharist was given to him, and he lifted up his voice and chanted the Communion hymn, 'Refecti, Domine, pane cœlesti, ad vitam quæsumus nutriamus æternam;' and then he began to sing the psalm, 'I will always give thanks unto the Lord: His praise shall ever 'be in my mouth. My soul shall make her boast in the Lord; 'the humble shall hear thereof, and be glad.' 'And,' says the Saga writer, 'as he had that psalm in his mouth, and was 'uttering these blessed words, his saintly spirit left his body, 'and was borne by angels to that joy which is prepared by 'Almighty God, where he may always give thanks unto Him, 'with other saints, and where, as he spake in the psalm, His 'praise shall ever be in his mouth.' He fell asleep on April 23, 1121, aged sixty-nine. He was laid, in his pontifical vestments, with staff in hand and mitre on his head in a tomb to the south of the choir school he had built.

We will take one more specimen of the Icelandic Bishops of an early age, Paul of Skalholt, who died in 1211. He was great-grandson of the illustrious Sæmund the Learned, and his grandmother was Thora, daughter of King Magnus Barefoot. When young he married Herdisa, a very beautiful and good woman, and with her went to England, where he attended a school and acquired much knowledge. He was only in deacon's orders when, in 1194, he was elected by the people Bishop of Skalholt, the see having been vacated by Thorlac the Saint, who had died. He was consecrated by Archbishop Absalom at Drontheim in the following year, having been ordained priest a few months previously. Immediately on his consecration he returned to Iceland, where he held a great feast, to which he invited all his friends and the Bishop of Holar. It is specially noted that he treated all his guests to wine, a hitherto unheard-of luxury. But, besides his wine, Paul had brought with him two glass windows for the cathedral, to replace the

sheep's amnion which had hitherto been stretched across the openings. Having otherwise adorned his church, Bishop Paul sang in it the first mass he ever celebrated. 'In all lands,' says the Saga, 'it is reckoned that it is not of less importance 'to hear the first mass of a newly-consecrated priest than that 'of a bishop; but in this case, the first mass of a priest and the 'first mass of a bishop were united in one. Consequently 'a great crowd hastened to Skalholt to have the advantage 'of assisting at his first mass; and among them were John 'Loptson his father, Sæmund and Orm his brothers, and 'others.'

The following passage is curious:—

'Paul the Bishop had been a winter at Skalholt before his wife Herdisa came there to him to look after the housekeeping. And she was such a stay and support to him individually, and to the diocese as well, that none could surpass him among those who occupied the see before him. She was such a manager, that she had not been in the place many years before such abundance of necessaries was provided that there was no need to ask contributions of others, although, sometimes, as many as a hundred guests were in the house, besides seventy or eighty house-churls.'

The historian thus describes his additions to the cathedral:—

'Paul the Bishop soon saw, after his enthronization at Skalholt, that it was necessary for him to strengthen and improve, and finish the work which the holy Thorlac the Bishop had planned, so he purchased what was requisite. Now he had to set up the bells which he had bought for the cathedral of Skalholt, and they were the best in all Iceland. He had brought with him also four pine-timbers, twenty ells long. Paul the Bishop sent for the most skilful artisan in wood in Iceland, and he was Amund Arnason. He made him erect a steeple so cunningly that it surpassed all the wood-work in Iceland, and also the church itself. In the steeple he built a chapel, with a stair leading to it. He consecrated this chapel to St. Thorlac the Bishop, the tenth day after Yule, and he adorned the chapel in the fittest manner, providing it with all that was requisite. He made Atli, the priest, paint all the roofing within the steeple and also the pediment of the gable; and he hung all the lower part with three sets of drapery, very beautiful; so, also, he had inscriptions set up over the tombs of those who slept in the steeple. He laid out as much money on the steeple as though it were for himself, spending four thousand ounces of silver at the least. He bought three bells for the steeple—a treasure of bells they are!—from a Norwegian, named Kolr. There were also several other bells which he bought, also two, pitched on the same note, for the church. He decorated both the church and the belfry with all that could be fancied, with ornaments requisite for a church—crosses, scrolls, images, lamps, and glass windows, as also with episcopal vestments. He had also a stone coffin made very skilfully, in which he might be laid after death: and he buried in the steeple, in the best style, all such men as he thought most deserving.'—*Pals Saga*, c. vi.

In 1199 took place the canonization of his predecessor, Thorlac, by vote of the National Assembly, which decreed that he should be regarded as a Saint, and that a day should be set

apart in his honour, and kept as a festival, during which all unnecessary work was to be suspended.

In 1203 John, a Greenland Bishop, visited Paul, and they together consecrated oil of chrism; and the Greenlander taught his brother how to make wine out of the berries of the *Empetrum nigrum*, according to a receipt given him by King Sverrer.

By Bishop Paul's advice a standard measure of a yard was made, and ordered to consist of two ells. He also gathered statistics with reference to his diocese. He found in it two hundred and twenty churches, and two hundred and ninety priests; but as the priests were in the habit of making excursions abroad and neglecting their duty, he for the future restrained them, unless every cure was provided for during their absence. Of the well-ordering of his own household the historian thus speaks:—

'His wife, Herdisa, managed all things with the utmost judgment, and was the most active of all. . . . Their children, from the earliest age, were brought up to habits of diligence. Their son Lopt became a skilful artisan, and was shrewd and learned. Ketill became an excellent scribe and scholar. Their daughter Halla was energetic in domestic work, and well skilled in literature, and her sister Thora was eminent for her docility and affectionate disposition.'

It must have been a severe blow to the Bishop when his wife and eldest daughter were lost in crossing the river Thiorsa. The rest of his life was spent in endeavours to arbitrate between the Bishop of Holar and a certain Kolbein, who were engaged in litigation, and in continuing the adornment of his church. He died in 1211.

From the two specimens given, it may be seen how many curious and interesting particulars may be gathered from these ancient memoirs of the Icelandic Bishops. The whole series has not as yet been published, but there have already been given to the public the lives of Thorvald, the first Missionary (A D. 986), of Bishop Isleif (1006–80), of S. Thorlac (1133–93), of Paul (1171–1211), of S. John of Holar (1052–1121), of S. Gudmund (cons. 1203, d. 1237), of Aron Hjorleifson (contemporary of S. Gudmund), of Rafn, a friend of S. Gudmund, of Arni of Skalholt (cons. 1277, d. 1298), of Laurence of Holar (cons. 1322, d. 1330), and of John Halldorson (cons. 1325). Few of these are deficient in interest, and most of them would repay translation.

ART. V.—*Clarissa.* A Novel, by SAMUEL RICHARDSON. Edited by E. S. DALLAS. London: Tinsley Brothers.

As a reader in old days of Richardson, and one who had once on a time lived under his spell, it occurred to us, upon seeing advertised a reprint of 'Clarissa,' to revive old impressions. We therefore inquired for it at a circulating library, and were answered by the master of the shop, with an air of some rigidity, that they had not and never should have it; evidently regarding his shelves as too select for such company. And yet some of the good man's novels would have made Richardson protest in the cause of virtue, while nothing would have surprised him more than that exception should be taken to a tale which he composed for the guidance of the young and innocent, as an express warning against the dangers that lay in their path in a corrupt age: designed, in short, for such an exposure of the wiles of vice as should unveil the machinations of all gay Lotharios to the end of time. No plausible villain should succeed again if he could help it. Still we took the tacit rebuke in good part, and in fact regard a popular reprint of the fine old novel without favour and a thing to be regretted. In the first place, it cannot be done in fairness to its author. No publisher would undertake a *bonâ fide* reprint. The heavy weight of moralizing must be made short work of, under the apology that nobody would read it if it were there, but really because it would double the expense, and diminish the book's chance of success at the same time. A vast amount of detail lies under the same ban, and meets the same fate, as retarding the progress of the story, and intolerable to our impatient generation. But 'Clarissa' *not* thus weighted is no 'Clarissa' of Richardson's. We must bring to the task of reading it a patience in conformity with the patience towards prosiness which characterised that day: we must allow the author his own leisurely way and time in admitting his reader into the scene and atmosphere of his tale: we must know the people who drove the heroine into her fatal dilemma: we must realize family life and parental authority in the society it portrays, and the claims and immunities of birth and position in those days: we must enter into the family conclave—a tribunal which does not exist now,—see the domineering father's protracted obstinacy; the cold, ambitious, selfish brother in all his inflexibility; the envious sister, unmoved by appeal after appeal; the poor, weak mother: we must linger in the porch of the story, and work ourselves into its surroundings, and know

all the people by a gradual acquaintance, and learn to esteem the author, not only for his careful, patient elaboration of a tragic situation, but for his sense of duty to the moral responsibilities of the task he undertook, before we are in a fit temper; that is, such a temper as his virtuous admirers of one hundred and twenty years ago brought to bear on the perusal of this his masterpiece.

Mr. Dallas takes his motto from Sir Walter Scott, who says, 'The prolixity of Richardson, which, to our giddy-paced time, 'is the greatest fault of his writing, was no such fault to his 'contemporaries. But a modern reader may wish that "Clarissa" 'had been a good deal abridged at the beginning.' This cannot be denied, yet there is danger by omitting the preaching, and turning the eight volumes into a modern three-volume novel, doing what can be done towards turning 'Clarissa' into a sensational novel with the conventional scruples and decorums left out; though nothing can bring it into any real affinity. Even if readers do not read every word, it is only justice to the author that they should own themselves skipping: they have a correcter idea of him and his design as they turn the leaves, not without a passing insight into their contents. Readers ought to come to 'Clarissa' in an historical spirit; and the young ought not to read it at all, because they know nothing of the state of society in which Richardson lived and wrote, and, if carefully trained, are happy in an ignorance of evil impossible a hundred years ago. His Lovelace, when thus vigorously depicted, though now an unfamiliar monster, had in his leading characteristics been, for more than one generation, the favourite hero of the stage. Every one who went to the play—and few had scruples on this point—was familiar with his avowed principles in all their grossness. Things were spoken of which are unmentionable now. Richardson outraged no proprieties, shocked no sensibilities. The most distinguished and excellent of his female readers could vouch for the truth of his tacit charges against society. A forced marriage, for example,—a family compact where the wishes of the unhappy bride were not for a moment considered,—would be felt more than a possibility by Mrs. Delany, a friend of Richardson's, herself a similar victim, who in some other respects might stand for the original of Clarissa. Her early correspondence is a voucher for his truth on many a point which outrages modern ideas of likelihood; it tells of abductions and hints at atrocities which the law then was not strong enough to punish, and which society pardoned. Even the necessity the epistolary plan of his works put him in, of making his villain detail all his villanies to a friend, could not then produce quite the same anomalous effect on the reader it

must do now. The theatre furnished examples in plenty of the same manner of intercourse, and matter for easy boasting confession. What was new was the design, the honest design, we fully believe, to show up the fascinating rake who had taken possession of so many foolish female fancies, in all the cold, remorseless cruelty of his nature—to show the devil's work in a bad heart.

Richardson hated his hero, and intends that his readers should hate him. There is no sneaking kindness; we detect no lurking excuses, no inevitable slips and sins, no dilemmas and temptations, from which we know not how to deliver him. He decks him with no insidious generosity, to take our fancy in spite of us. The rake had been too long an avowed popular character: Richardson set himself to expose him and show what he was made of. A keen, silent observation of the ways of the world, carried on for sixty years, for it was at this mature age that 'Clarissa' saw the light, qualified him for a dispassionate performance of such a task. There might be solecisms in the manners he portrayed, for his insight was not derived from intercourse, but the fine gentlemen of those days allowed their principles to transpire to the outer world with a grossness not permissible now, and his imagination supplied him with the rest, enough for practical purposes. All this excuses much in his day which it would not in ours; but no testimonials in favour of virtue, no twinges of conscience or remorse, no revelation of a wicked heart in all its vileness of deceit and treachery, can make a scoundrel's familiar letters fit reading for the family circle. The critics, one and all, declare themselves the better for reading 'Clarissa;' they find it a moral tonic; and, familiar as they are with the modern sympathetic tone towards sin, we quite believe it. But they are not in the position to judge of what is good for the simple unsophisticated reader. 'Clarissa' now is a study: it must not take its place among light literature, to be read in the careless spirit in which the ordinary novel is taken up.

What, perhaps, strikes the reader most in Richardson's delineation of Lovelace, is that he makes him witty without betraying the least relish for the wit himself. He stands aloof, and merely records. This may be called *art;* but we see more than this. We feel sure that his own conversation was without a tincture of Lovelace's wit or humour. It is all under protest: he does not like the sort of thing; would have us feel that he sees the emptiness, shortsightedness, selfishness, frivolity of it. His taste lies in another sort of style altogether; he prefers to record sententiousness,—fine observations, as he calls them, on the passage of time and the dangers of procrastination. Love-

lace is proud of the ebullitions of his 'whimsical spirits;' but the author is not. He takes in hand an avowed popular character. He reproaches women, strict in their own manners and censorious towards their own sex, for their toleration of vice in men; and, through his portrait of a rake, would make them ashamed of themselves. These are the trivialities he tells them to beguile silly girls and to please boon companions, but the reader is never allowed to rest satisfied with such frothy, unsubstantial aliment. His standard of excellence in conversation involves a great deal of solid reflection; he expects his readers to have the same; and, in fact, it was the standard of the grave and thoughtful of his contemporaries. Richardson's fictions match with the divinity and with the published correspondence of his time; he belonged essentially to his own day: and Clarissa's piety, her faith, her sense of duty, her forms of expression, all illustrate the religion, too much decried and disparaged, of the devouter spirits of the eighteenth century, with whom gravity was a test of sincerity and earnestness in a degree we have slipped away from.

Mr. Dallas, in the preface which he has attached to the abridged 'Clarissa,' strikes us as far too *modern* to understand, and, therefore, to do justice to, his author, whose work he commends with much high-flown panegyric, while he strangely contemns both the conscience and the powers of the workman. We are not denying that Richardson's moralizing is often tedious, and that it savours of commonplace; what we think it only fair and just to him to believe is, that he thought it valuable and valued himself upon it; and, in fact, good advice went *down*, if we may use the familiar phrase, then better than it does now. Mr. Dallas, however, actually calls these careful antidotes to Lovelace's vile principles all a *trick*, and thus expresses himself upon it:—

'His moralizing would be intrusive even if inspired by veritable history; it becomes intolerably tedious and solemn joke when it starts from fiction. It was regarded as a mistake in days when there were scarcely any good novels but his own in existence; in our days, when our literature teams with good novels, which avoid homily, the preaching of the author, far from tending to illusion, is at once detected as a trick. We resent the artifice of bringing God and His commandments into a story that we may give it a *credo*. In epic poetry we have, it is true, the so-called machinery of deities, one great purpose of which is precisely that of Richardson—to give the sanction of religion to the tale; and modern poets who attempt the epic make a grand mistake when they introduce machinery which no one believes in, and which, therefore, is powerless to invest the fictions they encumber with the faith of the soul. But the use of machinery—the use, that is, of religion in art as an instrument of sensation and as a means of pumping up faith in the story, is now obsolete, and the mild form of machinery employed by Richardson, where conscience with its monitions, or a preacher with his texts, takes the place of Jove and his decrees, defeats his end. We are not edified, we are not convinced, we are

not awe-struck. Weary as we should be of advice, even if its sole object were the good of our souls, we laugh it to scorn when we find that it has the farther object of tricking the imagination. In this view I have felt myself free to apply the knife to a good deal of Richardson's preaching.'—*Preface*, p. xxi.

After going on to assert that Hogarth's pictures told a moral, in order to establish the painter in the hearts of the English nation, so he continues, 'Richardson felt naturally that if he were 'to establish himself in the hearts of his people, and especially 'those of earnest mind, which it should be the artist's highest 'ambition to effect, he must, like Hogarth, exhibit very pointedly 'an ethical drift.' Now, whether or not—as another modern critic further asserts—Richardson preached because he was a successful tradesman of sixty years old, and such men always do preach even in our own time, it may at least be granted that where moralizing is in favour, as Mr. Dallas supposes it to have been in the last century, it was likely to be a practice at least as agreeable and natural to the preacher as to the hearers, and need not be accounted for by a charge of disingenuousness and sham. But not less does Mr. Dallas disparage the intellect of his author, in much the same vein and for the same reason—that he does not tally with the modern standard. If Richardson's morality is a trick, his power of composing a story is a knack. He hopes to enhance the merit of the tale which he supposes himself to have dug out of absolute oblivion, by showing a ludicrous incongruity between cause and effect. After quoting Richardson's modest enough portrait of himself at the age of sixty-five, by which an unknown admirer was to recognise him: 'smoothish 'faced and ruddy cheeked; a grey eye, too often overclouded by 'mistiness of the head,' he thinks fit to render this image in his own graceful language, and gaily asks his readers, 'Not a com-'manding figure is he, this squat citizen with little pig's eyes 'dotted in his fat bulbous face?' And because Richardson owns to taciturnity, adds, 'And to talk to him, slow of speech as he is, 'we are as little impressed by the strength of his mind as by the 'dignity of his presence. Call this man great! I venture to do 'so, and even to claim for him the veneration of his countrymen. 'But in doing so, I am bound to say frankly, that I lay no stress 'on his intellectual eminence.' 'Nay, for that matter,' continues our sprightly modern, 'I may at once make a clean breast of it, 'and say, that having read a good many novels in my time, I am 'not at all struck with their intellectual grasp, nor feel that great 'force of thought is needed in them for the attainment of extra-'ordinary success.' Some novelists he does find are intellectual—Fielding, Scott, and Thackeray. 'But,' he asks, 'does their 'breadth of thought, intellectual momentum, and fulness of

'culture, constitute their success. Not so; it is a knack of story-'telling' (probably what other people call genius or imagination!) 'which they share in common with men and women, whose minds 'our Yankee friends would call one-horse minds.' In driving a novel, he assures us, six horses are not much better than one; not, we allow, if one horse is of kin to Pegasus, and the six horses represent so many branches of mental cultivation. 'But,' he pursues his argument, 'a singer may delight us by the melody 'of his voice, and yet he passes for a fool, and has not brains 'enough to read the music he sings. And so in story-telling, 'there is a knack of weaving events which many an old crone 'possesses, which is denied to the lord of intellect. Therefore it 'need not disturb us to say of Richardson that intellectually he 'was a man of limited means.' Now, for Richardson to be at all like the singer who passes for a fool, and cannot read the music he sings, he ought to have no knowledge of the nature of which he treats, and contrive to move us while still ignorant of the human heart; which is *his* book, his score. But then, what are we, or Mr. Dallas, or his readers, past and to come, if we can be enchained by a novelist who, we grant, has ordinarily no style (queerly enough Mr. Dallas classifies him with Bunyan and Defoe, as being equally with them deficient on this point) and no knowledge of the human heart! In fact, it seems to us that nothing with Mr. Dallas is intellect but conscious intellect, which can give chapter and verse for all its conclusions. What was at once Richardson's misfortune and his glory, was his want of education, of intellectual cultivation, in any extended sense. The circumstances of his training remove him from all fair comparison with the novelists with whom he is here contrasted.

Mr. Dallas assumes Richardson to be so little known to English readers that he appends a slight biography. And here again he apologizes:—

> 'There is not much to be told, and that little is not of a nature to fill us with awe. Like the great Apostle, he was weak in presence, and whatever he might be to foreigners, he was in his own country neither a prophet nor a hero.'

It is a pity that Mr. Dallas has not learnt this much from his author, not to quote Scripture in order to impart an air of sharpness to a trivial sentence. As a fact, Richardson was *both* a hero and a prophet to his countrymen. Johnson signalizes him as an author who has enlarged the knowledge of human nature, and taught the passions to move at the command of virtue; he was courted by persons of rank and distinction; his novels excited a profound and indeed unparalleled sensation. But he does not fill us with awe, we suppose, because he was the son of

a Derbyshire carpenter, or, as others say, farmer. He was born in 1689, and his own account of himself is:—

'I recollect that I was early noted for having invention. I was not fond of play as other boys: my schoolfellows used to call me *Serious* and *Gravity*, and five of them particularly delighted to single me out either for a walk or at their fathers' houses, or at mine, to tell them stories, as they phrased it. Some I told them from my reading as true: others from my head as mere invention, of which they would be most fond, and often affected by them. One of them particularly, I remember, was for putting me to write a history, as he called it, on the model of Tommy Potts: I now forget what it was, only that it was of a servant-man preferred by a fine young lady (for his goodness) to a lord who was a libertine. All my stories carried with them, I am bold to say, a useful moral.'

And then he goes on to describe how his faculty for letter-writing, which formed the basis of his style, came to be formed; and how he obtained his first insight into the intricacies of the feminine character:—

'As a bashful and not forward boy,' he says, 'I was an early favourite with all the young women of taste and reading in the neighbourhood. Half a dozen of them, when met to work with their needles, used, when they got a book they liked and thought I should, to borrow me to read to them, their mothers sometimes with them; and both mothers and daughters used to be pleased with the observations they put me upon making. I was not more than thirteen, when three of these young women, unknown to each other, having a high opinion of my taciturnity, revealed to me their love secrets, in order to induce me to give them copies to write after, or correct, for answers to their lovers' letters; nor did any one of them ever know that I was secretary to the others. I have been directed to chide, and even repulse, when an offence was either taken or given, at the very time that the heart of the chider or repulser was open before me, overflowing with esteem and affection, and the fair repulser, dreading to be taken at her word, directing this word or that expression to be softened or changed. One, highly gratified with her lover's fervour and vows of everlasting love, has said, when I have asked her direction, I cannot tell you what to write, but (her heart on her lips) you cannot write too kindly. All her fear was only that she should incur slight for her kindness.'—*Preface*, p. xii.

We do not know that a poet could have devised a more appropriate training for the author of 'Sir Charles Grandison' and 'Clarissa,' though it left unlearnt all that is included in our ideas of education and cultivation. We see, too, where he acquired his habit of moral reflection, 'those observations which both mothers and daughters put him upon making,' and which gave them such satisfaction. There, too, would the natural tendency to prolixity be fostered, of which a feminine audience engaged with the needle is so tolerant. At seventeen he came to London, and bound himself to a printer. Always industrious and prudent, he lived in an age when such qualities more certainly secured an even brilliant reward than they do in an overcrowded society. He set up on his own account, and married his master's daughter.

He early showed some literary power; and, we are told, furnished the booksellers with prefaces and dedications. His business increased; he was appointed King's printer and printer to the House of Commons, and enjoyed the luxury of a country-house in addition to his establishment in Salisbury Court.

'He took to novel writing apparently by chance; two of the booksellers, his friends, had long urged him to prepare for them a complete letter-writer, suitable for the class of persons likely to need such a work. He undertook the task, and imagining a servant-maid in the position of Pamela, he wrote letters of good advice to her till they grew into a story.

'The story is not a pleasant one to read, and it is made so nauseous by the prosy advice which it contains, that the public went not a little with Fielding when he turned it into ridicule by his parody of "Joseph Andrews."'—*Preface*, p. xlv.

We cannot speak of 'Pamela,' as it has never fallen in our way, but doubtless the verdict was correct which pronounced it equal neither in literary merit nor in moral tone to the two stories by which he is known to the world. The age was lenient to reformed rakes—indeed, whether they were reformed or not—and he had not yet risen above the received tone, or felt his way. But, however nauseous the good advice to modern critics, the book took at once. It is favourably criticised in certain correspondence of the time, and evidently brought Richardson into notice, and acquaintance with persons of literature and position. Mrs. Delany, soon after the publication of 'Clarissa,' accounts for some defects in the manner of his fine ladies, by his having taken Miss Mulso (afterwards Mrs. Chapone) for his model: saying, 'Don commends Miss Mulso's letters, but she does not so 'well like the young woman; that is, she admires her sense and 'ingenuity, but thinks her only *second-rate* as to *politeness of* '*manners*, and that Richardson's *high admiration for her* has 'made him take her *as a model* for his genteel characters; and 'that is the reason they *are not* so really polished as he thinks 'them to be.'

'Pamela' was published in 1740. In 1749 he completed his 'Clarissa,' and in 1753 he brought out 'Sir Charles Grandison,' being then sixty-four. We cannot but consider the age in which these remarkable fictions were composed as adding to their value as pictures of the times, not in minute matters of deportment, but as reporting their general tone. The mere fact is one of his curiosities and distinctions as a novelist, when we consider how early in most authors' lives their literary success has been achieved. That such a gift should lie hidden until accident awoke him to the perception of it, and that then he should be able to make such use of it!—his character under the slur, too, as his modern critics hold it, of a demure prudence in affairs,

and regularity of life, which are held the most remote for flights of imagination. We do not, however, gather that any of these circumstances were held as such incompatibilities as they seem to us now. With so little in the author to excite romantic enthusiasm, the candour of the age welcomed him as a master at once. Such a power to excite absorbing interest, and to give to airy nothings real existence, was never so amply attested before. Society was stirred by 'Clarissa.' The story was published by instalments, and Richardson was besieged by entreaties to allow it to end happily, 'to save Lovelace's soul,' to let him after all marry Clarissa. That such a petition should have come through female pens, tells little for the moral perceptions of the women who proffered it. It is only just to Richardson to give his answer from the elaborate postscript to his tragic tale. We need not say we extract from an unabridged copy;—a copy dated 1784, and adorned, we may honestly use the word, by illustrations by the elder Stothard: the only illustrations except those of Mulready's 'Vicar of Wakefield' we can call to mind that do not at the best misrepresent their subject, by caricature or travestie; that do not contradict our preconceived idea and run counter in some detail to the verbal description—illustrations that deserve the name, as being imbued with the scene and inspired by the author's eye for detail; where the figures stand out light, graceful, full of life and action, in a costume familiar to the artist, not treasured in a refectory and hung on lay figures, but in which he saw men and women, or rather real gentlemen and ladies, do the business and enjoy the pleasures of life; these figures thrown out by a background of subdued, simple, often angular propriety, which we cannot but contrast with the accessories of modern illustration, where nothing is alive but the furniture. But to return to our subject-matter.

'The foregoing work has been published at three different periods of times. The author in the course of its publication was favoured with many anonymous letters, in which the writers differently expressed their wishes with regard to the apprehended catastrophe.

'Most of those directed to him by the gentler sex teemed in favour of what they called a *fortunate ending*. Some of the fair writers, enamoured, as they declared, with the character of the heroine, were warmly solicitous to have her made happy; and others, likewise of their mind, insisted that poetical justice required that it should be so; "and when," says one ingenious lady, whose undoubted motive was good-nature and humanity, "it must be concluded, that it is an author's power to make his piece end as he pleases, why should he not give pleasure rather than pain to the reader whom he has interested in favour of his principal characters?"

'Others, and some gentlemen, declared against tragedies in general, and in favour of comedies. . . .

'And how was this happy ending to be brought about? Why, by this very easy and trite expedient; to wit, by reforming Lovelace and marrying him to Clarissa—not, however, abating her one of her trials, nor any of

her sufferings (for the sake of the sport her distresses would give the *tender-hearted* reader as she went along), the last outrage excepted; that, indeed, partly in compliment to Lovelace himself, and partly for delicacy's sake, they were willing to spare her.

'But whatever were the fate of his work, the author resolved to take a different method. He always thought that *sudden conversions*, such especially as were left to the candour of the readers to *suppose* and *make* out, had neither *art*, nor *nature*, nor even *probability* in them; and that they were, moreover, of very *bad* example. To have a Lovelace for a series of years glory in his wickedness, and think that he had nothing to do, but as an act of grace and favour to hold out his hand to receive that of the best of women whenever he pleased, and to have it thought that marriage would be a sufficient amend for all his enormities to others, as well as to her—he could not bear that. Nor is reformation, as he had shown in another piece, to be secured by a fine face; by a passion that has sense for its object; nor by the goodness of a wife's heart nor even example, if the heart of the husband be not graciously touched by the divine grace.'

This is written with an air of conviction; nor is there less when in pursuing his subject he dwells, as men verging on their climacteric are apt to do, on the growing vices of the time: on the taste for luxury and public diversions; on the contempt of self-denial and mortification as of things blotted out of the catalogue of Christian virtues; and on the failing influence of the pulpit and general disregard of the clergy, viewed as *interested* men, as characteristics of that age. Lamenting the general depravity, he resolved to throw in his mite towards introducing a reformation so much wanted; and quotes the poet's words,—

> 'A verse may find him who a sermon flies,
> And turn delight into a sacrifice.'

'He was resolved, therefore, to attempt something that never yet had been done. He considered that the tragic poets have as seldom made their heroes true objects of pity, as the comic theirs laudable ones of imitation: and still more rarely have made them in their deaths look forward to a future hope. . . . . And after all, what is the *poetical justice* so much contended for by some, as the generality of writers have managed it, but another sort of dispensation than that by which God, in revelation, teaches us He has thought fit to exercise mankind; whom placing here only in a state of probation, He hath so intermingled for us good and evil, as to necessitate us to look forward for a more equal dispensation of both?'

We have extracted thus largely from the author's own view of the purpose of his work, because in this novel especially we see the marked difference between the moral and religious principles inculcated in the higher fiction of the last age, and in that of the present, which boasts of a purer morality and less selfish course of motives. It would never have occurred to Richardson to censure any man for solicitude to 'save his dirty soul,'—a phrase not to be forgotten in one of the novels of the leading champions of muscular Christianity. It strikes Richardson as an end worth all his pains to lead his readers on to the contem-

plation of a future state of existence. Representing this life as a probation, he seriously aims to reconcile his readers to the extreme sorrows of his heroine, by the conviction, which he is able to make real and consolatory, that the sufferings of time worthily borne are not to be compared to the joys of heaven: he would not have dared to depict anything so tragic, either for his own sake or his readers, if he had not *Hope* to fall back upon. Heaven is a reality to him. He could not have written 'Clarissa' if imbued with such qualified faith in the unseen as prompts the modern moralist of fiction. And consequently, sad and revolting as are the trials of his heroine, intolerable as are her sufferings, the impression left is not one of extreme sadness. We do not wish her to live, and her death is a real triumph. Contrast this tale with the impressions left in the mind of the reader after the perusal of 'Felix Holt' or the 'Spanish Gypsy,' and our readers will feel the difference we mean. It is the apparent object of the author of these latter compositions to dissociate a high moral aim from all thought of self; we might almost say, to assert a morality more self-forgetting and self-annihilating than that of the Gospel, inasmuch as it ignores all idea of a future hope, joy, or recompense; the consequence upon the reader being a sense of deadness and dreariness which perhaps he cannot account for, but which is in fact a passing taste of what life and this world would be if it were divested of its hope. The greater the force and skill of the writer, the greater his earnestness of purpose, the more power he has of instilling himself into his reader, so long as the sound of his words lives in him. This is wholly distinct from belief or persuasion; it is a sort of physical consequence of having been under a spell. In the case of 'Felix Holt' and 'Fidalma' it is pleasant to shake off this dull, dim foretaste of annihilation and despair, and to open our eyes once more to the day: in 'Clarissa,' on the contrary, the sympathising reader fosters the solemn satisfactions of the closing scene, would not have an alleviation beyond the will of the author, and is sincerely contented with her contentment when she asks him to

'Mourn not for one who mourns not, nor has cause to mourn, for herself. On the contrary, rejoice with me that all my worldly troubles are so near their end. Believe me, sirs, that I would not, if I might, choose to live, although the pleasantest part of my life were to come over again; and yet eighteen years out of nineteen were very pleasant. To be so much exposed to temptation, and to be so liable to fail in the trial, who would not rejoice that all her dangers are over? All I wished was pardon and blessing from my dear parents. Easy as my departure seems to promise to be, it would have been still easier had I had that pleasure. But God Almighty would not let me depend for comfort upon any but Himself.'

These are solemn words for fiction to apply to its uses. It is

no small testimony to Richardson's seriousness of purpose, as well as absorption in his own conception, that they do not strike the reader as too solemn—that they fit his own feeling of the occasion, and carry a sense of truth in them far beyond the occasion. The modern feeling towards our author is not, however, that he makes religious hope too prominent, but that he is only moral, and not spiritual at all; in fact, that he and his 'Clarissa' represent the good people of his own time. And this—that Richardson is a fair representative of his own day—is probably true; also that the morality he preaches has often but a low flight. But the morality of *no* age, looking back upon it, satisfies our ideas: hence we have little reason to suppose that our own will stand the test better than the picture that remains to us of a century back. Nor perhaps will our spirituality, which is so often taken for granted as a purer illumination, our keener, loftier views of the unseen, place us as much above the sober, undoubting faith in the truths our great-grandfathers *did* apprehend, as men are apt to suppose. Such faith as religious people had then, they had without doubting. The recognition of the presence and providence of God, and a certain repose resulting from the sense of them, characterise much of the literature which does not satisfy our warmer aspirations. There were sceptics in abundance, but their speculations were remote from religious society. The ground was not rendered unstable to the young and inexperienced. Infidel books were then called bad books. It was not possible for carefully educated youth to come into contact and easy terms with unbelief. A simplicity of faith characterises the good people of that day: and this stability was felt so important to leave undisturbed by our author, that he points out as his vindication of his work, that even his villains are not infidels or scoffers. This naturally excites a smile nowadays, but it need not. Lovelace was not the better for sinning against conviction, nor did Richardson represent him as such; but if he had been made to vent witty blasphemies which such a man in the character of an infidel would have done, the book would have been intolerable, and in fact impossible for the author to have written. As he says, 'The confidences between him and a kindred infidel must have been of a nature truly infernal;' whereas his occasional recognition and fears of future retribution implant an additional sting and reality to his transient remorse, and have their effect on the reader.

'It was represented to the author, at the time, by some worthy and ingenious persons, that if Lovelace had been drawn an infidel or scoffer, his character, according to the taste of the present worse than sceptical age, would have been more natural. It is, however, too well known that there are very many persons of his cast whose actions discredit their belief. But the reader must have observed that great and, it is hoped,

good use has been made throughout the work, by drawing Lovelace an infidel only in practice.'

It was part of the received and defective morality of that day, but not of that day only, that woman's province being to reform men's manners, she must tolerate much evil with this view. Clarissa recognises this mission, and proposes it to herself. But she is made to refuse a freethinker at once as something utterly hopeless, and beyond her power to benefit. Yet Richardson is very severe upon the women of his day on this very subject—a toleration of evil habits in men on the ground of their power to reform them. He draws a man of unexceptionable conduct, and admits:—

'Nevertheless, it must be owned that it was not proposed to draw Mr. Hickman as the man of whom the ladies in general were likely to be very fond. Had it been so, *goodness of heart and gentleness of manners, great assiduity and inviolable and modest love*, would not of themselves have been supposed sufficient recommendations; he would not have been allowed the least share of *preciseness or formality*, although those defects might have been imputed to his reverence for the object of his passion. But in his character it was designed to show that the same man could not be everything.'

However, as is well known, Mr. Richardson's admirers were resolved upon putting him upon this difficult task—to paint, that is, a religious and virtuous fine gentleman. We are glad to find that he realized the difficulty of his task; for great as was his success, as far as the acceptance his work met with, Sir Charles, to our eyes, is rather an assemblage of qualities than a person. All the '*ladies are* in love with him,' as they are not with Mr. Hickman, but he is not a reality like Clarissa. Mr. Dallas tries to find the reason of this in his success and life-long triumph; and certainly if he had had to endure some humiliations, if for example his principles against duelling had subjected him only for one half-hour to the suspicion of cowardice, it might have gone some way to making a man of him. We cannot go so far as Mr. Dallas, who wishes he had been kicked by, instead of kicking, the unworthy father-in-law of his ward, that we might see his behaviour under such circumstances, because it is not singular to Richardson's heroes to escape such inflictions: people are rarely chosen for heroes who are in the way of encountering them. But the uniformly and acknowledged conquering hero is a being too far out of the general experience to create sympathy. Yet he satisfied the feminine criticism of his day. How anxiously the author's task was watched in its progress we gather from Mrs. Delany. 'I fear it will be a long time, if ever, before 'Mr. Richardson's "*good man*" is produced, and I am afraid 'his health will suffer from his too great attention to it; he has 'undertaken a *very hard task*, which is to please *the gay and the*

'*good*, but Mrs. D. says, as far as he has gone he has succeeded 'wonderfully.' And some time after she writes to her correspondent, 'I don't wonder Sir Charles Grandison should engage 'you so deeply. I long to have you read the fifth volume, 'which is extremely interesting and entertaining. Such a 'lover! But I won't run before you. I wish I could tell 'you when the concluding volume comes out.' And a week later: 'You asked me what I thought of Sir Charles Grandison 'consenting to have his daughters bred Papists. Why, I think 'it the only blot in his character. Had a woman written the 'story she would have thought the daughters of as much 'consequence as the sons, and when I see Mr. Richardson I 'shall call him to account for that *faux pas;* but on the whole 'it is a most excellent book, calculated to please and improve all 'ages. What a venerable, amiable creature is old Mrs. Shirley! 'How delicately does Sir Charles behave towards her! Surely 'you have got the fourth and fifth volumes. I dare not say a 'word about them till I know. I think there is a fault in 'making Emily in love so young, unless he means to show 'young women how they may, by *resolution* and proper endea-'vours, *get the better of any passion.*' And what is more valuable testimony still from such an acknowledged authority in manners, she accepts Sir Charles's manners as good. 'Lord Dartmouth,' she writes, 'has been to see me, in very good spirits, and engaged 'me to visit his lady. I said that I thought myself too old to 'visit *young ladies.* He laughed at me, and said "*try*, and if *she* 'don't like you, I hope that I may keep up my acquaintance with 'an old friend I value so much." He is *Sir Charles Grandison!* 'How charming is politeness! His ways are just like his 'mother's.' Her testimony for the veritable Sir Charles always goes beyond his virtues and extends to manners. 'I wish, 'indeed, we *could match him.* There is grace and dignity in 'everything he says and does,' with further comments, showing that the solemnities of the other great people in the story did not jar on her own experience. 'As to the Italian story, it is 'one of the finest things I ever read in my life. Was ever a 'superb family better described? What a divine creature is 'Clementina! What a madness is hers! Was ever Christian 'fortitude put to a greater trial, considering her religion? Every-'where he keeps up his characters nobly,' and so on, adding, 'The style is better in most places than that of "Clarissa," but 'nothing can ever equal that work.'

In fact, though his contemporaries could detect lapses and incongruities, we believe that these books do give us the best idea we can acquire anywhere of the drawing-room manners of the period. What we understand by *natural* was not the aim

then, if by 'natural' we mean spontaneous. There was a universal gloss and self-restraint in society, often terribly atoned for when the eye of that society was removed. The very dress of that period required a constant attention to attitude and movement, which would make the boasted *ease* a triumph of training. Richardson, in Mr. Dallas's preface, is supposed to have acquired his interest in this matter of dress from his early patronesses the 'mantua-makers;' but trivial and feminine as it seems sometimes, nobody can fairly wish it away, for nothing brings us more into connexion with the events he describes than these allusions. There are times when the rustle of Clarissa's silks have almost a spiritual effect, while the sale of those much-talked-of 'cloathes' is a touch of domestic tragedy which everybody feels, even though they read from the lofty pinnacle of modern contempt for such trifles. Yet we suppose this luxury of apparel in one class does bear upon the low and defective morality which we see to characterise the period and to tincture the author.

The idea of reverence to authority was overdone in Richardson's day, and involved very mischievous consequences. He bows to it in making Clarissa so full of self-accusation at escaping from her father's house; though she had every reason to believe that, if she had remained in it, she was to be forced into marriage with a person justly hateful to her. Few daughters imitated Clarissa by running away, and many, no doubt, were reconciled or cajoled into submission by the father's expedient of ordering down 'patterns of the richest silks' from London; which means diverting a daughter's thoughts from the duties of her new position to its freedoms and splendours. The mere possible act of compulsion struck a blow at the idea of marriage, reducing it to a thing of interest and settlements. Clarissa was lost, in fact, by holding higher views than her family on the point. The rule of rendering to all their due settles this point. Either reverence becomes a sham when practised in an extreme, or the exactor of it becomes brutalized, which all the literature of the last century shows was a very common result of blind submission. It is, however, a favourite word with Richardson: 'awe' and 'respect' are assumed as a grace of manner by *all* his polite persons; and everybody is taken in by it. Lovelace's own *manner* excels in this point; he is also a critic where he sees it wanting in others. Our earliest acquaintance with his world-known name is associated with his disapprobation of the easy style in domestic life; the wife addressing her husband by his Christian name. A friend, with rigid views in this particular, quoted in our childish ears the following scene with approval. The clever reprobate, bent on forcing the dying Clarissa to marry him as the cure for all her ills, presents himself in dazzling

attire at the little shop in Covent Garden where she lodges. She, having some inkling of his intention, is spending the day out; but it suits his purpose to show a gay and airy temper to the good people of the house, and to take possession, as it were, of the premises. The master and his shopman whisper together in perplexity. Lovelace describes the scene to his friend:—

'"No whispering, honest friends, 'tis not manners to whisper. Joseph, what said John to thee?"

'"JOHN, sir," disdainfully repeated the good woman.

'"I beg pardon, Mrs. Smith, but see the force of example. Had *you* showed your honest man more respect, I should. Let me give you a piece of advice—Women who treat their husbands irreverently teach strangers to treat them with contempt.—There, honest master John, why dost thou not pull off thy hat to me? Oh, so thou wouldst, if thou hadst it on; but thou never wearest thy hat in thy wife's presence, I believe, dost thou?"

'"None of your fleers and jeers, sir," cried John. "I wish every married pair lived as happily as we do."

'"I wish so too, honest friend. But I'll be hanged if thou hast any children."

'"Why so, sir?"

'"Hast thou? Answer me that, man; hast thou, or not?"

'"Perhaps not, but what of that?"

'"What of that? Why, I'll tell thee, the man who has no children by his wife must put up with plain John. Hadst thou a child or two, thou'dst be called Mr. Smith with a curtsey, or a smile at least at every word."

'"You are very pleasant, sir," replied my dame: "I fancy if either my husband or I had as much to answer for as I know whom, we should not be so merry."

'"Why then, dame Smith, so much the worse for those who are obliged to keep you company. But I am not merry—I am sad!—Hey-ho!—where shall I find my dear Miss Harlowe?"'

To his friend he accounts for this display of spirits, for—

'Women love a cheerful, humorous fellow. The dear creature herself used to be pleased with my gay temper and lively manner; and had she been told that I was blubbering for her in the back shop, she would have despised me still more than she does.'

And this brings us to another mark of the day. Life and vivacity, a smooth air of prosperity and content, were considered then the points of a fine gentleman. We now can hardly give Clarissa credit for her rejection of him, or enter into the charm, as it was felt then, of these lively scamps. He has no sentiment, or depth, or alternations of feeling. He is the hero of comedy and good sense. If she found him resistible at first, we see no virtue in a growing hatred as his character unfolded. Lovelace boasts of his 'jocund' face, as a mask for the deeper designs that lay hid. The world had not then awoke to the Byronic type of wickedness, and the attraction of scowling villany. Possibly the state of society, and the current of thought, made jovial rascality easier then than now. The privileges of class,

the immunity which actually protected men of rank from any other punishment than that which skill at defence rendered them callous to, a feeling that the world with all its good things was made for them, and its long toleration of these excesses, may have induced an abnormal deadness of conscience, a prosperous selfishness absolutely careless of self-analysis. Richardson certainly excels in the delineation of this vice, which embraces all other vices. Selfishness is hideous in Lovelace, absolutely unchecked and master, but so skilfully drawn as to leave him still human, because his nerves are susceptible to painful impressions, and he does not like the sight of pain. He says of himself, 'I have too much feeling.' There is a sensitiveness on which he can value and even blind himself. A stream of blood unmans him. Clarissa, with her penknife,—one of the great scenes of fiction,—makes him quiver and tremble, and yet, through all self is paramount; when he pities, it is still himself who is most to be pitied. 'She'll live to bury me!' he cries—and thus the reader is withheld from even a momentary sympathy or compassion. He is always base (we approve of Miss Howe's saying, that he has taken degrees in wickedness), and yet there is that about him which still justifies Dr. Johnson's testimony in his favour, and that it was in the power of Richardson alone to teach us at once esteem and detestation, to make virtuous resentment overpower all the benevolence which wit, elegance, and courage naturally excite, and to lose the hero in the villain. No isolated scene properly represents a character which especially needs to be seen with all its surroundings. But something of his recklessness and that resolution never to face what is disagreeable in its serious aspect, that skill to keep conscience at bay, which belongs to all lively, prosperous selfishnesses, is shown in his report of an interview occurring near the end of the book, and where Clarissa's death is really imminent:—

'Just returned from an interview with this Hickman: a precise fop of a fellow, as starched as his ruffles.

'Thou knowest I love him not, Jack; and whom we love not we cannot allow a merit to! *perhaps not the merit they should be granted.* However, I am in earnest when I say, that he seems to me to be so set, so prim, so affected, so mincing, yet so clouterly in his person, that I dare engage for thy opinion, if thou dost justice to him, and to thyself, that thou never beheldest such another, except in a pier-glass.'—P. 911.

Hickman has come as a mediator, with a message from Clarissa's friend, Miss Howe. After playing with his subject and his visitor for a long time, he goes on—

'"But," proceeded I, "since I find that I have excited your curiosity, that you may not go away with a doubt that may be injurious to the most admirable of women, I am inclined to hint to you what I have in the *third* place to blame her for."

'"Sir, as you please. It may not be proper."

'"It cannot be very *improper*, Mr. Hickman; so let me ask you, What would Miss Howe think, if her friend is the *more* determined against me, because she thinks (in revenge to me, I verily believe) of encouraging another lover?"

'"How, sir! Sure this cannot be the case!—I can tell you, sir, if Miss Howe thought this, she would not approve of it at all; for, as little as you think Miss Howe likes you, sir, and little as she approves of your actions by her friend, I know she is of opinion, that she ought to have nobody living but you; and should continue single all her life, if she be not yours."

'"Revenge and obstinacy, Mr. Hickman, will make women, the best of them, do very unaccountable things. Rather than not put out both eyes of the man they are offended with, they will give up one of their own."

'"I don't know what to say to this, sir; but, sure, she cannot encourage any other person's address!—so soon too—Why, sir, she is, as we are told, so ill, and so *weak*——"

'"Not in resentment weak, I'll assure you. I am well acquainted with all her movements; and I tell you, believe it or not, that she refuses *me* in view of *another* lover."

'"Can it be?"

'"'Tis true, by my soul!—Has she not hinted this to Miss Howe, do you think?"

'"No, indeed, sir. If she had, I should not have troubled you at this time from Miss Howe."

'"Well, then, you see I am right; that though she cannot be guilty of a falsehood, yet she has not told her friend the whole truth."

'"What shall a man say to these things?" [Looking most stupidly perplexed.]

'"*Say! say!* Mr. Hickman!—Who can account for the workings and ways of a passionate and offended woman? Endless would be the histories I could give you, within my own knowledge, of the dreadful effects of women's passionate resentments, and what that sex will do when disappointed."'

Then follow a string of examples in point, which remind us of the genius shown by some of Dickens's characters at extempore illustrations:—

'"There was Miss DORRINGTON [perhaps you know her not], who ran away with her father's groom, because he would not let her have a half-pay officer, with whom (her passions all up) she fell in love at first sight, as he accidentally passed under her window.

'"There was Miss SAVAGE; she married her mother's coachman, because her mother refused her a journey to Wales, in apprehension that Miss intended to league herself with a remote cousin of unequal fortunes, of whom she was not a little fond when he was a visiting guest at their house for a week.

'"There was a young widow SANDERSON, who believing herself slighted by a younger brother of a noble family (Sarah Stout like), took it into her head to drown herself.

'"Miss SALLY ANDERSON [you have heard of her, no doubt], being checked by her uncle for encouraging an address beneath her, in spite threw herself into the arms of an ugly dog, a shoemaker's apprentice, running away with him in a pair of shoes he had just fitted to her feet, though she never saw the fellow before, and hated him ever after; and, at last, took laudanum to make her forget for ever her own folly.

'"But can there be a stronger instance in point, than what the unaccountable resentments of *such* a lady as Miss Clarissa Harlowe afford us? who at this very instant, ill as she is, not only encourages, but, in a manner, makes court to one of the most odious dogs that ever was seen! I think Miss Howe should not be told this; and yet she ought, in order to dissuade her from such a preposterous rashness."

'"O fie! O strange! Miss Howe knows nothing of this! To be sure she won't look upon her, if this be true."

'"'Tis true, very true, Mr. Hickman! True as I am here to tell you so! —And he is an ugly fellow, too; uglier to look at than me."

'"Than *you*, sir! Why, to be sure, you are one of the handsomest men in England."

'"Well, but the wretch she so spitefully prefers to me is a misshapen, meagre varlet; more like a skeleton than a man! Then he dresses—you never saw a devil so bedizened! Hardly a coat to his back, nor a shoe to his foot: a bald-pated villain, yet grudging to buy a peruke to hide his baldness: for he is as covetous as hell, never satisfied, yet plaguy rich."

'"Why, sir, there is some joke in this, surely. A man of common parts knows not how to take such gentlemen as you. But, sir, if there be any truth in the story, what is he? Some Jew, or miserly citizen, I suppose, that may have presumed on the lady's distressful circumstances; and your lively wit points him out as it pleases."

'"Why, the rascal has estates in every county *in* England, and *out* of England too."

'"Some East India governor, I suppose, if there be anything in it. The lady once had thoughts of going abroad. But, I fancy, all this time you are in jest, sir. If not, we must surely have heard of him——"

'"Heard of him! Ay, sir, we have all heard of him—but none of us care to be intimate with him—except this lady, and that, as I told you, in spite to me—His name, in short, is DEATH!—DEATH, sir!" [Stamping, and speaking loud and full in his ear, which made him jump half a yard high.]

'Thou never beheldest any man so disconcerted. He looked as if the frightful skeleton was before him, and he had not his accounts ready. When a little recovered, he fribbled with his waistcoat buttons, as if he had been telling his beads.

'"This, sir," proceeded I, "is her wooer!—Nay, she is so forward a girl, that she *wooes him*: but I hope it never will be a match."

'He had before behaved, and now looked, with more spirit than I expected from him.

'"I came, sir," said he, "as a mediator of differences. It behoves me to keep my temper. But, sir," and turned short upon me, "as much as I love peace, and to promote it, I will not be ill-used."

'As I had played so much upon him, it would have been wrong to take him at his *more* than half-menace: yet, I think, I owe him a grudge, for his presuming to address Miss Howe.

'"You mean no defiance, I presume, Mr. Hickman, any more than I do offence. On that presumption, I ask your excuse. But this is my way. I mean no harm. I cannot let sorrow touch my heart. I cannot be grave six minutes together."'

Such selfishness is an impervious shell. Then there is the selfishness of Clarissa's father, nurtured not so much by self-indulgence as by universal and abject submission, who is so little used to have his will opposed that it throws the gout into his stomach to be thwarted. Even when remorse is aroused and

allowed full play, the novelist shows self still keeping its hold. The brother and sister are overcome with regrets and self-reproach when their sister dies, and find the reading of the will a very trying scene, but through it all their own interests are as absorbing as ever. But selfishness is more delicately done, more in conformity with our every-day experience in his softer characters; for instance, Clarissa's mother. Everything is really done and left undone for her own ease, but in a way we are so familiar with that we scarce notice it. Politeness and duty always call it 'yielding!' Her resentment against her child's determination not to have Solmes is purely selfish, because 'what family feuds have *I* not to look forward to?'—*She* had had to submit to the father's obstinacy, and 'who ever knew him to give way,' and would feel it hard if a daughter could carry her point. Her own troubles always stand in the way of taking in the idea of Clarissa's position. 'As for her 'grief she must bear with it, and it must be short of what *I* hourly 'bear for her.' 'Should I gratify my yearnings after her so far as 'to receive privately the letter you mention, what would the case 'be, but to torment *myself* without being able to do her good? 'And were it to be known, Mr. Harlowe is so passionate.' We have it again in its minor touches, as in the good woman who buys one of Clarissa's best suits, and sheds tears of pity and admiration over her distresses, but carries off her purchase at the end, congratulating herself that she has got it for half its value.

The nourishment of selfishness, too, is well shown. 'You are 'all too rich to be happy, child,' cries Miss Howe, early in her friend's persecutions, 'for must not each of you by the constitu-'tion of your family marry to be still richer? None of your 'family but yourself could be happy were they *not* rich; so let 'them fret on, grumble and grudge, and accumulate;—and wonder-'ing what ails them that they have not happiness when they 'have riches, think the cause is want of more.' It is one of the inevitable inconsistencies of the epistolary style that these things should be said to the heroine, but it comes oddly enough upon Clarissa's solemnity of parental duty. But, in fact, she has a spirit of her own, and a neat way of saying severe things when put upon, which preserves her from the unnatural passionlessness of her male counterpart.

The story as a story does not come within the scope of our pages. The crime which constitutes its tragedy was a bold and questionable venture even then, and excludes it now as a work of amusement for the home circle; but nevertheless, Clarissa, as the ideal woman of the eighteenth century, does it credit. Moral and religious in a high degree, neither the morality nor the religion are quite like their feminine exponents in our day. The

critic comments upon Clarissa's want of spirituality ; she is content, he says, with mere morality—this in a great degree means that religion in that day was not divided into parties. Religion and infidelity were more absolutely defiant then than now, but there was a truce between the Church and the sectary ; and no parties that caught the popular sympathy within the Church itself. Now most people, and especially the young, and perhaps more especially young ladies, feel their enthusiasm and devotion wonderfully stirred by attack and aggression, by having champions to admire and opponents to mistrust, despise, or detest. There was no religious world in Clarissa's day, as far as we can see ; no clergymen to follow. The good young lady reverenced her pastor if he was worthy of her reverence, but she had a sentimental feeling for age in his case, and liked to call him venerable. If she then sometimes lacked fervour, neither was there the religious fever well known in our day. Possibly there is a dash in Clarissa of that self-approval which Richardson seemed to consider a natural concomitant of innocence ; held in check, repented of perhaps when the day of humiliation comes, but still there ; and belonging to, and actuating the virtue of the day. We find, however, Clarissa very earnest in her prayers ; perfectly conversant with the doctrines taught her in her Prayer-book, with an admirable knowledge of her Bible, which is made very affecting use of in her trials ; and showing a desire for the means of grace which led to exertions beyond her strength. The author goes into the detail of what churches in London were then open for daily prayer. At the door of one she is arrested for debt, another she attends at six o'clock in the morning ; at another the fervour of her devotions is too much for her sinking powers,—the effort must not be renewed. She is very earnest for the conversion of her enemies, whether these assumed the aspect of friend or foe, and absolutely resigned to the will of Providence ; but her range of devout wishes is undoubtedly not so wide as it would be now, and especially her notion of woman's field is more restricted, though she has perhaps a tighter hold of the field she thinks her own. We have noted that there was something in that day which developed women early. We have little doubt that the active share which even the rich and great took in the direction of a household—a charge so dear to the young, and which can only be done well by those who begin early—greatly conduced to this. The practice of authority, the control of inferiors, gives maturity and imparts dignity and self-possession. The young lady of that day was not shy or afraid, or ignorant of her father's staff of servants. She was in the habit of directing, reproving, and instructing them in their duties. In the same way her intercourse with the poor conduced to this weighty manner ; young

ladies now approach the poor with a hope to do them good, but not with the feeling of property in them which characterises Clarissa. The poor in her neighbourhood are her charge, and they are quite willing to be treated as such. Her place is to advise, assist, relieve, direct, and perhaps keep them in their place, and be careful not to raise them above their condition. She sedulously makes merit her rule of relief, and has faith in almshouses and refuges for virtuous poverty. It is her praise that she never left her father's door but somebody was the better for her. But it never occurred to the Lady Bountiful of those days to give up her own social standing and rights, in order to devote herself to the class beneath her. Clarissa aims to be a *pattern* to all, more especially to those in her own rank and position, until she pathetically resigns this higher office, and hopes at least to be a warning. The vicious of her own sex are to her simply repulsive and incomprehensible. She has no large schemes for their reformation; no impulse to recall them. The victim of man's perfidy is indeed pitied, and, if need be, befriended; but a bad woman she is used to regard as of a different genus from even a bad man,—something irremediable and beyond hope: for what is woman without purity and self-restraint but a monster? whereas she sees men, rumoured to be bad, bow in reverence before her, and never quite loses the feeling towards them of influencing for good. Thus, when thrown by her persecutors into prison for debts she did not owe, she is visited at first by two women, to whom she comports herself with a fine and curt scorn, and wastes no words; but when Belford, Lovelace's friend, comes to rescue her, she cannot listen to his vehement protestations without a return of the didactic instinct. He is seeking to exonerate his friend from any share in this last outrage:—

'"There is no defending the unhappy man in any of his vile actions by you, madam; but of this last outrage, by all that's good and sacred, he is innocent!"

'"O wretches! what a sex is yours!—Have you all one dialect? *Good and sacred!*—If, sir, you can find an oath, or a vow, or an adjuration, that my ears have not been twenty times a day wounded with, then speak it, and I may again believe a man!"

'I was excessively touched at these words, knowing thy baseness, and the reason she had for them.

'"But say you, sir; for I would not, methinks, have the wretch capable of this sordid baseness!—Say you, that he is innocent of this *last* wickedness? Can you *truly* say that he is?"

'"By the great God of heaven——!"

'"Nay, sir, if you swear I must doubt you!—If you yourself think your WORD insufficient, what reliance can I have on your OATH?—Oh that this my experience had not cost me so dear! But were I to live a *thousand* years, I would always suspect the veracity of a swearer. Excuse me, sir; but is it likely that *he* who makes so free with his GOD, will scruple anything that may serve his turn with his *fellow-creature?*"

'This was a most affecting reprimand!

'"Madam," said I, "I have a regard, a regard a gentleman *ought* to have, to my word: and whenever I forfeit it to you——"

'"Nay, sir, don't be angry with me. It is grievous to me to question a gentleman's veracity. But your friend calls himself a *gentleman*—you know not what I have suffered by a *gentleman!*" and then again she wept.

'"I would give you, madam, demonstration, if your grief and your weakness would permit it, that he has no hand in this barbarous baseness; and that he resents it as it ought to be resented."

'"Well, well, sir," [with quickness] "he will have his account to make up somewhere else, not to me. I should not be sorry to find him able to acquit his intention on this occasion. Let him know, sir, only one thing, that, when you heard me in the bitterness of my spirit, most vehemently exclaim against the undeserved usage I have met with from him, that even *then*, in *that* passionate moment, I was able to say,"—[and never did I see such an earnest and affecting exaltation of hands and eyes,]—"Give him, good God! repentance and amendment!"'—P. 892.

Representing the female intellect of that day, her mind is well stored with grave reading, both pious and solid. She devotes certain fixed hours to study, and is patient of dull books. She has practised herself in a free use of her pen. Mrs. Delany's six volumes of correspondence, which are but a selection, justify Richardson in the facility with which Clarissa used this unfailing friend. She devotes herself, while free to do so, to feminine arts then in vogue; her pencil devises patterns, her needle executes wonders of ingenuity. She rises early, and finds time for everything; her constitution is vigorous, fearing neither heat nor cold; her habits active and social; her health, till grief broke it, perfect. We catch her air of reserved dignity and grace in recalling one of Sir Joshua's dignified beauties. Her rich yet modest dress seems designed more to express her training and condition than to set off her beauty by any deliberate act. Her discourse and deportment we admire, while we recognise them as things of the past,—something too measured, too conscious of duty to herself or others, too little spontaneous to answer to anything we know, but fitting in exactly to the time, its costume, manners, traditions, distinctions, and prestige.

Such is Clarissa when introduced to us, taking marriage as a thing for granted, as the destiny of woman, but mistress of herself, with a heart free and slow to bestow itself upon any of her many lovers. Richardson maintains that her feeling for Lovelace at its highest was *liking*, not loving. He disdains the idea of passion for his favourite. Altogether an idea of strength is conveyed. We recognise her as one fitted to rise with the occasion; to abide by her own ideas of right, to care for no good opinion whether of the world or dearest friend, as compared to her own self-respect. Nothing is more masterly than the power and will that comes with trial to this essentially feminine impersonation. Her self-reliance and noble determination to

act by her own convictions of right against the arguments and importunities, and even interest, of all those whose opinions she yet valued most; her contempt of 'a patched-up reputation;' her scorn of concealment, so that 'the disgrace 'she cannot hide from herself she cares not to hide from the 'world,'—at least argue for some nobleness of view and aim in the times which could draw the picture and be so affected by it. Nor can we doubt of its elevating effect, or that something of the amendment of manners and softening of harsh and brutal influences which we note as working at this period, was due to this widely read and enthusiastically admired work of fiction. In the most corrupt period of a corrupt court, the purity of its heroine excited such a sensation that the French king's mistress trembled for her influence on seeing 'Clarissa' lie on his table. They were not used to such things in France. They raved about it as something divine. Nothing but a sense of contrast between its tone and that of the society he knew could have prompted such rhapsodies as are quoted of Diderot: 'O Richard-'son! genius unique in my eyes! Thou shalt form my 'reading at all times. If through dire necessity, through the 'need of a friend, or for the education of my children, I am 'driven to sell my books, I will sell them, but thou wilt remain 'with me on the same shelf with Moses, Homer, Euripides, 'Sophocles, and I will read you by turns. Read Richardson, 'he is divine!' Rousseau, too, comes not behind. 'Nothing 'equal to "Clarissa," or comparable to it, was ever written in 'any language.' It is probably quite true that while the purity of the heroine awoke this enthusiasm, what one critic has called 'the luxury of sentiment'—a reproach not unmerited—that quality which must always have made the English moralist commend the book with some reservation and qualms of doubt, recommended it to the French as congenial to their taste and habit of thought. But no Frenchman could have conceived a Clarissa. Richardson is proud of his English heroine, and steps beyond his own principles in her honour. We are to understand that 'she never would have married Mr. Lovelace, because of his immoralities, if she had been left to herself.' What he tolerates for women generally he does not tolerate for her. Other women after all may reform rakes: she prefers to die. She cries to those who would have had her listen to his prayer to be allowed to make reparation, 'My soul disdains communion with him.' In the ravings of semi-delirium she broods over the irreconcilable contrast of natures:—

'A lady took a great fancy to a young lion or a bear, I forget which, but a bear or a tiger I believe it was. It was made her a present of when a whelp. She fed it with her own hand; she nursed up the wicked

cub with great tenderness, and would play with it without apprehension of danger, and it was obedient to all her commands, and its tameness, as she used to boast, increased with its growth, so that, like a lap-dog, it would follow her all over the house. But mind what followed: at last, somehow, neglecting to satisfy its hungry maw, or having otherwise disobliged it, on some occasion, it resumed its nature, and on a sudden fell upon her, and tore her in pieces. And who was most to blame, I pray, the brute or the lady? The lady, surely. For what *she* did was out of nature, out of character, at least; what *it* did was in its own nature.'

As for Mr. Dallas's assumption that Fielding's ridicule of 'Pamela' has permanently damaged Richardson's reputation as a novelist,—'for,' says he, 'it is, in fact, owing to the contempt 'thus shown for Richardson's first and feeblest work that he is 'now so little known,'—we do not believe a word of it. He always depended for his readers on a different class from the readers of Fielding; nor would Fielding's ridicule of the work by which Richardson is least known quench the effect of the enthusiasm roused by his two great novels. *Great* in a double sense; for their prodigious length is enough to account for any amount of neglect; for who will reprint them verbatim? If the 'Vicar of Wakefield' had been in ten volumes, even set off with all the graces of Goldsmith's exquisite style (which Richardson's certainly is not), would it have been still the German and Swedish text-book for the English language? And they cannot be abridged into modern dimensions. There is a vast deal of reading in these three volumes—more than people will have patience for. Richardson's novels have not been read because they did not fall in people's way to read them, and new editions were out of the question. Wherever they have been within reach they have kept their hold. We have known 'Sir Charles Grandison' a household-book in more circles than one, and turned to over and over again in preference to new novels; while they have wholly outlived that class of romantic fictions of the Ratcliffe school, for which Miss Austen represents 'Sir Charles' as originally thrown over, and pronounced 'amazingly horrid.' A young woman of sentiment is as much absorbed now as she would have been a hundred years ago in the trials, difficulties, and fine situations of that charming though tedious and infinitely prolix story; and she would be at least as engrossed with 'Clarissa,' if not warned by the questionable nature of the plot, the tradition of which reached her she knows not when or how. For who is ignorant even now of the characteristic points of both stories? Where is Richardson not still a household word, though the eye may never have counted over and recoiled from those twice ten volumes. Yet even prolixity is a quality not without its attraction in fit time and place. We have known so many readers of Richardson, that we own the anecdote surprises

us that represents Thackeray as ignorant of him when he and Macaulay, pacing up and down the library of the Athenæum together—

'Came to talk of Richardson's masterpiece, the great novelist asked the great historian if he had ever read it. "Not read 'Clarissa!'" cried out Macaulay. "If you have once thoroughly entered into 'Clarissa,' and are infected by it, you can't leave it. When I was in India I passed one hot season at the Hills, and there was the Governor-General, the Secretary of Government, and the Commander-in-chief, and their wives. I had 'Clarissa' with me; and as soon as they began to read it the whole station was in a passion of excitement about Miss Harlowe and her misfortunes, and her scoundrelly Lovelace! The Governor's wife seized the book, and the Secretary waited for it, and the Chief Justice could not read it for tears."'

In a position where people had no excitement to fall back upon or look forward to, as was the case here, and as was also the case in many a circle where 'Sir Charles' was read for the first time, there would be no hurry for the ending, for no rival story awaited their attention; there was no Mudie to have recourse to when it was done; only such a blank as here and there a reader can look back upon in his far childhood, when 'Guy Mannering' or 'Ivanhoe' came to an end, and he had to return to the commonplace life once more. The system of modern tale-telling makes such yearning impossible; a thing of the past. It is hard to move a reader very deeply when his emotions have no future, and something else lies at his elbow to efface every impression of the volume he holds in his hand. He naturally recoils from delay, and desires to extract the sensation with as little dilution and pause of reflection as possible. Our fiction grows lighter and lighter, needing less effort or application. The attempt to revive and popularize a novel weighty and didactic, with an ancient prestige of moral purpose, naturally excites attention: first, how far it will meet with acceptance in an age so different from that for which it was designed; and next, how far that attention would be for good in a generation so much more disposed, as ours is, for the sensational than the moral; and at a time when fashionable society has reached, according to some authorities, to so great a pass of frivolity and recklessness. Clarissa might present a worthy example to the fashionable woman of our day, but her history is too indissolubly linked with a villain, and his part of the story is too much imbued with the grossness of a past age, for us to hope much from the experiment. But what is undesirable reading for the public may yet have its uses as a study, and direct our novelists to some higher aim than to amuse at the least exercise of thought, content if they are but duly read for one half-hour, to be forgotten in another serial the next.

ART. VI.—*Essays on Church Policy.* Edited by the Rev. W. L. CLAY, M.A., Incumbent of Rainhill, Lancashire. London: Macmillan and Co. 1868.

WE are told in the six lines which stand as a preface to this volume of essays that its purpose is to discuss the principles on which the Church of England may be sustained as a National Church, as well as the mode in which the characteristic of nationality may be developed, and that with special reference to the circumstances of the present time. And, undoubtedly, no charge can be brought against the seven writers who have contributed their respective essays,—whilst one of them has furnished two,—of either going beside the point which they have undertaken to illustrate or of clashing with each other, much less of coming into anything like collision or antagonism. So striking is this that, after reading through the eight essays and returning to the preface, it seems to us quite unnecessary to insert the caution which the editor has printed, informing us that each of the writers is responsible for his own essay only. So complete is the unity of the production that, if we had not been informed of the fact, we should never have guessed that they had been written by different hands; and we venture to think that any one of the writers, though perhaps he would not have expressed his meaning in precisely the same terms as have been adopted by his coadjutors, would be willing to endorse, not only the general tone, but almost every individual sentiment presented in each of the essays contributed by his colleagues.

Union is strength, and unity and consistency are bonds of union, and this is the strong point of the volume before us. The authors are afraid that the Establishment is in danger, and they would avert the catastrophe if they could; and the enlargement of its boundaries is the only method of saving it which seems to them feasible. A question might be asked, indeed, which is the end and which the means? Is comprehensiveness advocated with a view to preserving the Establishment, or is the Established Church to be made an engine for diffusing a comprehensive form of belief or unbelief over the nation? And we think the proper answer to this question is as follows: that the argument is so managed as to work upon people's fears of losing an establishment by inducing them to acquiesce in very enlarged formularies of doctrine, whilst the writers themselves are

anxious to uphold the Establishment as the best means of securing the expulsion of all theological dogma from its forms of worship. We have one other meed of praise to bestow on these essayists: they are plain-spoken and intelligible; they do not mince matters. So plain-spoken, indeed, are their proposals and their statements, that if the volume had only proceeded from leaders of the sceptical school, instead of unknown *alumni*,—if, that is, it had not been so very insignificant,—it would probably have done much to defeat its own object. As it is, we think it probable that its appearance may cause considerable irritation in the ranks of the Latitudinarian party. Many of that party seriously regretted the appearance of the celebrated volume called 'Essays and Reviews,' as being premature. We have no doubt that publication alienated many to whom open questions offer considerable attractions, and who are averse to dogmatic definitions, though they do not wish to abolish them altogether. And the present volume may be regarded as a sequel to 'Essays and Reviews,' written by far inferior hands, though for the most part advocating views much in advance of those for which that publication gained its unenviable notoriety.

It will, perhaps, be supposed from our description that the volume must at least contain something striking or startling, on the score of novelty. This, however, is not the case. Seldom has it been our lot to wade through a duller or more dreary work. Indeed, it is difficult to say whether the predominant feature of the volume is its arrogance or its dulness. In speaking of it as being far in advance of previous publications of the school, we do not at all mean that it propounds any startling novelties of doctrine, but only that it endorses the whole series of denials of doctrine which have recently become so famous. And this the authors do in terms which plainly show the profound conviction that they and their small school are of course right and all the rest of the Christian world wrong. This, indeed, is one of the tricks adopted by the whole school to which these writers belong. They take every opportunity of implying that people in general agree with them, or at least are tending to agreement with them. They find it convenient to ignore the strength of the schools that are opposed to them. They like to speak of doctrines, which are as living and as productive of fruit as ever they have been, as the tolerable errors of a phase of society which has for ever passed away, and speak with a confidence of the future as if they alone were endowed with prophetic powers; whilst to others who take a more comprehensive survey of things, the current of thought amongst the religious seems running strongly in the opposite

direction to what they suppose. And these writers either take it for granted, or, at least, wish to appear entirely persuaded, that in the next generation nobody in his senses will believe doctrines which have been believed by nearly the whole Christian Church throughout the world for above eighteen centuries.

It would not be easy to say in what these seven essayists would avow their common belief, or whether there is any distinctly Christian doctrine which they all hold; but nothing is easier than to draw out a catalogue of what they do not believe. In enumerating these points, we may possibly be doing injustice to some one or more of their number, who may, perhaps, still retain something like a belief in doctrines which the others have thrown overboard. But, as we have observed, there is such an amount of unity of purpose, and, we may add, apparent unity of disbelief, about the writers, that we think we shall not be far wrong in attributing to the whole seven any renunciation of dogma that appears in any part of the work.

In the first place, the whole scheme of the volume proceeds upon the hypothesis of the non-existence of the Eastern and Western divisions of the Holy Catholic Church. Of course, it will be said, that the writers confine their remarks to the Anglican Establishment, which is their proper and exclusive subject: but even in this country, after allowing that it was natural, and what might have been expected in such a set of writers, to ignore the character of the Church of England as a branch of the one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, we should at least have expected some recognition of the growing power of the Roman Communion, if only in the disturbing relations which they must admit it will be sure to exercise upon their Church of the future; for they will scarcely be sanguine enough to suppose that any amount of toleration of Roman doctrines—if such a thing had ever been contemplated—would form an attraction to members of that Communion. We may, indeed, pity them for their entire ignorance of their own proceedings and the sure consequences of them, in strengthening the hold which Rome will have when they have succeeded in ejecting dogma from the Establishment; but it is quite as pitiable a sight to see the confidence with which they speak of the future position of affairs in their ideal Church, which, before it can be made anything of, has to encounter all the resistance which will be offered to it by a number of sects quite as dogmatic, after their own fashion, as the Church is. There is, after all, a religious sense amongst people which will never be content without dogma, whether they believe that doctrines can be proved from Scripture or not. The body of people who

will advocate the leaving all doctrines as open questions will always be a small intellectual clique. On the Protestant theory, it seems reasonable and plausible enough; but the mass of people can never be educated up to that level. Their instincts will ever cry out in the future as they have in past time for creeds and confessions of faith. It will be seen, indeed, by those who are logical, that Scripture is neither dogmatic itself nor can supply any arguments that are conclusive in favour of any doctrine or set of doctrines; but, though one should show ever so conclusively that the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith is mere nonsense, or the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination is inconsistent with the intuitive idea of God's perfection, which we cannot help entertaining, no amount of demonstration as regards such doctrines will ever wean men from them, or induce them willingly to worship with those who either impugn them or are indifferent to them. Nay, the hold they have on people's minds seems frequently to be in inverse proportion to their reasonableness, or the amount of Scripture proof that can be brought for them. Religion will not flourish without dogma, and though irreligion may, the mass of people will prefer to do without religion in their own way rather than belong to a society instituted for the express purpose of proclaiming its indifference to dogma. Our essayists will certainly not meet with the success they expect, even if they should succeed in saving the Establishment, about the dangers imminent to which they seem almost panic stricken.

It is a remarkable sign of the times how the warmest adherents of an Established Church are now to be found in the ranks of the Latitudinarian party. They are quite wise enough to see that that is their only chance of getting a permanent footing in the nation. They recognise the necessity of people's being under some religious influence, and they count upon their acquiescing in the State religion, if it can be made vague and indefinite enough to hold nearly everybody; and their theory would hold together, if only they could ensure the impossible condition of believing in an opinion exactly to the extent which they can bring evidence for it. The Church of the Future, then, with these essayists, does not mean any system which is to hold good for the whole of Christendom. There is scarcely any appearance in the volume of the writers having extended their thoughts beyond the island in which we live. Other nations may take care of themselves, and mould their own creed. It is enough for our authors if they can provide a Church which shall supply the religious wants of all England; and their object is to show of what nature that Church must be, which there is not one of them who does not firmly believe

will be constituted exactly after the model they have pictured to themselves.

This being their object, and there being so much evident unanimity of belief and feeling amongst them, we make no apology for referring to what any one of them has said as representing very exactly what all the rest think. We are sure we are doing them no injustice in this; for, indeed, the definite statements of one essay, if they are not repeated, *totidem verbis*, in another, may, we think, be found there by implication. We do not think they themselves will make any complaint against us, if we are not always careful to distinguish what one of them has actually said from what the others have implied. We shall, however, occasionally refer to one or other of the essays as distinguished from the rest.

And, first, we observe that they are very well and systematically arranged, the opening essay stating, as it were, the present difficulty in which the Establishment finds itself, and the last explaining the highest functions which the Church of the future is to discharge as a teacher of morality.

The first essay is entitled, 'The Church and the Working-Classes,' and, as may readily be supposed, the fact upon which it turns is the undeniable alienation of the Working-Classes from the Established Church. It, perhaps, might have been more fair to state the difficulty in a larger form; but that would not have suited the writer's purpose nearly so well. No one would, indeed, think of using the expression—the alienation of the working-classes from Wesleyan Methodism, or from Congregationalism, or Unitarianism,—partly because the two former of these bodies,—nay, perhaps, almost every form of Dissent,—contain congregations made up chiefly from the upper and lower strata of these classes, and partly because all of these bodies are too small to admit of a comparison, in point of numbers, with the immense mass of people who come under the head of the working-classes. It is possible the authors of these essays may have turned their thoughts to the divisions which exist among sects, and the variety of opinion existing in the country on religious subjects; but they do not appear to attach much significance to this fact, or to regard it as having contributed to the alienation of the working classes from all forms of religious worship. Yet, of course, on the very lowest estimate of the claims of the Establishment, this consideration has great weight in accounting for such alienation. But, if it has been considered at all, there could be no doubt what the all-sufficient reply would be, that it is not so much the separation of belief as the limitation of belief that has caused this irreligious tone. And the remedy is obvious. Remove the limitations, and people

will be found ready enough to believe the residuum of doctrine which is prepared for them. What that residuum is to be is not yet distinctly stated.

Now this division of religious belief is, no doubt, a fatal barrier to the conversion of the heathen. Of course learned Brahmins will say, Settle amongst yourselves what it is you believe, and then come and preach to us; and it is not an edifying spectacle to Indians, whether recently converted, or still in the bonds of heathenism, to see Christians of different sects more vehement in their denunciations of each other than ever they were in their exposures of heathen unbelief and its concomitant moral degradations. But, on the principles adopted by these gentlemen, it must appear, we should think, at least doubtful to themselves whether a number of independent sects, either anathematizing,—or, at least, not fraternizing with,—each other, are not a more efficient engine for securing a kind of religiousness, whatever it may be worth, than one large body whose principal object would be to show that most of the points wherein Christianity was taught by the Christian Church are not essential, and the exhortations of whose ministers must be confined to two points, the preaching of a code of morality which is independent of Christian doctrine, and the denouncing the folly of insisting on matters of opinion as being of any importance. They appear to have read the history of the past, whether of religion or philosophy, to little purpose, if they think that any such system of syncretism will find favour at all with the masses, or retain its hold for more than a very short time over its sincerest adherents. We are told, indeed, that Mr. Mill, to whose capacities of belief the new formularies are, we suppose, to be adapted, has 'realized to 'himself a condition of society towards which mankind is fit-'fully progressing;' but it does not appear to us that there is much ground on which to rest this idea of progress. Neither do we think that Mr. Mill would much care to associate himself with our essayists, though they are indeed unconsciously promoting the dreary scepticism to which his philosophy is leading men. But our essayists have not yet made up their minds how far they will go in their work of destruction. They seem to have a misgiving that their dream of the future may appear visionary to practical men, and we accept their own comparison, when one of them admits that their hopes are no more visionary than those which they attribute to scientific men, who, it seems, would be crushed by a sense of their own ignorance, if they were not sustained by the hope of *discovering the last secrets of life and force.* Now this is a fair specimen of the nonsense which people write when they begin to talk big on the subject of science, of

which they are profoundly ignorant. We do not here accuse any of the other writers of being likely to indorse so preposterous a piece of nonsense except Mr. Clay, who is the editor of the book; and, perhaps, he left the expression alone from sheer inability to comprehend what it meant.

As to the fact of the alienation of the working classes from the Establishment, we have already implied that we are agreed with the author of the first essay. That this alienation will cause a revolution, which must take the form of the Church becoming more comprehensive, or ceasing to be established, is a theory which, though we do not hold to it ourselves, is plausible enough. We quite agree with our seven essayists, that disestablishment would be a great calamity. Whatever the Church might gain in this way,—and we are not insensible to the pressure of the chains and fetters in which she works,—she would lose that hold upon people's souls which she gradually gains by using the leverage of her position as an establishment. People of a certain class of life naturally belong to it in towns, and country people have, with few exceptions, comparatively slight temptations to quit her communion; and thus many people are possessed of advantages which they scarcely appreciate, whilst others come eventually to understand the privileges of Churchmanship who, perhaps, began with no other idea of the National Establishment than that it exhibited the most respectable form of worship. We deprecate the idea of disestablishment almost as fervently as the seven essayists, but we do so in a very different interest from what they parade. They look upon the Establishment of the future as a safeguard against dogmatism. We look to the Establishment of the Church as one principal means by which doctrinal truth may be spread over a wider area, and may influence more deeply the people of this country. We repeat we do not see that the alternative of disestablishment or comprehensiveness is at all exhaustive. It is true that a new class of people may come into power, and may force the alternative upon us; and then we shall altogether part company with the essayists, with whom we regret to say our present agreement is limited to the one idea of the desirableness of an established religion.

However, one thing is plain, that these writers, though they offer us the alternative of disestablishment or comprehensiveness, mean thereby that we are to take up with the latter part of the alternative. It is needless for us to say, that for the Church to become comprehensive in any degree in the direction which they point out would be equivalent to the Church's ceasing to exist at all. The Established Church, as they would still call it, would remain. The accidental would survive; the

essential would have been sacrificed. In one step of the process we should agree with them, but that step does not involve the smallest approach to an agreement in principle. We, with them, would sacrifice the Thirty-nine Articles, not because they are dogmatic, but because they are imposed by a body that has no right to dogmatise upon articles of faith, and because, so far as they are not dogmatical, they represent the views and feelings, circumstances and tendencies, of an age that is past and gone. But here again our agreement is more in appearance than reality. We suppose they would gladly part with every doctrine that interferes with the freest exercise of thought; or, if not yet prepared for that, they are evidently working in that direction. And for ourselves, we wish to express our desire for the utmost freedom of thought, consistent with the definitions of faith which come to us on infallible authority. To allow the liberty to dispute the fundamental doctrines, which the Church Catholic has laid down, seems to us about as reasonable as if a teacher of plane astronomy were to allow his pupil to consider it an open question whether the sun moved round the earth or the earth round the sun; or, to take an illustration from a higher branch of the same subject, if a treatise of physical astronomy should allow its readers to remain in doubt whether the theory of gravitation were true or false.

We have said enough of the alternative theory proposed to us. The writers in this volume advocate, without any doubt that they are in the right, and apparently without the slightest misgiving about their success, the view that the next generation will be under the mild sway of a comprehensive establishment which they have themselves erected, and which will not unduly tax the powers of belief of an educated artisan. The appearances of things at present are as if the writers were content to impose the Apostles' Creed upon the votaries of the new religion, as exactly suiting the comprehension of the working-man, and exactly meeting his religious wants. There have not, indeed, been wanting whispers here and there, that even this is an intellectual bondage too hard for the nineteenth century artisan to bear. Significant hints have been given from various quarters that it will be desirable to have no form of words to bind down people's faith; and undoubtedly this would have been a consistent development of the principles of Protestantism. Bible Protestants, it seems to us, have no business with a creed; and it is only wonderful that the development which is so extremely consistent and logical should have been delayed for just three centuries and a half. We do not in the least doubt that those who are now clamorous for the Apostles' Creed, as against the Nicene, would be, if they could get their own way, the fore-

most in the next generation for the 'Ideal of Christianity to be gathered from the Scriptures,' as against any profession of belief in words.

However, it is not construction but destruction that is the main work of the volume. The authors do not care much about what people are to believe for the future, but devote their energies to showing how the Establishment is to disbelieve for the sake of conciliating the various forms of disbelief that exist among the artizan class. How the class have come to their present position of misbelief and unbelief might indeed be a profitable question to discuss, but, as it is taken for granted that there is no harm in such unbelief, and that it is absolutely unavoidable, the question arises how it is to be dealt with, and the answer is very easy, if only people can bring themselves to believe that there is no such thing as objective truth. Of course, it only remains to adapt the system to that which is the only criterion of truth, viz., what happens to be believed or disbelieved by a majority of persons at any given moment in any given country. Truth is no longer what it has been so long with Protestants—what is contained in the Bible or may be proved thereby. It is what Mr. Wilson called it, 'The voice of the congregation interpreting the Bible according to the wants of the age.' We have occasional hints thrown out that too implicit a confidence must not be placed in the Bible; and one distinct avowal that the clergy of the future Church will have to write a new Bible to supersede the present one.

We need scarcely tell our readers that the first doctrine to be sacrificed is that of eternal punishment. The writers disbelieve this, as they do nearly every other doctrine of the Church; but one of them boldly proclaims that it is no part of their plan to discuss its truth or falsehood, but only to argue that it must be sacrificed because it is hated, and at the same time feared, by the common people to an extent of which we have little conception. The author of the essay on 'The Church and the Working Classes' seems, in his zeal against this doctrine, entirely to forget what the doctrine is against which he is arguing. 'The preacher,' he thinks, 'must hold it with a thousand drawbacks and difficulties,' because he must take into account the case of unbaptized children, of children baptized but left in practical heathenism, of virtuous heathens, and that (to him) hardest case of all, of men who live in the practice of the purest morality without a belief in the Christian Revelation. We presume that the argument is levelled against the doctrine 'of the necessity of faith to salvation,' and, if so, this author goes very near to making the assertion that there is no connexion whatever between a man's

form of belief and his hopes of salvation. And almost before we have time to think that it would be better not to preach the existence of a God who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, because of the number there are whose wicked lives induce them to fear and to hate God, and who in the early days of Christianity must have been almost countless, we come upon the still bolder assertion that fear is no legitimate motive to appeal to, because men's notions of manliness and dignity revolt at the thought of being coerced by fear, whilst the same individuals are easily, perhaps, moved by love. And now let the reader calmly think, if all this be true, how many texts he must expunge from the Bible. Undoubtedly, the new Scriptures of the Church of the future, which are to supersede the Bible of the older Church, will be very different from the book which they are destined to supplant. We cordially concur, however, with this writer, when he says, 'Certainly the defence of the doctrine of eternal punishment as a useful economy is the worst possible ground to take.' It must, indeed, be a strange faith which stands in need of being bolstered up by false arguments. Lest we should be thought to exaggerate the view of these writers, let us make one quotation here:—'The alienation of the Demos will compel us to examine 'closely into the defective parts of our system in order that the 'people themselves may then take their place in the Church of 'which they have first of all compelled the Reformation.'

Before we quit the subject of sacrificing the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment for the sake of propitiating those who refuse to believe what appears to them a contradiction to the nature of God, let us compare it with the parallel case of the preaching of Christianity to the philosophic sects of the first century. We are told in the Acts of the Apostles of certain philosophers of the Stoics and Epicureans whose curiosity was excited by S. Paul's preaching. We are not told in Holy Scripture anything about the comparative influence of that preaching on the members of these two sects respectively. But no one can be conversant with the history of the early Church without knowing that Christianity met with the bitterest opposition, not from the Epicureans, whose philosophy, it might have been thought was in most points far more at variance with the strict self-denial preached by Apostles and practised by converts of that time, but from the Stoics, who professed a good deal that on the outside must have looked very much like Christian conduct. We do not know that this phenomenon has ever been examined as attentively as it deserves. And without attempting to give any adequate account of this here, one thing at least is clear, that though humility was no virtue either preached or practised in either of these schools,

the Stoic was specially distinguished from the Epicurean by the pride which his system inculcated, and by the contemptuous bearing of its votaries, both towards their fellow-men and as regards the accidents of life. It is not to our purpose to insist here on this excessive pride, excepting in the one relation in which it prompted them to assert that pain was no evil, and in some instances to deny the existence of moral as well as physical evil. The existence of moral evil could not be believed because it was inconsistent with their idea of the perfection of an Almighty God. There could be no such thing as evil,—there was only seeming or imaginary evil. It was, of course, mainly the persistent refusal to recognise the evil in his own nature that kept the consistent Stoic in his attitude of opposition to Christianity, just as in the present day it is the absence of the conviction of their own sinfulness that prejudices people against the system of doctrine which represents that sinfulness in its most glaring colours, as first of all deserving an everlasting punishment, and requiring a sacrifice of infinite value for its forgiveness. Now, if the Apostles and their successors had acted with the same forbearance as our modern essayists recommend, what would have become of the doctrines of original guilt or of actual sin? They must both have been sacrificed to meet the prejudices of those who could not believe in either of them. Let us only try to imagine what might have been S. Paul's answer to the Stoic whose notion of manliness and dignity could not brook the degradation of being called a sinner, and being asked to submit to the religion of the Cross. 'Evil cannot betide the wise man,' argues the philosopher. The first epistle to the Corinthians gives the reply. 'The Greeks seek after wisdom: but we preach 'Christ crucified, unto the Greeks foolishness.' 'The foolishness 'of God is wiser than men.' 'God hath chosen the foolish things 'of the world to confound the wise: that no flesh should glory in 'His presence.'

The magnificent idea of the unity of the undogmatic Church of the future is materially aided in the volume by the assumption of the convenient fiction that the power of Rome is dying out. Her influence is being neutralized as liberty and science are advancing; and as confidence in human progress is growing. Fortunately, the writers are describing England and not Ireland. If they hope to win Ireland to their new creed, they must be of a sanguine temperament. Moreover, if they are true to their principles, they ought to speak with the utmost abhorrence of the superstition of the creed of far the larger portion of Western Christendom—to say nothing now of the religion of the Eastern world. But every writer has steered clear of this enormous difficulty. Let them be ever so confident of the truth

of their theory, they must at least admit the possibility of the objection being thrown in their teeth, that Rome is at the present moment, at least, as she has been for a full quarter of a century, strengthening the hold she has over the people of this country. They may believe that dogmatism may die out of the Church of England; though here, too, is a difficulty in the plain fact, that the more open the Privy Council pronounces her formularies to be, the more dogmatic is the character of her clergy becoming. If we were to grant that all this will speedily be put an end to, then there remains the Roman question, which it strikes us ought to present a difficulty, though it does not appear in that light to our sanguine reformers. According to them, the doctrines of Justification and the Real Presence will be so generalized as to cease to vex the unity of the Church of the future, which will possess and rejoice, and be content, in the possession of a united belief in the historical truthfulness of the New Testament.

There is one of these essays which we shall not have occasion to refer to again, and which we may dismiss here with the simple observation that it contains a very temperate and useful exposure of the voluntary system, with its advantages and disadvantages, in comparison with the good and evil tendencies which may be seen in an establishment. It will not be expected that we of this review should look at matters from the same point of view which Mr. Llewellyn Davies adopts. Nevertheless, his contribution to the volume is very suggestive, and we quite concur in his general estimate and condemnation of the voluntary system, judged of according to its working among Nonconformists. From his point of view, which we suppose to be that there is nothing specially divine in the commission which the Church of England inherits, his representation appears to us quite conclusive. Comprehensiveness is only indirectly his point; but when his colleagues shall have succeeded in recommending to the country at large a system of doctrine reduced to the very minimum that the present century will bear, we think this second essay will have done more service to the cause than all the combined efforts of his fellow-contributors. He will have demonstrated, probably, even to their own satisfaction, that only on condition of a close connexion with the State could their theory hold together for any appreciable length of time. The essay is calm and temperate, and stands in this respect in marked contrast with the foolish arrogance which characterises the rest of the volume. He does not, indeed, conceal his hopes, but he does not dogmatize about them in the style of the other writers in the volume, who seem to believe in nothing but that they themselves are infallible and all the rest of the world in the wrong.

The conclusion of his essay represents, in studiously moderate terms, the result at which the whole volume aims. 'It will be 'the natural business of the State, at such an epoch, to make 'the Church as liberal as the Church will bear to be. It will be the 'privilege of the Church to sacrifice to the interests of the country 'which cherishes it anything short of its testimony to the Gospel 'of Christ. We do not wish to be judged only by what has been; 'we inherit, indeed, from the past our ideal of Church and State, 'but we wish to see it realized in forms which the purpose of 'God, increasing through the ages, may support.'

None of our essayists seem to be altogether sanguine as to the complete and immediate success of their scheme of comprehension. It is probable that some of them would go much further than others, both in their own disbelief in dogma, and in the amount to which they would diminish it; but most of them seem to have an inkling that after toleration has gone its utmost limits, there will still remain people who choose to have dogma, whether self-imposed or imposed by an external authority, and for these they would advocate toleration, even in their bigotry. And it will be a sore time for our reformers, the moment their magnificent scheme of comprehension has begun to work, to find not only that people will have none of it, but that they must themselves, in common consistency, be foremost in defending the position of a hundred additional sects who will agree in nothing but anathematizing each other, and whose wrath and contempt will be poured out especially on the pet scheme, whose only attraction was its promise of universal brotherhood.

The editor of the volume has himself contributed two of the eight essays. We shall make no further allusion to the sixth essay, which is a very dull account of the writer's view of the mode in which the education of the people, who are to constitute the model Church of the future, is to be conducted. In the other essay the far more important preliminary question is treated, what sort of opinions the clergy may be expected to hold? This essay contains the key-note to the whole volume, which note, however, as will have been seen, it is not difficult to gather from most other parts of the book. Even the boldest of the seven does not endorse the theory that the idea of comprehension is to be absolutely without limits. Even he appears to think that toleration has a suicidal tendency. He is content, therefore, that for the present such limits shall be assigned to the comprehensive scheme as the sense of the people at large will bear. The impertinent suggestion of the young nobleman who, just emancipated from school, thinks that he can set the religious world to rights is dismissed as premature, at least, if not altogether impracticable. Mr. Clay does not seem to see

the absurdity of the notion, at least he makes no protest against it, that the agricultural labourer is to arrive at a rational belief by hearing both sides of every question. It does not occur to Mr. Clay to think that there may be a difficulty on the score of his being unable to comprehend the arguments and decide for himself; nor, again, on the ground that, when he comprehends, he may, perhaps, be too old to begin to put in practice his rational religion; but he claims it as one of the indefeasible rights of man not to be forced to hear more than one side unless he chooses. Perhaps the writer will one day learn, that there are people who think it their indefeasible right to turn a deaf ear to both sides of a question. Lord Amberley, of course, must think, if he thinks at all, that it does not matter a straw, after a man has heard the arguments pro and con as to the existence of God, which side he adopts. The theory is as good as any theory can be, that starts with the hypothesis that there is no such thing as truth, and no eternal distinction between right and wrong. The theory of our essayists seems to differ from this, in that they think there is such a thing as truth if we could but find it, and that the way of approximating to it is to take the judgment of the congregation upon it.

Our readers do not need to be informed that this is not the first time this wonderful theory has been broached. A far more able writer than any of those we are now noticing put it boldly out in the volume called 'Essays and Reviews,' and has since defended it. Eight years ago the voice of the congregation being the Word of God was a new idea, and Dr. Lushington may well be excused for his inability to understand what it meant. Neither did Mr. Wilson explain his meaning very clearly; but the editor of this volume has popularized the idea. Mr. Wilson, at least, understood the necessity entailed upon him of finding some judge who was to settle the meaning of that Scripture to which all sects appeal in justification of their tenets. But it was a bright invention, because it covered all difficulties of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, that the judgment of the congregation, who were in a sense both the imponents and the receivers of the Articles and doctrines of the Church, should be the variable exponent of their meaning. The meaning of Scripture is not that which it had in the intention of its respective writers, nor that meaning which the Catholic Church or which tradition has put upon it, but its meaning is that which the National Church for the time being defines to be its meaning. It matters not that there may be many National Churches assigning different meanings to it. That for any given nation is the true meaning which that nation has at length arrived at.

It seems then that a large liberty of thought is to be left to the clergy, but not too large a liberty, and that the judges of the extent of liberty allowed must be the congregations whom they are to teach. Here it would not be fair to expect a close or total agreement between our essayists. All would agree in deprecating an imitation in this country of the American system; *i.e.* the system in which the State interferes in no way whatever with the religion of the people. One would argue that it seriously hampers liberty of thought in the minister; another would take the ground that it leads to a multitude of small independent dogmatisms, each hurling a firebrand at its neighbour's head. There might probably be more difference of opinion as to the adoption of the idea of religious equality, the State securing the endowment of different religious bodies in some proportion to the numbers of their adherents. On the supposition that there is no such thing to be found in the midst of all these discordant sects, as a true representation of the Catholic Church as founded by Christ himself, there only remains the hypothesis of selection by the State. In the abstract it is conceivable it may select one of the existing sects, or it may found a sect which had no previous existence. But, looking at the thing in the concrete, as things actually exist in England, the State neither has nor ever has had to perform this difficult task of deciding what her religion shall be. We need not go back to the obscure times, or the obscurer history of the compact between Church and State. It is sufficient for the purpose that such contract exists, or rather to describe matters after the fashion of the essayists, that Henry VIII. founded a National Church, which has existed from that time to this without any very material alteration or modification of its tenets. And dismissing the other two views, which we will call the American and the impartial view respectively, as wholly inapplicable to present circumstances and impracticable, the ground is narrowed as to whether the Establishment shall remain as it is, or whether it shall be enlarged to meet the altered or altering circumstances of the present generation. That the Establishment cannot remain unaltered is entirely taken for granted; and if the debates in Parliament, both in the Lords and Commons, are to be taken as an evidence of what churchmen think of the Irish Establishment, and of their willingness to apply the same to the English, the defence of the English Establishment as it is, representing half the numbers of the people of the country, will be impossible. But, as an Establishment must be saved at all hazards in the interest of free thought as opposed to dogmatism, it only remains that the doctrines must be altered to include as many as

possible, and that so much shall be retained as the masses would be unwilling to part with at the present moment. It is seriously argued that it would not do to have everything an open question just at first; and though one of the writers thinks that we shall probably within ten years have a decision of the Privy Council relegating the divinity of our Lord to the category of open questions, the same writer still thinks that the truth of truths, 'God manifest in the flesh,' is safe, whatever betides. We cannot abandon that faith in the Incarnation which is destined to be the great dynamic idea of our future civilization.

We make no attempt to reconcile the contradiction involved in these statements. There is no false philosophy, or false theology, which does not, sooner or later, entangle itself in a maze of inconsistencies. But, giving Mr. Clay the benefit of the most orthodox interpretation of his language, omitting altogether to notice the fusion of the Socinian heresy with all other false opinions in the Church of the future, we ask him what business he has to fix upon one detached doctrine of the Church, the explicitness of the revelation of which is only one degree greater than that of the distinct personality of the Holy Ghost, and to try the vain attempt of building up a system of morality around the divinity of Christ, if that is the doctrine he really means, severed from the scheme of doctrine into which it fits harmoniously, and without which it is utterly devoid of meaning. Mr. Clay and his colleagues must know very well that they have no right to stop here and say, We will have a rational explanation of religious doctrine, but we reserve the most sacred doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God, which we dare not and cannot give up. We will be as rational as we can, but we must still adhere to that which the rationalist thinks the most absurd of all beliefs, and a mere contradiction in terms, the Infinite becoming Finite, the Absolute changing itself into the Conditioned, the Creator becoming the Creature, the First cause becoming an Instrument, and the like. A great injustice would be done to Dr. Colenso and M. Renan if they are to be excluded from the Church of the future. Nay, if the congregation are to decide what is truth, why should the most intellectual and the most consistent portion of the congregation be excluded from giving their vote? There are absolutely no limits to the process of disintegration of doctrine. And Lord Amberley's childish proposal of a Church without doctrines, and a liturgy which must embody some doctrine, but of the truth of the doctrines of which ministers and people alike may profess their disbelief, is absolutely reasonable in comparison with the system which professes to allow the people to choose for themselves, and then tells them that with regard to the most unreasonable of all doctrines, there is no choice left for them

but to accept it on the dictum of the Rev. W. L. Clay, M.A., Incumbent of Rainhill, Lancashire, because it is the 'dynamic idea of civilization.'

One is indeed ashamed and disgusted to have to argue against such transparent sophistries. But there is one other point of view from which it may be worth while to survey this application of the *vox populi, vox Dei* to ecclesiastical matters.

Supposing, then, that this method had been adopted exactly half a century ago,—supposing, which we do not admit, that it would have been possible to put it in practice,—supposing again, which we do not admit, that the new order of things could have stood together for half a century with or without certain developments which would or would not be called for, according to the amount of life and vigour the congregation might happen to possess, and according to the amount of interest in religious matters upon which such vigour and activity might be employed,—let us pause for a moment over the edifying spectacle which would have been presented by the attempt to amalgamate the listless apathy of the masses during the first twenty years of this century and the misdirected and ignorant fervour of the rising sect of Evangelicals, to form a liturgy and a creed which should in a true sense represent the national mind:

'Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis.'

There are things which refuse to submit to the law of average, and amongst them are incommensurate things. The compromise attempted to be made would certainly not have resulted in the satisfaction of either party. Between the two parties, it may be said, was a very large class, who, according to circumstances, might be classed as having tendencies towards the listless or the religious side. Now, it would not be possible to guess how far the religious body would have gone in the way of changes proposed, and where these changes must have stopped, in order to prevent their secession from the Establishment. We may be pretty sure, however, that every trace of sacramental grace would have disappeared from the new prayer-book,—every passage that ever so indirectly protests against Rome would have been preserved,—an idea of atonement would have been kept, because the small party who would be in its favour would have been earnest in proportion to their fewness,—and the doctrine of justification by faith would have approved itself to all parties; to some because of its supposed renunciation of self; to most because of the protection it affords against the necessity of good works to salvation. It may, we think, safely be said that the result would have been a dismal stagnation of religious life, and a forgetfulness of moral obligation even

more striking than that which was so rudely interfered with by the sudden revival of Catholic principles forty years ago. Had what we have been supposing come to pass, there would have been no room for the 'Essays on Church Policy' to be published in 1868. Rome would have been quietly regaining her ancient sway over the country, attracting to herself whatever amount of religious feeling might have survived, and no attempts would have been made to reconcile the onward march of intellect with the formulas and doctrines of Protestant religion, because it would have been felt that, upon the whole, they exercised somewhat of a healthful restraint on immorality of various kinds, but were too feeble in any way to interfere with the advancing tide of liberalism, and the ultimate ascendancy of scientific investigation. Our essayists would not have been satisfied with this state of things. The hopeless state of inaction of the Establishment, which they are now doing the best they can to bring about, would have been created ready to their hands, and their fruitless efforts would, perhaps, have been directed towards a last attempt to galvanize into life a body which had died because all the air which it formerly breathed had been exhausted.

We can imagine a sort of reply made to this, to the effect that an experiment which might not have succeeded then may meet with a different fate now. Why should not the attempt be made to utilize and combine, for the purposes of religion, the vigour and energy which confessedly exist at the present day, and much of which is wasted in wrangling about subtle distinctions which have no influence on morals, and in the vain attempt to fathom mysteries confessedly insoluble by human intellect? And we answer that the thing will fail, because it is a mere vain endeavour to unite religion and irreligion. And, in point of logic, it stands on precisely the same ground as the attempt to make a system of laws, enacted for the protection of morality, include in their code all the virtues and most of the vices; or, as if a legislator should content himself with laying down highly generalized principles of morality, such, for instance, as that it is right to obey God, but should leave it quite open to each individual to decide for himself, irrespectively of law, what in any given case should be considered obedience or disobedience to the law of God.

We have already given this absurd volume far more space than it deserves, but we have not noticed the smaller fry who have contributed, according to their ability, to the sum total. Of the fourth and sixth essays, treating respectively on the subjects of the Church and Universities, and the Church and the Congregation, little need be said. In these two compositions it is difficult to say whether the idea of silliness or arrogance is the

more prominent, nor can we decide to which of the two authors the palm on either score is due. Both, it may be hoped, are very young men, who may in time learn something of modesty and wisdom, or at least may acquire the art of concealing their want of these two faculties, though probably long before that time arrives they will have found out that it is not so easy a task as they suppose to regenerate the Church and the world; that it is possible others may be sometimes right as well as themselves; and that assertion, however confident, has not the persuasive force of logical argument. The object of the following essay appears to be to convince the High Church party that, if they succeed in breaking off the connexion of Church and State, they will never carry the endowments with them, and that, perhaps, they had better let well alone and acquiesce in the inevitable enlargement of the limits of doctrine to which the Church of the future will inevitably have to submit.

Mr. Seeley's concluding essay on the Church, as a teacher of morality, is designed to show us how the Church of the future may teach people what the Church of the present, it seems, does not do, the elements of morality. He is much more modest than most of his colleagues as to the probability of the method he suggests being adopted. He does not insist that the future must and shall be moulded exactly as he thinks it will be. He is as little satisfied as they are with the existing state of things, and he believes, as they do, that the only remedy for it is the comprehensiveness of system which is generally advocated by the at present insignificant Broad Church party. At present men are not taught morality at all, because the Establishment is divided into High Churchmen and Evangelical. We are not giving our opinion, it must be remembered, but Mr. Seeley's. The Evangelicals divide men into a small body of converted, and a large body of unconverted, and they practically abandon all moral questions—confining themselves, we suppose him to mean, to the one doctrine of justification by faith. High Churchmen are nearly as bad, because of their attachment to tradition, which it seems disposes them to regard all moral questions as settled already. Between the two, Church people are taught only one moral duty—the relieving of distress. It is extremely difficult to appreciate so fanciful a state of mind as that in which Mr. Seeley must be, when he writes thus. He professes, indeed, to be very enlightened as to the actual state of things. Nay, his own complaint against High Churchmen is, that they do not understand the present, but only the past, and therefore are unable to provide a remedy for existing evils. On the contrary, he appears to us to be in all but total ignorance of both the parties of whom he speaks; whilst he entirely ignores all that large party lying between the two who used to be stigmatized as moral

preachers, because they thought that faith might possibly exist apart from works, and that instructing their congregations in their duty towards God and man was one of their own principal duties. His description of the Evangelical party is glaringly false, except so far as it applies to an extreme section of them, who still survive in small numbers. As to the picture of High Churchmen, he must be in entire ignorance, not only of the class of sermons that are common amongst them, but of the extensively prevailing habit of private confession, which, for the most part, is occupied with what even Mr. Seeley would call morality. We can only conjecture that his extreme zeal against definitions of faith and dogmatic teaching blinds him to the mode in which priests who lay stress on dogma insist on the general connexion between a virtuous life and a true faith, and are almost always pointing out to their hearers the special application of individual doctrines to individual Christian graces. Has he really never heard humility preached in connexion with the incarnation; love to God enforced by what God has done for man; purity or unselfishness from the example of our blessed Saviour. Has he never heard of the fear of God as connected with eternal punishment as a deterrent from any immoral act? In the very description of the state of the Church which he has given, he has quite forfeited any character he may ever have borne for the possession of common sense. We protest that we scarcely know where to go to look for his Evangelicals or his High Churchmen; so different are they from any experience that we ourselves possess of either of these parties. He seems to think that newspapers preach morality, but that clergymen do not. Let us take an instance. The *Saturday Review* for many weeks vigorously attacked the indecent mode of dress recently adopted by young ladies of the upper class. We agree with Mr. Seeley if he should say that the *Saturday Review* did well. But did Mr. Seeley never hear of the stinging sermon preached by Dr. Pusey on the subject? Or does he suppose that the High Church clergy throughout the country have done nothing towards putting down this unseemly fashion, and deterring the ladies of their own congregations from adopting it? We are not sure, even now, that this instance of particularizing what people ought and ought not to do comes up to Mr. Seeley's idea, which seems to us to consist in the abstract teaching of what is right and wrong in particular relations more than in enforcing this teaching by considerations of rewards and punishments and the like. Mr. Seeley will, perhaps, say his experience is as good as ours. We must, in that case, leave our readers to judge for themselves whose experience their own falls most nearly in with.

At least we are not misrepresenting this writer, when he alleges that the defect of the teaching of morality has to be remedied

by the clergy of the Broad Church school, who are, 'as it were, at war with their own order,' and are willing to refer the mistakes of the divine to the judgment of the laity as the ultimate court of appeal. Now Mr. Seeley admits that the clergy of the Broad school, as he calls them, whether belonging to the Church of England or any other denomination, are still but few; neither does he think that even they are, as yet, educated up to his ideal standard. Nevertheless, though, as we have said, he does not talk arrogantly, as if what he hopes must of necessity come to pass, he proceeds to lay down the outlines of the work now remaining to be done by his latitudinarian brethren, and the way in which they should do it. In one point he is certainly sufficiently sanguine. He feels so sure that the relieving of distress is the only practical lesson which is clearly taught in sermons that he repeats the statement twice in different parts of his essay, and on the second occasion, he adds, what we confess we are unable to endorse, that the duty is being very thoroughly learned by the nation, and is very generally practised. But what will the reader think of the astounding inference, which must be given in the author's own words, or else it would be said that the reviewer is misrepresenting the writer—'If other 'moral rules equally reasonable were preached with equal 'unanimity, however feebly, they would meet with equal ac-'ceptance.' The Broad Church party will, indeed, have gained a signal triumph when it shall have succeeded in even nearly driving out all deceit from trade, and making purity of life the recognised rule amongst our men of the higher ranks and our women of the lower ranks of society. We may observe that it is not recorded that the Sermon on the Mount was equally successful. It will readily be supposed that the new order of clergy will require a training very different indeed, not to say very superior, to anything that can be had now. For this purpose modern history is to supply the place of the study of the language of the New Testament, and to this is to be added a knowledge of the whole political economy of philanthropy, and a cultivation of the art of rhetoric.

When the preacher has been thus educated, he is to utilize his knowledge by holding up for the imitation of his audience the example of the heroes of modern history instead of those of the Old Testament. The reason alleged for this is that to an intelligent audience (and we may here once for all observe that all the writers of this volume take it for granted that agricultural labourers may be described as an intelligent audience) the best examples of virtue are not, as a general rule, those of the Bible, but examples taken from modern times and from a society like our own. As doctrine has been, for the most part, already eliminated from the teaching of the new school of

morality, it will easily be seen that the Old Testament becomes practically of little or no use. Our readers will probably think that it is a mere sarcasm of ours provoked, but perhaps hardly justified, by what has been alleged, if we suggest that in its place they had better substitute a new Bible, with a proper mixture of the national character and the virtues and vices displayed in the lives of individuals, for the edification of the new class of readers, and to supply topics for the new class of sermons with which we are to be favoured by the Broad Church clergy. And we will admit that we did not expect, even in this volume, to find that this plan is gravely proposed and is based upon a dictum of Mr. Carlyle's, that every nation's true Bible is its history. No difficulty, of course, need be raised, or would be at all in point here, as to its authoritativeness: that has been long ago settled to be unnecessary, because the voice of the future congregation, as time goes on, will make itself heard and will sift the new Bible in the same way as the voice of the present congregation has sifted the old one, discarded what is unnecessary, and retained what appears to tend to edification. As to the description of simplicity of style in sermons, we shall only say that the author does not seem to be aware that his hopes for the future have been anticipated in 'Newman's Parochial Sermons,' which he does not seem to have read, much less to be aware that they have set an example which has ever since been followed by those whom he calls High Churchmen. And this same remark applies to a good deal of what the writer says of the matter as well as the manner of sermons. He must have been very unlucky in the churches he has selected,—in the preachers he has sat under, if that mode of expression suits better,—if he has never heard the particular vices of the day lashed or censured. Again we would draw his attention to the 'Parochial Sermons,' which are now in course of being reprinted. Here, as in other parts of the essay, the writer seems to us to be beating the air. Especially does he appear guilty of this, when he begins a tirade against severing theology and morality. We could have imagined that there was some foundation for this accusation thirty or forty years ago; we see little of it now in the only school of thought that is extensively influencing for good the religious life of England. The Evangelicals are nearly effete. The Broad Church is incipient, but we do not think the programme it sets out will be very effective in gaining adherents to their cause, except amongst those who desire to throw off the restraints of religion; or those who think that, after all, people lead tolerably good lives, and that it does not much matter so long as things can go comfortably on and no great scandal is given. Truly, Catholicism has taken its revenge upon Protestantism.

We shall conclude this article with a conspectus or synopsis of the principal axioms, postulates, and deductions, which are either expressly enunciated in the volume or come out from it by easy inference.

1. The Church is neither Catholic nor Protestant, but National.
2. The English Church was the creation of the Reformation.
3. The connexion of Church and State is of the essence of the Church of England.
4. There is nothing wrong in schism as such.
5. University education is of more importance to the clerical character than an Apostolic Succession.
6. The Church of England has a grand career before her, if only she will be guided by the seven essayists.
7. The clergy are priests only as all men are priests, by the right of offering to God a reasonable service.
8. The sole object of a Church is to make men love one another.
9. The idea of saving one's own soul is a vulgarity.
10. The inherent vigour of Wesleyanism is so great that its system had better be adopted by the Church of England in spite of its vulgarity.
11. A good time is coming when poverty shall have ceased and vice be nearly extinguished.
12. There is no such thing as original guilt.
13. Christ came, not to be a propitiator for sin, but an example of holy life.
14. Death did not come into the world by sin.
15. All people will soon come to see the impossibility of believing the eternity of future punishments.
16. The reformation of the offender is the object of all human punishment.
17. The endowment of dogma is a bribery to the living to accept the sway of the dead.
18. No Church can be really free except the lay element is the controlling one.
19. The laity ought to be the ultimate court of appeal in all theological discussions.
20. Incomparably the larger portion of Scripture history is entirely unnecessary for the establishment of any theological doctrine.
21. Preachers are misled by their constant habit of resting morality on the Bible.
22. There is such a science as theology, but it has not succeeded in eighteen centuries in establishing anything that ought to be believed as truth.
23. Speculative belief is of little consequence, and has little or no influence on morality.
24. Error is entirely involuntary.

25. Faith is a mere matter of intellect, and has no connexion with the state of the heart.

This list might be enlarged. It will be seen that the items are not altogether independent of each other, nor will bear being tested by the laws of logical division. Such as they are, they spring from a single source, and are scattered over all parts of the volume, of which we shall say no more than that we do not remember ever having seen a book with so small an amount of truth mixed up with its errors. A false philosophy has generally some resemblance to truth, but that cannot be said of the philosophy of the 'Essays on Church Policy.'

Before closing this article, we may observe that we anticipate great advantages to accrue to the cause of truth and religion from the publication of this volume. The whole tone of it is so preposterously arrogant, silly, and offensive, that it can scarcely fail to suggest to any religious mind the thought, how religion and morality are likely to fare in the hands of such teachers. The contrast between the two principles now at work in the Church of England—the principle of deference to authority and that of choosing for oneself—cannot fail to present itself to every reader. Many will be led to think of the respective issues of these two principles, and will make their choice accordingly. The principle of submission to authority is that under which in one form or other, all people are brought up, both those without as well as those within the pale of the Church, and we are quite content to say that wherever a person may find himself, his allegiance is due, in the first instance, to the school in which he has been educated. It is unfortunately true that many, who under a true system might have developed into a higher life than that which they are leading under the false theories in which they have been brought up, will not find their own way easily out of darkness into light. The more earnest-minded, however, will be found to do this. For the most part those who have been brought up in a wrong or defective faith will remain in it, but the better sort will probably find something wanting to their higher aspirations. Such persons may have to face the question: What is the real claim on their allegiance of the authority to which they have hitherto submitted? And the more earnest and religious the mind, the more painful will be the process of investigation. Such persons have to use their reason as best they may; aided by such other appliances of feeling, affection, circumstance, as they may find themselves actuated by in finding a religion for themselves. In the process it is probable that very many will find their way to Rome, as presenting an authoritative front which is less apparent in the Church of England, divided as she is into parties. It is no doubt easier for those people, whose faith in the system

of their education has been shaken, to find their way to Romanism than to Anglicanism. Yet no other body makes any claim as of Divine right to our allegiance, and the English Church has at least this advantage still, that it is the Church of the nation; the Church a change into whose communion would seem less violent than if a sudden plunge were made into all the modern developments of the Roman system. The prejudice of any candid inquirer among Dissenting bodies would certainly be in favour of the English rather than the Roman Communion, though to many an intellectual Dissenter the appearance of unity pervading the Roman Church, and its fearless dogmatism, will be more attractive than the open questions and manifest divisions in the Church of England. Such persons, too, are in general brought more in contact with Anglicans than Romanists, and the national feeling will be likely to have more weight than the cosmopolitan idea.

The principle of deference to the Bible alone has held together much longer than could reasonably have been expected; it has been shivered to atoms by Dr. Colenso and his friends; and it is certain that no new Bible such as that which seems contemplated by the new school, will ever have much weight, except with its compilers. People must believe something, and some of them will be led to enquire why they believe it, and on whose authority. And assuredly the answer that most will give themselves will not be because they find the doctrines reasonable. The time for a reasonable religion died out with Locke and Tillotson; and though many people are so unfortunately placed, owing to the various schemes that exist, that they have to depend more or less on reason for their choice, they will never be content that the doctrines of their religion should accommodate themselves exclusively to their reasoning faculty. Reason is warned to keep her proper place by the most elementary doctrine of natural religion, namely, the co-existence of evil with the perfections of Almighty God; and assuredly the warning is repeated at every onward step which faith takes. It is of no use for Protestant divines to make the distinction of what is above reason and what is contrary to reason for the sake of defending the doctrine of the Trinity and impugning that of transubstantiation. If the matter is beyond her sphere, reason must be unable to pronounce upon the case. Within her sphere she can decide what involves a contradiction in terms; beyond it she cannot be appealed to in the last resort to determine whether what in words may seem to be contradictory must necessarily involve a contradiction in idea. A religion of mysteries cannot be a religion of mere reason, though her province as a subordinate agent may extend into the most recondite mysteries of the faith.

ART. VII.—1. *Minutes of the Conference*, 1868. Wesleyan Conference Office.

2. *The Methodist Recorder*. August.

THE position of the Church of England towards the various dissenting bodies in this country, is naturally at the present epoch a subject of very special interest. We rejoice at this interest, cropping up as it does in so many sections of our Church, for many reasons; for it argues a real consciousness of the highly unsatisfactory condition under which we have long been content to live, as though our 'unhappy divisions' were a mere empty expression; and from this a growing perception of the great practical hindrance to all national improvement or social reforms which our religious disunion produces: it argues also, in some quarters, a truly Christian disposition or instinct to be gathering together from all parties those who hold the faith of Christ, and who in evil days will be ready to fight His battle against some great impending danger, under whatever form that danger may be conceived or pictured. But in looking at this question, it is needful to remember that the practical duties incumbent upon us as Churchmen, and the looming dangers ahead of us, may not be so special or peculiar to our own times as to warrant or require the great and sudden departure from the Church general laws of action, which some eager enthusiasts or party leaders seem to imagine is necessary. There are very few minds, however warmly we may have been devoted to them, however long we may have watched their moral energy and perseverance in the work allotted to them by Providence, however strong and powerful they may have been in carrying out that work, which yet do not at some time or other show a certain narrowness of compass, a certain failure of judgment, when out of their special vocation, which is rather disappointing to those who have anticipated, in the guidance of such minds, a grasp and a comprehensiveness equal to any emergencies. The special vocation of Dr. Pusey—for we would come to our point—has ever been rather connected with the more home and domestic line of personal religion in faith or practice, than with the open field of politics, as regards the externals or secularities of the Church. That line, in its very nature,—derived, as it has been, from the study of the early Fathers as to doctrine, and from the ascetic school of Church writers as to life and morals,—has been a narrow one, almost in a sense sectarian; for it has aimed,

and rightly so, at influencing a select body of men bound together by peculiarly strict ideas—men and women full, indeed, of love and charity towards all men, but yet by profession taking a very stern view of the world, with its relapses both moral and dogmatic, and essentially occupying the position of an isolated few. With regard to the inner Christian life, this line is more or less necessary to all; and they who take the lead in the direction of personal holiness are peculiarly in such a position as we picture; but there are other, more public and wider vocations, though not more holy, in the range of Church politics, which require their due meed of attention. The divine who, as a guide of life, and in his personal relationships with many generations, it may almost now be said, both of penitents and of saints, has triumphed over all ill-will, and become a name ever to be revered, is yet not only unstrengthened on secular topics by his true and natural vocation, but the disposition of mind encouraged by it directly militates against the power of dealing with large and general questions of the political world, even when the Church, its doctrines and its morals, are the subject of discussion. Many years ago we remember a country clergyman, who had lived much in the atmosphere of Methodism, remarking that Dr. Pusey was a High Church Methodist; and from the beginning there has been much sympathy, under the guise even of contested points, between the views of personal religion adopted by these two opposite schools—sympathy which has been the secret of the influence of both; especially on the point of a certain habit of exclusiveness, which is so apt to be carried to self-righteousness, and is at the foundation of all new teaching that involves peculiarly strict views on religious life, and a high profession of asceticism.

Wesleyan Methodists are essentially a small body of professors, viewing the world as reprobate, and considering it their vocation to call souls out of perdition into themselves. This, it may be said, is exactly the description of Christ's Church as the Divine Word brings it before us; but herein consists the spirit of sectarianism, the assumption for a small body of the complete functions and position of the universal Church of Christ in its largest sense. We cordially join in all the praise so universally bestowed on the mission of John Wesley, and there is no occasion here to recapitulate the abuses of the Church which seemed to drive him to very unwilling separation. Nor would we exaggerate the facts of that separation, or underrate the partial adherence to the Church which Methodists up to recent times still adopted. There is even now, through the complete ignoring of the Church of England which has grown up of late over the whole Methodist body, a consciousness of something from which they separate (a Church with whose easier life and more worldly manners their own

forms a humble but severe contrast), which implies in itself the existence of that Church as an established order of things. Methodism in many ways has but repeated the work of our mediæval friars, whose contempt of the secular clergy was equal to any abuse heaped upon the parsons by modern Methodists. Differing organizations, carried even to very lively warfare, have yet in all ages been comprehended within what cannot but be called, in a liberal sense, the pale of the Church. The organization of the Wesleyans is, indeed, now so complete, so self-contained, that its members seem carried away by it into more open schism than their feelings would always justify. This is probably what Mr. Jackson refers to when he says that union between the Church and Wesleyans is 'illegal.' The Wesleyans dare not act otherwise than as their system marks out for fear of any encroachment on its perfections, for there cannot but be many slumbering alarms that the system once touched, once exposed to any rough handling, would collapse. The itinerant character of its ministry is felt to be a great burden, entailing personal hardship, for which there is not the same cause now as in the origin of Methodism.

This and other causes, derived from the simpler ages of its history, keeps down the intellectual progress of Methodism as compared with other sects, specially the Independents; and among the younger Methodists, not unsupported by the older generation of all who remember religious ecstasies in former days bursting out (as one of them touchingly recalls in a letter to the *Methodist Recorder*) in the words of the *Te Deum*, there are many desires for a more fixed ritual, for more ornate arrangements of service than are at present enjoyed. The obstructives seem to be those who themselves have perfected the present system, and who fear that it should be touched. This, however, is not the true spirit of Methodism; it is of the essence of that very weakness against which Methodism at first so vigorously protested, for it arose in the beginning as a rough informal supplement to make up for the deficiencies of a too rigid, too cold, too sleepy an Establishment. Yet now, to judge from the popular praises everywhere sung during the time of the late Conference, it is approaching the stage of existence at which its forms and rules and ordinances are its merit, rather than a certain erratic but spirit-stirring force.

The phraseology of Methodism, specially on the subject of conversion, is plainly becoming antiquated and in opposition to both the language and ideas of religious minds in the present day, no doubt, among themselves as among other sects. The long string of obituaries in the records of the last Conference have thus a great sameness from the necessity of relating the

day of conversion, and also the last words before death. Yet, in spite of this formalism, there is much of the old zeal apparent in the narratives of their ministers; and, indeed, the life of the whole system is well maintained, but only at the cost of becoming more and more schismatic, more and more self-contained, and therefore, as the Conference feels, less and less able to coalesce in any direct way with the Church of England. The present position of the Wesleyan Methodists is one of great temporal prosperity and success; but yet there is an evident consciousness that it may be hard to maintain this position together with their primitive simplicity, their only chance being to hold very close to their separate and, as we must maintain, schismatic condition. The exclusiveness of sanctity has become to them, as we think, a very politic exclusion. They have no power or instinct or wish to extend their numbers so as in any sense to be the religion of the people—their strength is in their limit; and except as in some relation or other to a more comprehensive Church, their machinery could no longer exist; nay, in the amount of soothing flattery which has been poured upon them during the late Conference, unsought indeed by them, but acknowledged in their press not without pleasure and as a testimony to their power, we cannot but suspect that their more cautious members will trace the inroads of worldliness and of much that will militate against the simplicity of their manners and constitution. The praises of the people but too often merge into the sound of 'breakers ahead.'

And now let us take a view of the Church of England in contrast with a separatist religious body such as we have described. The Church of England is that form of Christianity which, since the days of barbarism in this country, has, through many ages and many phases of its history, yet ever maintained its union with the Church Catholic, maintained its own rule and order, its own due ecclesiastical government; and in doing this, in conjunction with this, has been amalgamated, closer and closer in every stage of its growth, with the laws, the constitution, the property, the whole people of this country. But, it will be said, does not the prevalence of dissent disprove this, and did not the era of William III. introduce a change which will have its natural ending in the severance of Church and State? In the first place, it is an open question whether the trial of dissent in our Church is to be a permanent one on its present scale; and, in the second place, we would boldly appeal from theory to practice and to facts, as to the position of the Church of England at the present time relatively with a few generations previous to William III. The theory since that time may have gone one way, but the national Church has

grown nevertheless in another way; and, in spite of dissent, we may now confidently appeal to the state of the whole country, as showing forth the working of a national Church in a way that no former period can vie with. Too much is often assumed as to the expected influence of religion, merely for the sake of argument against an Established Church. It is not fair to contrast facts with theory as to the aims and results of spiritual efforts, but rather the facts of one age with those of another; and we know not to what period of English history an impartial man can point as showing the national Church more powerful than the present. Dissent is not the only opponent that must be considered; the dearth of religion altogether is a more formidable antagonist still, and one that should count more heavily against the Church's activity at any given period. The Church of England possesses, as her natural inheritance, the whole people of the country, and, as such, has to meet the current of events, whatever that may be, without any choice or option as to the nature of the trials she has to contend with. A self-formed section, either within or without that Church, has a field of action wholly voluntary; it may choose its own principles of combination, its own special standard of excellence, its own manner of work; but a national Church must give up these privileges and comforts pertaining to a contracted basis, and holding her authority—nay, her truths—with that wideness, that uncertainty of definition inseparable from an ancient, a broadly-diffused, an historical, we must again say, a national institution, she must be prepared to face evil in ever-varying shapes, theological or moral; must be prepared at any moment to change her line of defence, and be always unwilling to fix in enduring forms any existing aspect of affairs, which, though seemingly preferable for the moment, may, at the next turn of events, be a clog to her action.

Experience, in the last thirty years, has taught of many efforts to obtain narrowing and fixing judgment in law with regard to the doctrine and practice of the Church of England. Such would have been very convenient to particular parties at particular times, and there may have been failures in the definition of abstract truth; but it should be remembered that the Church does not lose a truth from its non-definition, whereas, if a judgment is given against any external form, such as is thought to embody a truth, she does lose an instrument, so far as that form goes, which may be used at the future discretion of some constant and living authority. It is the sectarian idea to love definitions, to fix existing tendencies, to forecast future alarms, to organize exact methods of defence, to accept and stereotype compromises; whereas one who has faith in the ancient Church

of his country, who has watched her history through marvellous changes and chances of the past, is more anxious to have his arms and his head free, prepared for each emergency or struggle, as it may arrive, not disheartened, though changes and chances may also loom in the future, as he recalls them in the past.

With these thoughts in our minds, we now would turn to the University of Oxford last August, and the remarkable letter which Dr. Pusey then wrote to the Wesleyan Conference sitting at Liverpool. The tendencies of the age against subscriptions and religious disabilities, have for long threatened our Universities, and Mr. Coleridge made some very bold proposals last session of Parliament, which will probably, in some form or other, come on again next session, though at present they have no existence as matter for legislation. The proposal, and the wish felt by many, is in the direction of maintaining in the Universities, in these liberal times, the same *national* character as when subscription to Church articles was thought identical with an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign, and therefore was looked upon as the duty of every subject, if needful; to do away, in these days of free thought and dissent, with the apparently sectarian character of our colleges, as being exclusively for the benefit of Churchmen. Churchmen naturally look on colleges and their property as their own, and do not wish the religious education of young men to be distracted by the presence within the same walls of various religious systems and habits. It is not our object now to discuss this question. What now we are concerned with is the best course for Churchmen to adopt, on the assumption that Mr. Coleridge's bill would introduce an evil into the Universities which must be guarded against or opposed. But it should first be asked, what is the exact nature and amount of this evil? As we understand it, the doing away with subscription is only opening the door for dissenters to enter if they like. This may be objectionable, but the Church is not compromised so long as she did not open the door. The result, even, is very uncertain, and the Church in the Universities will be as free as ever to use her influence by voluntary means, though not by compulsory subscription. The real difference will consist in that the Church, still the national Church, must appeal to the willing adherence of those who come to her ancient colleges, instead of requiring a definite subscription. We do not pretend to say that much evil might not result in particular colleges, but the question seems to be one of faith in our Church, and her influence generally through the country, rather than one confined to the Universities. If our Church continues as a national Church, her colleges will naturally be places of Church education; whereas, if the Church ceases to

be established in her national character, it is very improbable she will retain her hold over the Universities. It is not the Church's place to do away with her own safeguards, but if what is called the 'spirit of the age' does that for her, she at any rate will be in a better position, if still free and uncompromised, than if she had forestalled the change by clenching, as it were, the machinery of the Universities in some particular and otherwise passing aspect of events. But whatever views might be taken on the general question of subscription, it is clearly an advantage, in times like the present, that impending subjects should be freely ventilated; and no one who has confidence in the truth or strength of his cause will be a rash alarmist as to coming dangers. Doing away with subscription does not in itself injure the Church, or alienate the funds of the Church; it only threatens to do so in such a measure and to such a degree as the Church hereafter may fail to hold her moral influence. It is very natural indeed to say that we are entitled, on common-sense grounds, to a strong preference for material bulwarks and defensive outposts to keep heretics far away; and by all means let Churchmen honestly express their views on the subject, and do their best to delay the evil, for such is the truest way to take away the sting of the evil, when, in spite of themselves, it shall arrive. But Dr. Pusey is not content to see things in this light, and has given occasion to those who are no friends of the Church to point with some scorn to the little confidence he, a leader of the Church party, can have in the power of his cause.

It is unfortunate that such an accusation of acknowledged weakness should have its origin in the policy of one so long looked upon as above all others imbued with a strong faith in the Church of England. Dr. Pusey has thought it to be his duty to carry the exclusive element of his churchmanship, which must ever have its place in matters of inner personal faith and life, into an open national question of public policy. And what did this require of him? That he should assume, entirely on his own responsibility (if we are to credit Mr. Burgon, the best authority we could have suggested on the subject), a fresh ground of union among Christians from that by law established in this land, and, having done that, to legitimatize and congeal certain existing schisms: and more than this; it required of him in secular matters to hand over, at once and for ever, a certain portion of collegiate property for the education of dissenting ministers. Dr. Pusey's terror, and a reasonable one, is deism, towards which he imagines the age to be rapidly drifting; and therefore he would call on all who confess the Nicene Creed to make common cause, to divide existing foundations, and thus stand their ground in hopes that this compromise will enable all

parties to go on smoothly and successfully. Why does Dr. Pusey despair of his national Church as the best safeguard for the Christian faith in this land? Is he the man of whom this was to be expected, if he really consults his own former aspirations and their realization; if he compares that Church as he can remember it with its present condition? Was deism less threatening at the beginning of this century than now? Is not deism the natural peril of a highly-civilized and scientific people, against which the distinctive doctrines of the Christian revelation have ever to contend? When Dr. Pusey, in company with a small band, discussed, between thirty and forty years ago, in Oxford, the low state of the Church in doctrine and practice, did he then despair of improving that condition; and have the struggles that have ensued in the interval been so ineffectual—has his own voice been so disregarded—has Oxford done so little in popular estimation towards raising the standard of Churchmanship—that he must at the present time send forth notes of despair about the same Church? But assuming the contrary—at once taking credit to Oxford as having produced a vast change in the general efficiency of the Church of England—let Dr. Pusey remember the instruments used, the influence brought to bear specially in the earlier part of the Church movement. They were not forced combinations with other sects, but the upraised cry for unity within the Church's fold; they were appeals to the real principles of our own Church, with invitations to loyal submission under her national and legal character. The sectarian and Romanizing school, which has since risen up, is wholly distinct from the old revival, though certain names, especially such as voluntarily left us, may in public estimation confuse the two. The great mass of the clergy and laity of the Church of England are witnesses, however, to the reality of this distinction. Distinct Romanizers are but very few, though active, and drawing much attention to their proceedings, and not very remarkable for all those qualities which alike attract and command adherents; whereas those who owe much to that revival of Church principles with which Dr. Pusey's name has been for so long, in an undefined way, connected are legion in numbers, and, in their whole general characteristics and opinions and position, are thoroughly national and loyal. Gather together any body of clergy—attend any clerical assembly—and the prevailing tendency, unless the meeting have some special character in its selection, is in itself a witness, more or less direct, to the wide-spread nature of that influence we have described as coming from those who taught the Church of England her own principles, and taught her children to be loyal and national.

And such being the fruits of the old teaching with which Dr.

Pusey's name was so long connected, it may be thought strange that from him should come the note which is understood as signifying want of confidence in the Church of England to hold her own and to defend the Catholic faith in this country. Thanks to Dr. Pusey himself, she is better able to do this now than forty years ago, and we do not see any overwhelming perils before us, even if there be some changes in the compulsory nature of her landmarks and subscriptions, the result of feelings and opinions common to all legislation in the present day.

The construction and details of Dr. Pusey's letter—with its explanatory sequel, the letter afterwards written to the *Times*—are such as, remembering this excellent man's style, and his amiable manner which made him in addressing strangers more than usually kind and considerate, require very close attention before the full meaning is apparent; or rather, before the reader is satisfied as to whether there be or be not any latent appeal to the common sense of Church people not at first apparent in assertions and proposals which naturally excite great surprise coming from whom they do.

After introducing himself to the Conference as a long resident in Oxford, and well acquainted with the bearings of Mr. Coleridge's bill on the interests of every religious body, he proceeds to the following paragraph:—

'That bill has commonly been advocated in the House of Commons as being in the interest of the different dissenting bodies. I am convinced that it can be in the interest of no religious dissenting body, of no dissenting body at all except the Socinians, and not even of them permanently; for Socinianism, being one of the most inconsistent of all religionisms, can maintain no long hold upon the human mind. It must go downwards towards deism, even while it continues to call itself Christian, or to acknowledge some unreal Christ of its own invention.'

Now, before an English Churchman talks in confidence to Wesleyan Methodists about the characteristics of Socinianism—its inconsistencies, and its little hold on the human mind—he would do well to inquire what is the distinct creed of the Methodists by which they are prepared to stand, as a safeguard against falling away from the truth themselves. Dr. Pusey supposes the Nicene Creed to be common ground which would include all dissenters.

'Supposing the present state of things to be changed, some of us have thought of two alternative expedients. The one would be to substitute for subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles an acknowledgment of the faith according to the Nicene Creed. This would admit to all the privileges and the fellowships of the University any members of dissenting bodies who hold the common creed of Christendom, such as you hold, and such as, at least, the Particular Baptists and the Independents hold—all Dissenters, in fact, who have not lapsed into Socinianism.'

Again, in his letter to the *Times*:

'But in neither of the plans did those who agree with me give up the principle of definite dogmatic teaching. The Nicene Creed contains so much dogmatic teaching that any one who really received it would not be far from being a good Catholic.'

And after proposing this standard as the common one for both Church and dissenting colleges, he continues:

'If the Universities are to possess (as they do not) the confidence of English parents, there must be some guarantee that they shall not be propagandas of unbelief. Subscription to the Articles does this in a degree; subscription to the Nicene Creed, while more limited in extent, would, as far as it extends, be even a stricter test, because, being newly imposed, no one could contend that it is obsolete.'

Now we protest, in the first instance, against the assumption that the Nicene Creed may rightly be taken, by itself, as a standard of union, apart from the Church's organization, and without the interpretations which time and custom have given to it in connexion with other offices of the Church; but still more we protest against the assumption that it would be an easier standard, a less distinctly Church standard, than the Thirty-nine Articles. These, however, are our own observations; it is more to the point to see, in the observations of Methodists themselves, what foundation there is for thinking that the Nicene Creed would be such firm and sure common ground. What says the *Methodist Recorder* on this point?

'We are surprised that Dr. Pusey should imagine that subscription to the Nicene Creed would be more efficacious than to the Thirty-nine Articles. It is true the former would be more "newly imposed," and might seem more strict within its own area. But whatever might have been otherwise said as to the merits of this particular test, Dr. Pusey has himself set a principle of interpretation upon it which would render it ineffectual to enlist Methodist sympathies. He tells us that this "creed contains so much dogmatic teaching that any one who really received it would not be far from a good Catholic." We thank the learned professor for this word. We suppose no Methodist would object to sign the Nicene Creed pure and simple. But if persons are to be admitted through this loop-hole, who shall teach religion as "good Catholics," who may be on the one hand Romanizers or Romanists, or on the other religious Dissenters or Low Church divines, we really do not see what great advantage the change now proposed would give.'

The writer here supposes no Methodist would object to the Nicene Creed under the condition that it was 'pure and simple;' but he does not say that, as a fact, it is used by Methodists; and we have been told on very good authority, that the article 'One baptism for the remission of sins,' would be strongly objected to. What, however, says Dr. Rigg at the Conference in the discussion itself on Dr. Pusey's letter? We extract the passage which led up to his brief observations on the point immediately before us:

'Dr. Pusey was a great man, and had changed less than almost any other great man he knew. He stood now where he had done thirty-five years ago. But Dr. Pusey now felt that the hour had struck when the Universities of England must be nationalized. The question was now in what mode this should be done. Dr. Pusey spoke of two modes. One was to open the University to all who would subscribe to the Nicene Creed; the other was to establish from the funds of the University new denominational colleges, including, if necessary, a Socinian college. This offer would be extremely generous, if not dictated by a sense of necessity. He (Dr. Rigg) hoped the Conference would never be a party to either of these proposals. In the interests of true progress he objected to make the Nicene Creed a test.'

The longest paragraph in the letter to the Conference is occupied in pointing out the evils of Mr. Coleridge's bill, previous to the proposal of his remedies. As we have said before, we are no friends to this bill; but we repeat that, if it is to pass, we had rather meet the encroachments of atheism and deism on our present ground, than after we had first surrendered any portion of our citadel to a very uncertain multitude of new allies. It commences thus:—

'But this is a time of increasing consistency. People will take their side more and more either with the old creeds of the Church, or with some form of religion which, whatever it may call itself, will be essentially atheistic or pantheistic.'

So far we cannot discern a picture of the world much different, or, at any rate, worse than other periods. There is the Church gathering strength and unity, and the enemies of the Church being driven to a real explanation of themselves. But now Mr. Coleridge comes on the stage as a lawyer, in some mysterious way giving legal sanction to the conflict. The effect of Mr. Coleridge's bill would be to legitimise this conflict within the University of Oxford. Without discussing the question how far this conflict will be increased within the Universities by such a bill as Mr. Coleridge proposes, we cannot but wonder at the *simplicity* of Dr. Pusey's implied view that this conflict hitherto has been kept out of Oxford; that the ancient creeds of the Church have as yet had it all their own way untouched by any assailing forms of atheism or pantheism. If Dr. Pusey looks back, we think he must have doubts whether this conflict can be greater in the future than in the past, in spite of any change of formal subscription; indeed he acknowledges this at the conclusion of the following picture:—

'The body whose interests it would advance would be those whose indistinct belief is ever being precipitated downwards, who hardly know what they themselves believe, and who, under the name of progress, are ever retrograding to the hopeless scepticism before our Lord came. It is true that this (although a diminishing party among our young men) does

exist among us; some have gone far further than this—to the denial of Christianity itself, of their own free agency, and of God. But they are, of course, in a false position in a University which has any test or any communion of faith at all.'

The lawyer, however, again appears on the stage, but this time with still more terrible aspect. The towers and ancient gateways of Oxford form the stage scenery; while, with long-legged strides, the tall form of modern Progress brings forward his infidel legions, rending in sunder the emblems of the Christian faith, and throwing open the portals. But this is not all; our 'future clergy'—*i.e.* all theological students—are being driven out, are escaping on every side from the 'soul-destroying influence.'

'The effect of Mr. Coleridge's bill would be to legitimise their position and acknowledge them among the teachers of our Christian youth. You would not wish your own youth so to be taught. The only result which I can imagine of his bill would be to drive our future clergy also to seek their education elsewhere, as, in matter of fact, in France. The bishops, in order to exempt their candidates for orders from the soul-destroying influence of the University of France, obtained for them from the Emperor Napoleon an exemption from the necessity of passing through a University course to which they had been subject under the previous dynasties.'

We really think this is an exaggeration of Mr. Coleridge's proposed measures, and the only alternative which Dr. Pusey lays before us is certainly not one which we are inclined to prefer. Whatever influence the proposal of such a compromise by so well known a party leader will have, will be in the direction of smoothing the way for Mr. Coleridge's future efforts, rather than of defeating them. The proposal itself for endowing these dissenting colleges brings in a strange inconsistency in its practical bearings. In the very act of perpetuating dissent (for surely endowing it is so), Dr. Pusey yet says this is 'until God bring us to one mind.' Surely common sense rebels against this solemn prayer in the act of fixing the many present forms of disunion.

'The other plan which has been publicly advocated by Mr. Liddon and myself would, I should think, be more acceptable to the religious dissenting bodies—viz., that we should each teach according to our own belief until God bring us to one mind, and that out of the funds of the colleges provision should be made for those dissenting bodies who wish to be represented in the University. In a word, that new colleges should be founded out of the revenues of the old ones for the different bodies who hold the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Better, indeed, even to decide that Socinianism should be endowed than to allow that all colleges should become Socinian, sceptical, deistic, atheistic.

'Either of these ways would be religious ways, and however unacceptable such plans might be to the Liberals at Oxford—because they both of them presuppose the continued recognition of a definite faith—they would, I am sure, be to the vast majority of the members of the University far preferable to Mr. Coleridge's bill, which would entrust the education of our youth to (as it may be) deist or atheist.'

Surely there are other means of guarding against infidel teachers besides that of enforced subscription, however desirable that may be. Were this repealed, there would yet be free-will left on the part of parents, as to whose care their sons are entrusted. The conclusion of Dr. Pusey's letter is more in his own spirit and style, but its application might be true, if used on Mr. Coleridge's side of the question as on his own.

'For ourselves, I have always observed that proximity and intercourse lead to a better understanding, and that the only hopeless alienation comes from absolute severance.

'Allow me to commend this subject to your consideration and your prayers, and forgive me if I also beg you to pray, as we do, that all these unhappy breaches may be healed, and we may be all one fold, under one Shepherd. If we pray, God will hear us in His own way.

'Yours, very faithfully, in Christ Jesus,

'E. B. PUSEY.'

The chief feature of Dr. Pusey's letter to the *Times* is the introduction of the disestablishment question in connexion with Mr. Coleridge's proposed University bill. He has, he says, long expected the disestablishment, first of the Irish, then of the Scotch, and then of the English Establishment. Naturally he does not wish this, but he is prepared for anything.

'But, disestablishment assumed (and Mr. Coleridge's bill is a very large instalment of the disestablishment of the English Church, and, in principle, carries the whole), the next question, and what, sooner or later, would become *the* important question, is in what way disestablishment is to be carried out – whether by the denominational system or (which is Mr. Coleridge's plan) by secularization. People's minds have been so occupied by the question between establishment and disestablishment that they have not faced the further question whether, if the Church should be disestablished, its funds should be secularized, or whether they should be so disposed of that all denominations should be equally endowed according to their importance and numbers. In Mr. Coleridge's bill it is tacitly assumed that so much of the Church's property as is employed in University education should be secularized.'

Our primary suggestion here to Dr. Pusey is, that if he does not wish for a thing, it is unnecessary that he should advise how that thing should be done. He makes, however, the distinction between disestablishing by the denominational system or by secularization, asserting his own preference for the former, as far as we can gather, and charging Mr. Coleridge with introducing the latter principle. Disliking either plan ourselves, we yet carry out our same objection to the denominational plan in churches as in colleges. It is at once bringing about, as a conceded and an accomplished fact, that which on the other principle is yet future, and yet to be contended against, yet to be influenced in its results. Secularization is simply spoliation of property; whereas the principle of denominational endowment

at once strikes at the very root of a national church, and establishes sectarianism in the most permanent form possible.

The very suggestion, however, of these methods of dealing with a measure, in itself opposed to our best interest, is giving it a helping hand; is endeavouring to smooth away difficulties which, if left to themselves, will to our own convictions seriously impede the evils we are threatened with. There are many signs abroad that the disestablishing and disendowing process is not felt to be so simple or easy as it appeared at the first introduction of the bold design. A concession, therefore, from friends, and specially from a leader like Dr. Pusey, voluntarily offered, on the supposition that the theory is inevitable, is eagerly taken advantage of, as we find in the article of the *Times* the very next day. But do the mature reasonings of men, whose opinion is legally valuable, and whose personal sympathies are much with Mr. Gladstone and his proposals, show that the proposal, as first made with regard to the Irish Church, is either legally tenable or fair, or easy of accomplishment? Sir Roundell Palmer, though nominally for disestablishing, yet virtually, as it seems to us, would almost limit that process to certain changes in the law courts, and to a few secular dignities, which to the world at large would leave the Church in Ireland much as it is now, specially as he openly and honestly avowed that there is no case at all for disendowment. How gentle has the process in his hands become since the first alarming threat held out to the present Government! But what are these two processes, whose names are so long that we gladly spare their repetition when possible, in the hands of Mr. Coleridge, when directly applying himself to this subject? He strongly confirms our own argument, previously expressed, that if Parliament disestablishes the Irish, or any other Church on one footing, it must establish it on another forthwith, so long as any property whatever is left with that Church. Surely the following words apply far more to an established than a free Church:—

'I am not, however,' he says, 'content to give up what I think the beneficial effect of the legal position of the Royal Supremacy in matters ecclesiastical. I am not prepared for the creation of a great, wealthy, highly educated, powerful, and perfectly free religious body in Ireland, and to have the scenes of South Africa enacted on a greater scale much nearer home. And at any risk of misconstruction, I must say, that if Mr. Gladstone's proposal to reserve three-fifths of the endowments of the disestablished body be carried into effect, I shall insist, with all the power I can, that the present standards of doctrine, and the present safeguards for toleration and liberality of opinion, shall remain with the endowments.'

A like change of tone—a kind of explanatory tone—retaining the two words, but making their interpretation not quite so formidable or terrible, is apparent in many quarters; which is a

convincing argument to ourselves that any party concession, extorted under a seeming intimidation, is the worst possible policy. Let the University, the Church, and all other kindred questions be fairly worked out by discussion. Practical difficulties will thus have their conservative influences, while the contending parties, from the friction of their various ideas and plans, will have the greater inclination to meet in a true, because natural point of union; more so than any plan of operations which fixes existing state of thought and existing outward separations.

This whole question—as Mr. Burgon says in his vigorous and obviously indignant tone, thus 'wildly' introduced on his own single responsibility by Dr. Pusey—of University subscription, the relation of dissenters to the Church, and the threatened disestablishment of the Church, has a special interest in its bearing on the coming elections. Dr. Pusey introduces these three subjects at the present critical time, but in the act of so doing he involuntarily introduces a fourth also, one with which his own name is necessarily connected in popular estimation. Of the University question we shall say no more, having already expressed ourselves as far better satisfied with the open and indefinite future of Mr. Coleridge, than with the immediate partition of existing colleges to the various dissenting bodies, even with the reservation of Christ Church, as the *Pall Mall* suggests, to the Church of England.

Judging from the tone of indifference (yet we must say courtesy and respect, as far as the Wesleyan press is concerned) with which the proposal of Dr. Pusey was received, the unwillingness on the part of the Conference to assume the position of wishing for Church endowments, we do not imagine in the coming elections this question will assume any prominence as a dissenting cry. 'Ritualism' will be made far more use of, and of this, in its relationship with Wesleyans, we think it is a necessary part of our argument to say a few words.

They who wish to take their stand on constitutional ground will naturally, among other questions, look to the constitutional position of the Church of England. Up to a certain point, as we have already argued, the High Church movement has undoubtedly developed that constitutional character, and made the national Church more efficient, more active, and more powerful as an Establishment and as a department of the State; for in one sense, and in the eyes of statesmen, the Church must necessarily be looked on as such, with any disparagement of—but the more so by the bringing out of—the Church's own freedom of action in things purely ecclesiastical. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the present Ritual element in the

Church is so far testing the latitude and the endurance of the State Church—is so far flaunting the red rag of Popery before the British public and a constitution bound to be Protestant—as to show clearly some other object, beyond that fair development of doctrine and service which they can ever hope the national Church will adopt as its general rule and order, to be at the root of its activity. There is a tone of rebellion against, and a sneering of, the State Church; an open reviling of its authorities adopted by the public expressions of opinion that come from this party, which, as they are entirely alien from the old High Church party, the influence of which is so widely extended and has been so loyal in its character, so may dispel all scruple about the disowning of sympathy with this particular clique, however it may be carrying on, by its own assumption, the defence of Church principles and ecclesiastical practices, and however, in so doing, it may claim to be the natural development of High Church principles. All public policy in this world is a matter of degree, requiring the exercise of prudence, moderation, and the power of knowing how far any particular line of thought should be carried on in consistency with other essential principles or facts. The line of demarcation may seem difficult between development and the checks of common sense or prudence; but this difficulty is often intentionally, and for the sake of pressing matters to their extremes, much exaggerated. Among practical, honest, plain Churchmen, experience will show that a vast improvement in external things has taken place, but that through the length and breadth of the land men have, except in a comparatively few instances, known where to stop, and that Ritualism, in its present extreme characteristics, is, strictly speaking, as alien as ever to the feelings of the Church. We used the expression 'rag of Popery,' but we do not in this charge any school of Ritualists with a direct scheme for placing England under the supremacy of the Pope. This apprehension or alarm, raised by the ultra-Protestant party, is rather a convenient shield to them, under which the immediate tendency of their excesses is disguised—disguised often to themselves. Sectarianism, separation from their national Church, under the pretext of professing a higher religious practice, a more spiritual life, than the dull monotony and uniformity of a State Church will allow: this is the influence, more or less known to themselves, which forms the current down which they are floating. If loyalty to their national Church was any real guiding principle within the hearts of these extreme Ritualists, would it not strike them that, for the sake of half-a-dozen churches and congregations to whom a disruption could do no harm—which, on the freest Church principle could get on quite as well and better

than under the Establishment—it is rather selfish to expose the great mass of the English clergy, who honestly and loyally have developed Church principles, up to what they consider right and proper in a national Church, to most serious inconveniences from popular clamour, and to increased difficulty in carrying on the really natural development of the Church's work?

But if the sympathy of Ritualists with the great body of the national Church is thus small—if their whole tendency is now so to strain the bounds of the Establishment as to suggest, at any moment, a bursting of those bounds and a separation—is there any other, is there any external sympathy already before their eyes or in their thoughts? Dr. Pusey's letter to the Wesleyans, taken baldly and as an isolated fact, without knowledge of the writer, would suggest that a sympathy of this kind did exist. With regard to Dr. Pusey, we wholly acquit him of any single idea on the subject except what is apparent in the letters; but yet indirectly may he not have been influenced by a kind of atmosphere of sympathetic yearnings between 'Ritualists' and Methodists of the new school, of which there are many signs and tokens? There are decided Ritual tendencies among the younger Methodists, well kept down by the Conference, but still existing; and there is also among the Ritualists such a repetition of that dealing with the Establishment, as a slow body by which it is impossible to be kept back, which led the Wesleyans into open schism, that we cannot but see mutual bonds uniting the two. The *Church Times* throws out a remarkable idea on this subject, and betrays a tenderness in the passage much in contrast with its stern treatment of the national Church and its rulers.

'A schism is in truth a very deadly thing, even when it looks most innocent. The Wesleyans, we need not say, are in a position entirely different from that of all other separatists. Other dissenting bodies may be said to have left the Church with hearts filled with spite. Of course there are numbers of Nonconformists who are infinitely better than their religion; but language fails to characterise in fitting terms the infinite littleness of mind which led to the formation of most of our existing sects. But the Wesleyans had no quarrel with the Church at all. They professed to be her most devoted sons, and their class-meetings, their preachments, and what not, were only intended to supply the means of grace that were lacking in that dismal, dreary Georgian era.

'Even the cry of "Ritualism" is beginning to be raised; and that by no less a person than the President elect. At this we confess we do not wonder; for it is a historical fact that the Wesleyans were Ritualists before their time. We have lately published hymns of theirs which embody the purest Eucharistic doctrine; and, if we believed in metempsychosis, we should say that the soul of John Wesley was at this moment enshrined in Mr. Mackonochie. At all events we are certain that if Wesley could revisit the earth again there is no man living with whom he would

feel more at home than the vicar of S. Alban's. We sincerely trust that the blessed spirit of reunion will, notwithstanding the unpromising aspect of affairs, soon extend itself to the Wesleyan body. When it does, we suspect it will appear first in the ranks of the lay members; and if amongst such we have any readers, we would respectfully point out to them how great and important service they might do, if they would, in conformity with the principles of John Wesley, utterly refuse ever to be present at any celebration of the blessed Eucharist where the celebrant was not a real priest.'

Much has been said during this whole generation, and justly, about the enthusiasm of the Church of England being driven, from time to time, away from it by its inner coldness and dull uniformity; but this very argument may easily be pressed too far into an impossible licence and lawless exercise of self-will. In this, as in other matters, judgment and discretion are necessary, as each aspect of affairs, as each case, arises. If a national Church is desirable—and we strongly urge it is an inseparable phase of the acceptance of Christianity by the civilized world (whatever temporary exception there may be to the rule)—it follows that rule and order must govern the teaching and services of that Church. Does the rector of a parish with a staff of curates allow each one to follow the light of his own eyes, and, according to his fancy, wear vestments or black gown, or adopt any of the practices he may by chance have read of in the last week's newspapers? He expects uniformity within certain limits, which the living responsible judgment of himself, as rector of the parish, has power to point out. What the Church requires on a large—on a national—scale, as on a small, is a living regulating power. The law of the land does not dispense with the need of a permanent legislature or of a personal government: nor ought the law of the Church, or the judgment of its courts, to render the episcopal office so purely ministerial that no opportunity is left for the exercise of a responsible judgment. Those who have faith in the power and the blessing of a national Church will risk the adverse opinion of an individual bishop, knowing that in the long run the development of episcopal responsibility, and consequently the combined nature of its action, will be the surest way towards securing its fair, its just, its moderate and charitable exercise.

English people are fond of pointing to foreign Churches; but, if there is one thing more than another in which they teach us a lesson, it is the uniformity of their worship. We say nothing of what that worship is, but that, amid all the varying ideas, thoughts, and opinions which dwell within the heads and breasts of French, or Italian, or Austrian priests, the service and the ritual is apparently the same. Nor practically does the supremacy of Rome prevent these Churches from being at the same

time national and established. Ultramontanism is a vast and a pushing theory: but, in spite of it, there is much true nationality in every country of Europe as regards its Church, which by no means destroys the established character of those Churches, one great feature of which is the willing submission to rule, order, and uniformity of its ministry.

To attribute this uniformity simply to Rome were to abandon the true principles, equally valid in law, for the government of our own Church as for others. A central power may and ought to be as efficacious in England as on the Continent, and if the Church of England wants one reform more than another (and, in our loyal defence of her, we by no means wish to describe her as perfect), it is the bringing out of her governing power into matters of everyday life. Great reforms and changes, and much sacrifice of temporal interests, will be necessary, perhaps, before this is done. But for the Established Church to assume a position safe and secure from the reproaches and charges likely to be made against her, she must be rescued from the vacillating uncertain nature of her responsible government, both civil and ecclesiastic; she must be practically under that central rule which her theory already contemplates. The Church must be more established than she is, or she will be wholly disestablished, and in that case wholly disendowed. And what is the great impediment to the true government of the Church by its legitimate officers, and therefore to the true carrying out of the national or the established principle; for, as the Church ceases to be herself, so does she cease to be national? The real impediment is, surely, that practical secularization of her rights and her property which the sale of livings, and the consequent legal and secular independencies of the clergy, truly involves. The right of advowson, or lay patronage, is in itself a wholesome amalgamation of the Church's work with the general mass of lay influence and feeling; it affords a check to the temporary currents of public opinion, which would carry *public* patronage too exclusively in one direction; but the actual barter of that patronage, as now openly carried on—and, let it be remembered, that the traffic is comparatively a new thing—is, in fact, a transfer of the Church's governing and controlling right to an individual: for a clergyman's position, when thus protected by the rights of that secular property which he has invested, can practically defy his bishop by making any process against him so expensive that no bishop can carry out the theory and principle of his episcopal office. Of course much may be said on both sides of this question. The higher class of men which the power of money introduces into the Church, the stability given to the Church by this very legal security we have alluded

to may be urged, Security of this kind is, however, to our minds, but gained at the expense of the Church's real capital, which consists, as regards secularities, in the power of her government, and the freedom of her patronage from excess of individual caprice. The real tendency of corrupt patronage is plainly to diminish the controlling power and authority of the Church, and also to destroy, in the public mind, the feeling of their minister being sent by the Church. The purchase of spiritual rights goes far, in the very nature of things, to the denial of those rights, and is a sore trial to any spiritual belief in them; and if dissenters are to be brought back to the Church in any large bodies, we feel sure this is a question about which they will first require to be satisfied.

In a great measure, the mischief is already done irremediably, and the Church must make up her mind to a very large forfeiture of income to regain her necessary freedom from the power of Mammon over that legitimate self-government which she owes to the nation, as a responsibility laid upon her by the State. The principles of compensation now so liberally proposed, as regards the Irish Church, will tell heavily against ourselves in England, if the Church is not to be shaken from her national and established position, and does not become a mere sect or incorporation, resting only on the foundation of its property, and obliged to abandon any spiritual claim at all commensurate with the inhabitants of this country. Meanwhile let us rest assured that any dreams of a separation of Church and State, as bringing good to the Church, are made wilder and wilder by the growth of this evil. The Church has fallen into secular trammels, and it is only by the strong arm of secular law that she can ever be supported under them; that support of the secular arm to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with supervision over it, which constitutes union of Church and State; that which is the best security for her own internal power, her own rights of self-government and discipline.

To oppose the spirit of sectarianism must ever be the object of those who wish well for the unity, for the strength and efficiency, of any national Church. Such, most especially, was the object of the Church movement which, for a generation, has now been so conspicuous, and so crowned with success; and, consistently with its spirit, it is still the duty of Church people to be on their guard against any of those eccentricities, or that waywardness of temper in dealing with things external, which, even if they appear among some of their own adherents, and rise up even in their own name, are of the nature of, and carry within them the seeds of, sectarianism. We have been treading on delicate ground, personally, as well as in what concerns

general principles; but we appeal to those, and those only, who are capable of recognising distinctions, who feel that any movement to be practical must be subject to the laws of common sense; may have its fair and legitimate influence without necessarily being pressed forward into any excesses, under the pretext of being logical conclusions; and that, above all, in dealing with any matters of principle and practice that concern the Church of England, we have to do with a Church essentially national—essentially claiming to be identified with the whole constitution and people of this country, even in spite of the removal of many compulsory and legal restrictions once imagined to be necessary for her defence; and that it is our duty to look upon the great divine principle of unity—unity, as far as may be, in the whole language of action and of service with which she communicates with her people—as the surest, because the consecrated, means of extending the influence of the religion of Christ over all with whom she is concerned, whether nations, as such, with their governments, bodies of Christians under various denominations, or individuals with their manifold predilections derived from habit or association.

ART. VIII.—*Lives of the English Cardinals, including Historical Notices of the Papal Court, from Nicholas Breakspear (Pope Adrian IV.), to Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal Legate.* By FOLKESTONE WILLIAMS. London: W. H. Allen. 1868.

IT is not perhaps an unlikely thing to expect that we shall see a Roman community formed in this country out of the English Church, as in the last we saw a Methodist communion—both the result of not judging the 'signs of the times.' The fact that the Pope has elevated Irishmen of late years to the purple shows how prepared he is to foster the young community here. He displays not only courage but adroitness in sending a cardinal into Ireland, and raising the first English resident ecclesiastic since the days of Wolsey, as we are told he is about to do, to the cardinal's hat, at the very time when the English Church itself is not unlikely to be stripped of her legitimate dignities. Mr. Williams speaks of the restoration of the order—if we may so call it—as a thing quite settled. By the hat given to the Bonaparte, and the rose to the Queen of Spain, Pio Nono shows his determination to conciliate, as far as he may, now, when his temporalities are in peril, the liberal and legitimate monarchies of Europe. In compiling his work on a class of dignitaries which is likely to again become familiar to Englishmen, Mr. Williams has availed himself of the publications sanctioned by the Master of the Rolls, the State Papers of Spain, Venice, Mantua, and England. His present work therefore contains the fullest information on a subject which the author is the first to treat of.

Mr. Williams' work is arranged in two volumes, containing an introduction and four books. The first book is devoted to the twelfth century; the second, to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The third book is devoted to the fifteenth, and the last to the sixteenth century. To the introduction we have three objections: it is too sketchy; it is not always quite accurate, as when it describes the origin and position of the presbyter (p. 8), when it states that the presence of S. Peter at Rome rests on the authority of S. Jerome (p. 9, note). Writing in the British Museum, Mr. Williams might easily, through an index, have discovered that express testimony is borne to the martyrdom of S. Peter at Rome by Irenæus, Caius, Origen, and

Tertullian, to forbear enumerating others. Our third objection to the introduction is, that while it scarcely contributes anything to the artistic completeness of the work, to the literary worker it is wholly superfluous. The general reader, however, will find in it a pleasant catalogue of English ecclesiastics visiting Rome, and a very outspoken criticism of the policy of the Church and Government of Rome towards the Anglo-Saxon Church, whose overthrow was accomplished by the wicked politics of Gregory VII., and through collusion with William of Normandy. The disaffection of that Church might be said to have been crushed with the Church itself; but the devotion of the Normans was not therewith secured. When William was asked for money, and called on to take an oath of fealty before a cardinal, 'The justice of the first demand,' he would answer, 'I admit; the other I deny. I will not swear fealty, for I never promised to do so, nor was it done by any of my predecessors to any of thine.'[1]

Robert of Poole was really the first of the cardinals of English origin. But by so short a space did he precede Nicholas Breakspear, that Mr. Williams, with a laudable respect for superior dignity, gives the after-pope precedence. Reared at S. Albans—probably some priest's illegitimate son—Nicholas easily attained such respect as to be chosen abbot of his monastery, that of S. Rufus of Avignon. The brothers, however, soon rued the selection they had made, in consequence of the strictness of his discipline; and on the second complaint, he told them he 'knew where the devil takes up his abode,' and directed them to choose another abbot. The complainants were aghast to find Nicholas a short time afterwards called to the highest office in the College of Cardinals, that of Bishop of Alba; and on the death of Pope Anastasius, and the return of Nicholas from his recent triumphant mission to reconcile and settle the ecclesiastical affairs of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, he was immediately elected to the vacant throne.

'There were at one period four different methods of election. The cardinals simultaneously cry out the name of their choice: this is called electing by *inspiration*. In case of difficulty in coming to a decision, one or more members of the college might be nominated to make the selection: this was electing by

[1] We regret that Mr. Williams should have accepted the legend as historical which tells us of Pope Joan. A statement respecting the ninth century, which first comes to light in the thirteenth century, and is not in printed records till long after, is scarcely to be received. The fact that the Dominicans and Franciscans vied with one another in perpetuating the scandal argues that it was but a satire directed, to the perpetual justification of Protestants declaiming against Rome, against Boniface VIII. The subject has been judiciously investigated, with other like legends, by Von Döllinger, 'Du Papt. Fabeln des Mittelalters.' München: 1863.

compromise. The usual course is for each cardinal to write his name with that of the individual for whom he desires to vote; and one of the body is appointed to examine the billets, and state the result. Unless a competitor is found to possess two-thirds of the votes, there is no election: this is electing by *scrutiny.* There is another mode, by which each cardinal may alter his billet. This continues till the proper majority is reached, and is called electing by *access.* When the result is declared, the written papers are set fire to, to prevent disputes. After the choice has been declared, the pope receives what is called the adoration or homage of each member of the conclave; all embrace and kiss him; then inquire the name he would choose to assume. The change of name was rendered imperative in consequence of the patronymic of some former pontiff.[1] The windows of the apartment are closed up during the election, to prevent communication, but when the pontifical appellation has been fixed, one of the cardinals, and in Latin, announces the result to the crowd. Great acclamations usually follow. The Romans are in a state of the greatest excitement, and wait with impatience the appearance of their ruler, who is carried out of their conclave in the pontifical chair, and home through the streets to the Christian Basilica, or Church of San Pietro, in the midst of all the ecclesiastics in the city.[2] The populace are enthusiastic in their rejoicings, and the voices of the clergy join in an energetic *Te Deum*, till they deposit their burthen on the grand altar, where the new pope is enthroned. He has subsequently to celebrate mass, on which occasion he is preceded to the same altar of the same church by the master of the ceremonies, (bearing in one hand a lighted taper on the top of a reed, in the other another reed, surmounted by a piece of tow), who kneels in front of the pontiff. As he ignites one by means of the other, and as it quickly burns out, he cries, in Latin, "Holy Father, so fades the glory of the world." This is to remind the possessor of such extraordinary grandeur of its evanescent character, that earthly pride may not influence him.[3] He now proceeds through the service, on the conclusion of which he is conducted to the entrance of the church, where two cardinals place the triple crown, or tiara, on his head, in sight of the people. He bestows his benediction upon them, and then can retire to his pontifical residence. The grandest part of the ceremonial is, when all the distinguished and wealthy Romans, including any visitors of rank who may be attracted by the spectacle, join in doing honour to the new pope as he proceeds through the principal thoroughfares to take possession of his dominions. He stops at the great door of the church of San Giovanni Laterano, and is conducted to a marble chair by the priest and canons. Out of it he is now lifted by two or more cardinals, chanting, "He raiseth the poor from the dust," &c., to remind him of his humble origin. Having received this lesson with becoming humility, he enters the church, and prostrates himself at the grand altar. Here he is invested with the insignia of his ecclesiastical rank, and, having reached the chapel, receives the homage of the principal persons, lay and clerical; the former kiss his feet, the latter his hand. Then the prelates offer him congratulations, and receive an acknowledgment; the cardinals getting each one gold coin and two silver ones; the bishop one silver coin only. Though the supreme pontiff might consider himself greater than the greatest potentate on earth, he has constantly to undergo humiliating observances. On Holy Thursday he is obliged to wash

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[1] It is quite uncertain whether the conception of the new name, probably in imitation of SS. Paul and Peter, first was introduced by Sergius I. 687, or Sergius II. 844, or John XII. 936, or lastly, John XIII. 965.

[2] But it is in the Church of S. John Lateran, the legacy of Constantine to the popes, that the pontiff takes possession of the Roman see and government.

[3] 'Et sibi consul
Ne placeat curru servus portatur eodem.'—Juv. *Sat.* x. 42, 43.

the feet of certain poor persons,[1] while on Good Friday he exposes his own feet, naked, crossed, for the adoration of poor and rich. In all documents he must commence with the acknowledgement that he is "Servant of the servants of God." For such humility most of them had ample recompense in the more than regal state in (*sic*) which they contrived to surround themselves, and the more than imperial authority which they frequently assumed. Even in the time of the English pope, the assumption of omnipotent power had become conspicuous, though not put forward so offensively as it was in a succeeding generation; and Adrian IV., as we shall show, did not suffer the pontifical pretensions to be kept inactive.'—Vol. i. p. 107.

This extract will illustrate Mr. Williams' tone and manner. We must avow our regret that, when he undertook to give us some account of the formalities of a pontifical election, he did not enter more into particulars. On the other hand, we have to complain that he has not endeavoured to be accurate in what he has given us. Thus he writes of 1154, the year of Adrian's elevation to the pontificate, as if he thought that the right of election already vested in the cardinals exclusively; a reform which was not introduced till 1160, after the reign of Adrian's successor, Alexander III, although since 1058 none but cardinals could be elected. Again, he speaks more than once as if he thought the *triple crown* was worn by Adrian; indeed at page 126 what he elsewhere calls the 'tiara' is so expressly described. But the fact is, that the triple crown was introduced by Pope Benedict XII. in 1334, nearly two centuries after Adrian's time; Adrian himself most probably wore only the simple cap; for the first crown is said to have been introduced by John XIX. in 1276, and the second by Boniface VII. in 1295. An interesting work, by Mr. W. C. Cartwright, 'On the Constitution of Papal Conclaves,'[2] contains many amusing particulars on the subject so scantily treated by Mr. Williams. There we find it is the Cardinal Camerlengo who announces the death of the pope. And the death of the pope he ascertains in due form, by knocking at the pope's door with a gilt mallet, and then tapping the pope's forehead with a silver mallet. Then the bell of the Capitol is sounded, and the conclave is appointed—in order that all may have time to assemble—for the tenth day. On this day the cardinals meet in the Church of S. Sylvester; then, after mass and sermon, they move in procession to the Quirinal, now the place of election. Of old it was the Sistine Chapel, where in popular belief the damage done to the pictures was caused by the smoke from the burning of ballot papers, on the occasion of an unsuccessful ballot. The crowd outside discover this now by the smoke from the Paolina Chapel.

[1] Whereupon Bengel acutely observes ('Gnomon', S. John xiii. 5), 'Magis autem admirandus foret, *unius regis quam duodecimi pauperum pedes sera humilitate lavans.*'

[2] Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

On the evening of the day of the meeting, the conclave is closed, all strangers and visitors being previously excluded three hours after sunset. Then every ingress is walled up, save one door, and the cardinals are left to their duties. But a great number of officials and servants share the imprisonment; and besides, each cardinal has two conclavists or private secretaries.[1] It was Pius IV. who forbade all balloting on the election, and yet the cardinals were able, by means of the turning wheel which brought them their meals, to send out instructions for putting numbers in the lottery. Mr. Cartwright gives us more fully than Mr. Williams. a description of the process of election:—

'The ordinary election by ballot is performed by two processes repeated daily, in general,—one in the forenoon, which is a simple ballot; the other in the afternoon, which consists in the process technically called *of acceding*, whereby an elector, revoking his morning's ballot, transfers his vote to some one whose name had that morning already come out of the ballot-box. Hence the designation of the supplementary ballot, for in it the faculties of electors are strictly limited to the power of adhering to some cardinal whose name at the early ballot has been drawn. The voting-papers are square and folded down, so as at each end to have a sealed portion, within the upper one of which is written the voter's name, to be opened only under special circumstances; and in the other, sealed with the same seal, some motto from Scripture, which, once adopted, must be the same at all ballots, and serves ordinarily as the means for identification of the vote. In the middle space, which is left open, stands the name of the candidate. Advancing to the altar, after a short prayer in silence, and an oath aloud, wherein the Saviour is called to witness that the vote about to be given is dictated by conscientious convictions alone, each cardinal drops his paper in the chalice upon the altar. When all have voted, the examination of the papers is made by the scrutators, three cardinals selected by lot, who successively hand to each other every paper, which the last files on a pin. Should a candidate come out with just a majority of two-thirds, it then becomes necessary to open the upper folded portions of the ballot-papers, with the view of ascertaining that this majority is not due to the candidate's own vote; it being not lawful for a pope to be the actual instrument of his own creation. In the case of no adequate majority, these papers are preserved, so as to be able to check, through the mottoes, the votes given in the supplementary ballot, it being, of course, unlawful for a cardinal to

[1] There are many rules laid down as to these functionaries, who must be wholly unconnected with trade, with princes, or their patron cardinal. Through the cunning of one of these, Mr. Cartwright tells us, Pius IV. nearly lost his election:—

'Torres was in attendance upon Cardinal Cueva. Clandestinely, he canvassed one night the cardinals, speaking to each man singly as if he did so only to himself. His language was, that it would be gratifying as well as proper that Cueva, who, he said, could never be elected, should have the honour of the testimony of respect involved in the vote of the particular cardinal whom he was addressing. The vote would be a barren, but yet a pleasing distinction, he averred. By such representations, cunningly addressed singly to each cardinal, Torres had actually got the promise of thirty-two votes out of the thirty-four in conclave, and was inwardly chuckling over the astonishment which would follow on the opening of the ballot-box, when the trick is said to have been defeated by Cardinal Capo di Ferro accidentally asking his neighbour for whom he was about to vote, and being told for Cueva, to pay him a compliment at Torres's suggestion. Still, seventeen votes had already been given in his favour before the exposure of he trick.'

repeat a second vote in behalf of the candidate for whom he had already voted in the morning. The form of tendering this second vote is by writing "*Accedo domino Cardinali*," while those who persist in their morning's choice insert the word "*Nemini*." Should both ballots fail in producing the legal majority, then the papers are burnt, while in all cases the portion containing the voter's name is to be opened by the scrutators only in the event of some suspicion of fraud, or of a vote being invalid through some violation by the elector of the prescribed forms. In the conclave of 1829 Cardinal Castiglione came out of the ballot with thirty-five votes, against twenty for Cardinal Gregorio, and twelve for Capellari, afterwards Gregory XVI. On examining the papers, the scrutators, however, found two votes dropped into the afternoon ballot with mottoes that did not tally with any amongst the morning's votes. Two cardinals are named as suspected of having committed this act, probably with the vain hope of defeating Castiglione's election. All it effected was to vitiate the ballot of the day, and on the following morning Castiglione became Pius VIII. by an increased majority. The election of Urban VIII. was put off for a day by a yet more unworthy trick. When the papers were being looked through, one was found wanting, and, although the canonical majority had been secured, the election was nevertheless void—as every cardinal in conclave must lodge his vote. Suspicion fell on one of the scrutators, who is believed to have abstracted the paper from the chalice, and dropped it into his sleeve, solely to prevent an otherwise inevitable result from being arrived at that morning.'[1]

There are many questions suggested by this whole subject. A pope dies, and the mystic virtues of the Petrine succession and all the œcumenical powers of the Head of the Church are in abeyance. Are they in the meantime—the meantime having been, say, as once, nearly three years—vested in the body of the cardinals, and, so to say, put into commission? But the cardinals may every one of them be laymen. The pope himself may be a layman. John XIX. was when he began his reign in 1024, and Adrian V. died a layman in 1276. It is only since 1378 that it was ruled that the person chosen as pope must be a cardinal. Did the Bishop of Ostia, when he made, ordained, consecrated, and crowned John XIX., convey to him, together with the apostolic succession and ordinary clerical virtues, the Petrine prerogatives and the dread deposit of infallibility? If not, in the temporary abeyance of all these things, and when the Church had lost her head, how could she live and have her being? For nine centuries the usage was to choose the pontiff

[1] Dr. Stanley, in some papers which appeared lately in *Good Words* on the subject of the Papacy, bears honourable witness to the dignity and importance of the first Bishop of Christendom. The subject is flavoured somewhat to suit the Trans-Tweedian taste, and the writer does not hesitate to inform his readers that the pope celebrates in the position of a Nonconformist, and receives as any Presbyterian or Congregationalist, while, during the service, the church is like a meeting-house, music being banished. He might have added, that as a pope may be elected, and act as such canonically, while yet a layman, so, among dissenting brethren, a person is 'called' and acts as minister before his ordination. Lastly, all advocates for the ballot—are they not all Protestants?—can plead the usages of the conclave. These papers contain some historical inaccuracies.

mainly from the deacons, and occasionally a priest was fixed upon. It is obvious to remark that *then*, at least, it was held that whatever the pope received, he received in his consecration to the episcopate; *now* we presume it is the right thing to hold —though the theory overthrows the idea of a true succession, and the sacrament of orders—that as the Calvinists hold the Real Presence to be communicated to the soul in the Eucharist direct from heaven, and apart from the bread and wine, so the pontifical energies are infused into the new successor of S. Peter at the time of his election, though not through, with, or by it. It is to be regretted that so much darkness surrounds a subject so vitally affecting the peace and progress of the Church of God.

We will not further pursue the history of Adrian V. He was, in fact, animated by the spirit of Gregory VII. The great blot upon his life was the pretended donation of Ireland to Henry II.; his most commendable services to the Church which history has preserved the record of, were his labours on his mission, when cardinal, to Scandinavia, and his endeavours, when pope, to bring about a reconciliation of the East and West.

Of Cardinal Robert of Poole we know little beyond the fact of his English origin; that he was chancellor to the pope—a post not filled by an Englishman again till 1763—and seems to have driven a roaring trade in the sale of indulgences, and the like, for a long time; and that he voted at the election of four or five popes. He was the friend of S. Bernard, and a man reputed in his day to be singularly learned. His work 'Sententiæ,' forming a body of Church doctrine and practice, was republished at Paris as late as 1605. He has also been credited with a commentary on the Apocalypse and the Book of Psalms. He was alive in 1150. It is probable that he retired to die in his native land, where at one time he held the archdeaconry of Rochester.

Bozon Breakspear was a kinsman of the Pope Adrian IV., and, when papal secretary, wrote a life of the pope, which has perished. Bozon was made cardinal in 1153, and survived Adrian twenty years. On the death of Adrian, the long-repressed elements of disorder broke out. Cardinal Roland was elected by fourteen cardinals, who invested him with a cope. Cardinal Octavian, the imperial candidate, plucked the cope off the shoulders of Roland, and got himself invested with it. Roland and his party had to fly for safety, but eventually remained masters of the situation, and in the fidelity of his English cardinal found such strength and guidance that, as Alexander III., he more than rivalled in energy and ambition

the English pope. The next cardinal, De Bosham, is mainly notable as the friend, adviser, and biographer of Becket. He died in 1186.

'The papal annalists mention other English cardinals as belonging to this century; but they are either of doubtful creation, or too obscure for a detailed biography. It may as well here be remarked that accounts of them from such sources are rarely to be relied upon, though unsatisfactorily brief. Though traces of them must have been left in the pontifical archives, respecting their legations and correspondence, no research has been attempted in that direction or in any other. Moreover, no slight amount of carelessness has been shown in compiling the English portion of the list: a fault equally apparent in some of our own early illustrators of ecclesiastical biography. We must enumerate among these doubtful princes of the Church "Ulricus Odolricus," described as pontifical legate in England in the year 1109. He may have been legate; it does not follow that he was cardinal. "Galfridus Monumethensis," said to have flourished in the first quarter of the century. "Theobaldus Stampensis" was a distinguished teacher at Oxford. He became a master of the University and governor of one of the halls, and had under his tuition from sixty to a hundred scholars. He wrote a book against the regular clergy, which he dedicated to Thurstan. He was consecrated by King Stephen Bishop of Winchester, 2 Feb. 1123, and three years later elected Archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent II. is said to have created him a cardinal; but there is reason to believe that he also was merely clothed with legatine powers. John Cummin is stated to have been elected to the dignity of cardinal priest in 1183. He was appointed Archbishop of Dublin, and enjoys the credit of having built the metropolitan church.'—Vol. i. p. 202.

Mr. Williams gives a short and yet very satisfactory sketch of the great Anglican pope Becket. We are told by the present chamberlain of the pope, that 'all history had falsified his character.' How then are we to reach his character? or how, unless infallibility has taken to correcting history, can M. Talbot know better than others what the true story is of the martyr of Canterbury? Different theories have been formed, and may still be held, as to the motives of his conduct: of the conduct itself, judging by the admissions of friends and foes, there can be little question. Like Lady Geraldine's lordly suitor, he was, to put the most charitable construction on his actions, 'just a good man made a proud man.' In fact the politics of the papacy guide us to a correct estimate of the character of S. Thomas.[1]

Cardinal Stephen Langton is the sixth of the princes of the Church of English extraction, and with his life Mr. Williams' work begins more satisfactorily to fulfil its idea. Mr. Williams makes no mention of the birthplace of Langton; and we pre-

[1] Mr. Williams, in an interesting note, contrasts the offerings made by pilgrims in two years, at Canterbury, in the principal shrines:—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Becket	832	12	6	554	6	3
The Virgin	93	5	6	4	1	8
The Sarum	3	2	6	0	0	0

sume that the late investigations in our public manuscript treasure-houses have not enabled him to add anything to that which the Dean of Chichester has given us. Yet he might have given us as much: he might have told us that Langton, there is much reason to believe, was a Yorkshireman, one of a family which six centuries later gave a friend to the great heart of Samuel Johnson. Stephen was an author in prose, for he wrote the life of Richard Cœur de Lion; and an author in verse, for he wrote, beside other compositions, a poem, 'De Contemptu Mundi,' which is preserved in the library at Lambeth. He was then residing in Paris, where he achieved great ecclesiastical and social distinction; and he there enjoyed what Dr. Hook calls a prebend in Notre Dame. Mr. Williams says that he was raised to the post of canon of that cathedral, and to a prebend in the cathedral of York. In Paris he formed a friendship with an Italian of noble family, a relation of Pope Clement III. Lothaire by name. This Lothaire became Pope Innocent III. successor to Celestine III. in his thirty-seventh year; and he immediately summoned to Rome his English friend, and made him cardinal, in 1206 or 1212. Whatever at this time may have been the external insignia of the cardinals, they had not yet assumed the red hat and tassels; this decoration they received from Innocent IV. in 1245. Nor were they arrayed in purple till 1464, when Paul II. ordered this attire. The title of Eminence they got from Urban VIII. in 1630; and even when not bishops they were permitted—as some abbots inferior to them were permitted—to officiate in pontifical attire, and to give the benediction. At the same time nearly with this call to Rome the see of Canterbury became vacant. The circumstances connected with the appointment of a successor were such as demanded all the care and vigilance of the pope. The monks of Canterbury elected their sub-prior; the king appointed the Bishop of Norwich. The pope, who had for a moment inclined to the nominee of the chapter—if we are to accept Matthew of Westminster's report—speedily recovered his judgment, and required the deputation to elect Stephen Langton. There can be no doubt whatever that the pope selected a fitting person; that those who had been otherwise appointed were neither of them equal to the duties of so lofty and difficult a station. The electors of Sub-prior Reginald soon found how unfit a person he was on whom their choice had fallen; and, disgusted with his breach of promise, they joined with the king in proceeding to appoint to the vacant see John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, a man of considerable personal and intellectual endowments. The suffragans of Canterbury, however, claimed to have a share in the election of the archbishop. The pope, rejecting the plea of the

suffragans, had Langton elected at Rome in 1206, and he was consecrated by Innocent III. himself, in the June of the following year. The King of England sent the monks of Canterbury into exile, and confiscated their goods.

We now come to that event in the life of Langton which, in our judgment, constitutes the only blemish upon it. Purer in his public life than Becket, in all that touched himself personally he was submissive almost to a fault. An earnest student of the Holy Scriptures, it is to him we owe the division of the Bible into chapters; he devoted the six years he spent at Pontigny in exile to the most laborious study. But the interdict which, in consequence of his exclusion from Canterbury, the pope had passed against England—although it took but partial effect, the majority of the clergy siding with, and proving their interest in siding with, the king—ought to have caused him great sorrow, for it caused much suffering to those who justified the action of the pope: much suffering also to the poor. To some extent it might be said that Langton was not responsible for all this; all the contending parties had appealed to the pope, and the pope was but vindicating the results of that appeal. It was natural, too, that the archbishop should support the pope in the exercise of an authority which, rightly or wrongly, was believed by many in that age to be vested in the pope—that of deposing the King of England; but we can find no excuse for those who aided the pope in the bestowal of the kingdom of England on the King of France: we resent, and bitterly, this repetition of the anti-Christian policy of Gregory VII. It will ever remain a blot on the memory of an otherwise great and good man, that he basely interested himself in the military movements begun with a view to spread slaughter and disgrace through his native land. The world was already familiar with the spectacle of kings and emperors making themselves vassals of the chair of Peter; the ignominy to which John submitted himself and his kingdom, though marked by some peculiar features, was not wholly exceptional. But neither in the case of Scotland, nor Sicily, nor Provence, or Germany, do we find any statesman acting the shamelessly unpatriotic part of Langton—so debasing is the partiality of Rome, so corrupting the theory which makes the kingdom of our Lord Christ one of this world! To the credit of the dare-devilish side of John's character, it must be said that beyond any doubt he looked upon the whole movement of the papacy with contempt; he who, like a later foe of the Bishop of Rome, was ready any day to turn Mahometan could scarcely fail to despise the thunders of the Vatican. But John was lustful and superstitious; and rumours of conspiracies against his life, and the accepted vaticinations of Peter of Yorkshire, that

by Ascension-tide there would be no king in England, struck terror into the soul of John, and compelled him to adopt a policy of dissimulation. The king was absolved, and Langton and he were reconciled. John was soon to prove that the friendship of the pope, in a land like England, was more injurious to the crown than its enmity. The barons were well pleased to see John humbled; but they were not prepared to pay for the expenses of the situation. The relations of the parties became more defined by an accidental circumstance. In receiving and feasting the king, Langton forgot that the interdict had not been as yet formally withdrawn. Able and prudent as Innocent was, he could not be insensible to the apparent slight, nor to the reports which painted John as an angel, and gave disparaging representations of the archbishop. To Cardinal Langton England owes the vindication of her constitutional and national freedom. It was he who roused the nobles and great proprietors to assert the terms of the ancient charters of the land; it was he who refused to publish the bulls sent into England by the pope, annulling the charters given by John to the barons. The commissioners suspended him; and on his going to Rome, to attend a council there, he was declared by the pope to be suspended, and the election of his brother Simon to the see of York was annulled. In 1216 the pope died; but two years subsequently elapsed before the virtually imprisoned archbishop was permitted to return to his see. On his return he formally crowned Henry III., and obtained once and again a solemn reconfirmation of the charter. Though he soon ceased to preside in the councils of the king, he exercised great power in the country; and he not only resisted successfully an attempt of the pope, backed by the royal sanction, to 'squeeze' the English Church through the agency of the legate, but he also went to Rome, and so adroitly conducted the negotiation that he was able to return to England, having received from the pope the concession that no papal legate in future should be resident in England. This was a more important benefit than it may appear in the simple statement of it. With Nicholas, the legate under John, began a new era of the papacy, which closed with Luther, when not *power*, as hitherto, but *money*, was the object aimed at. He extorted money from the dioceses, and lived luxuriously upon the impoverished Churchmen; and thus, and in many other respects, he exercised the greatest despotism, 'the power both of the king and pope,' as Dean Hook expresses it. Against the legate's appointing clerks Archbishop Langton solemnly protested, but in vain: but not long after he left the country, amid the execrations of the people whom he had fleeced and the leaders whom he had betrayed. In the exercise of his sacred office, the most memorable of

Langton's deeds was the translation (July 7, 1220) of the bones of Becket from the cathedral crypt, where they had now lain for half a century, to the chapel—a building of great architectural beauty, containing a shrine, adorned with gold and precious stones, behind the altar. Yet no two men could stand in greater contrast than these two. There are, however, a few more great political services which Langton rendered to the kingdom which we must not leave unnoticed:—

'It is impossible to overrate the importance of the cardinal's conduct when he made his noble stand against the foreign coadjutor of De Burgh in the Government, Bishop Des Roches and the Roman party. Having cleverly contrived to obtain a bull from Honorius declaring the young king of age, and directing the surrender of the royal castles in the hands of these leaders, the Earl of Chester chose to raise a rebellion with their help. The latter made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of the seat of government, then marched with all their force to Leicester, where they kept their Christmas with prodigious display of enjoyment. The national party, in greater strength, proceeded to Northampton with their youthful sovereign, and celebrated their Christmas with festivities that threw those of the Leicester revellers into the shade. The closing ceremonial of the festive display struck terror into the hearts of the malcontents. The cardinal archbishop, assisted by his prelates, with no less ecclesiastical solemnity than pomp, excommunicated all who were in arms against the Government. The effect this produced was soon evident. The cheerful carol ceased in Leicester, and the sumptuous feast was at an end. One by one the conspirators left the confederacy, hastening to purchase their own safety by a surrender of the castles they had defiantly retained. The policy of the cardinal was triumphant, and the authority of De Burgh was unquestioned. Another spirited effort to maintain a national character for the Government was the cardinal's opposition to the greatest of the aliens, De Breaute, who, since his first employment as a military adventurer under King John, had contrived to monopolize castles, dignities, power, and wealth to a formidable extent. His influence in England extended over seven counties, of which he was sheriff; over the domains of several of the royal castles, of which he was governor; he was, moreover, a baron of the Exchequer, as well as a baron of the realm; he had contrived also to secure a commanding influence in the Court of Rome, and, thus supported, held out in defiance of the Government and the cardinal. De Burgh besieged his stronghold, and, despite of his patron the pope, forced him into submission and exile. In 1227 the royal necessities requiring assistance, a fifteenth of all property belonging to the clergy and laity was asked for. Archbishop Langton improved the occasion, and, backed by his suffragans and all the parliament assembled, insisted that the two great charters already mentioned should be ratified in the most solemn and binding manner before such aid were granted. The king, therefore, had them again drawn up, passed under his seal, and a copy sent to all the counties, with the royal command that their provisions should be strictly observed. Nevertheless, subsequently he called a council at Oxford, and publicly annulled the charter as having been granted when he was under age. It appears to have been a ruse to get money; for on the payment of certain sums by clergy and laity they were renewed in proper form.'—Vol. i. p. 247.

There was another occurrence not mentioned by Mr. Williams, which illustrates at once the ecclesiastical morality of the age, and the character of Langton. 'One Master Otho'[1] came in

[1] Hook's Lives, vol. ii. p. 738.

1225, with certain proposals for the king and the archbishop. The king was prevented by sickness attending on the day appointed for the reception of Otho and his proposals. But as many clerical personages, not advised of the king's enforced absence, had assembled, a kind of private audience was given to the pope's messenger. Otho laid before the meeting letters signed by the pope, in which the pope bewailed the scandals and the crimes of the Church. Such was the poverty of the Roman see, it was impossible for it to avoid simony and bribery. The remedy proposed for these admitted crimes was not repentance and amendment of life on the part of the confessing criminals, but 'Our provided terms are these: in the first place, we re-'quire two prebends to be granted to us from all cathedral 'churches, one from the portion of the bishop, and another 'from the chapter, and from monasteries in the same way, 'where there are different portions for the abbot and convent; 'and from convents the share of one monk, on an equal distri-'bution being made of their property, and the same from the 'abbot.' The messenger of his Holiness, on pressing these claims, received an unexpected rejoinder, this in substance: that the bishops must needs be consulted; the king's sanction must be received; and when, in the council held at Westminster after Easter, Master Otho's proposals were read, they were received with loud fits of laughter, and a less formal reply to the papal demand was drawn up:—'These grants, to which our 'assent is asked by the pope, concern the whole Christian com-'munity, and, as we are situated in the extreme corner of the 'world, we will see how other kingdoms act, in regard to these 'demands, and when we have their example, our lord the pope 'shall find us more ready in our acquiescence than any other.'

We have no reason to lament or be ashamed of the share which our own illustrious prelate took in directing these and other counsels of a like tendency. Amid such labours he was found when called to his rest; and he passed peacefully away on July, 9, 1228, at Slindon, a few miles from Chichester. More a statesman than an ecclesiastic, more a politician than a shepherd of souls—and this seems to be the character indelibly impressed upon the Anglican episcopate—he stands forth on the stage of history 'a presence that is not to be put by'—the most notable vindicator of the traditional independence of the English Church. He was no Ultramontane: and, indeed, in a sense neither was Becket. Becket had probably Celtic blood in his veins; and, whether this will or not account for his pugnacity, he dearly loved a row for its own sake. He was in fact the prototype of that great athlete, Dr. Bentley. In his lucid intervals, if he had any such, he no doubt thought that the

frenzy of the Vatican justified his own; but we seriously doubt whether his views and the pope's were really, however they might often seem to be, identical. Apart from the consideration of Langton's political services to England, we must ever gratefully regard him as the consolidator of the English Church within the definition of its nationality. His catholicity did not—what Rome now aims at effecting—extinguish, it purified and sublimed his patriotism. Like Paul, in reference to his native city, he never but once forgot what honour and service were due to his fatherland.

Our next cardinal was Robert Curzon. He had been educated at Oxford, and thence proceeding to Paris, he gained such distinction in the university that he drew to himself the favourable regards of the king, who commended him to the pope. The same deed that created Stephen Langton cardinal presented Robert Curzon to the Sacred College as cardinal priest of S. Cælius, A.D. 1212. As cardinal or legate, he does not seem to have achieved any distinction. He was sent into England to preach, on behalf of his Holiness's exchequer, a crusade against the recusant and defaulting Anglicans. He was sent into France to urge a crusade against the Albigenses. He was commissioned to preach throughout Christendom a third crusade against the infidel. In all these undertakings he was, by God's mercy, unsuccessful. Let us hope that his failure was owing to his having no heart for duties so unwelcome.

Materials for an historical notice of Robert Somercote, cardinal deacon, are very scanty indeed. He came out as a prominent preacher at a time when the corruptions of Rome were spreading more fatally, despite the denunciations of S. Bernard, of Abbot Joachim, and Hildegarda. We find mention of him in a letter, April 6, 1235, written by King Henry III., to whom he probably acted as chaplain. The pope was no doubt glad to keep a trustworthy friend near the king, the pontifical anxiety being, not to save the soul of the said king, but to keep him from forming any alliance with the Emperor Frederick. In the quarrel between the two chiefs of Christendom, some very pungent things were said and written; and it would seem that the emperor had generally the best of the fight. 'What said the Teacher of all teachers?' he demanded. '"*Peace* be with you!" 'What mission did he entrust to His disciples? That of *love*. 'Why, then, do you, Christ's nominal vicar on earth, act in so 'contrary a spirit?' The question provoked an answer of wrath. 'A beast,' wrote the pontiff, 'hath risen from the sea, 'and opened its mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme 'His name and His tabernacle, and those who dwell in heaven.' To this Frederick retorted, 'Thou art thyself the beast of

'which it is written, "And there went out another horse that 'was *red*, and power was given to him that sat thereon to take 'peace from the earth." Thou art the dragon which deceived 'the whole world, the Antichrist"' (vol. i. 271).

In due time Robert found his way to Rome, and there was made cardinal deacon of S. Adriano. Of his life in Rome we have little record. He proved his fidelity to the pope who promoted him by adhering to him in his troubles, when all else forsook him. But he does not seem to have ever interfered on behalf of his native Church. In 1237, that part of the Eastern Church which we now know as the Greek separated itself from the Western Church. The consequence of this was, that the pope sustained a large pecuniary as well as ecclesiastical loss; and this he set about to remedy by making heavy exactions on the clergy, and by disposing in a very profitable way of the English bishoprics. Whatever humiliations Cardinal Somercote may have experienced at witnessing the degradation of the Anglican Church, he seems to have eaten his leek with marvellous patience. It seems very likely that he would have succeeded to the vacant pontifical throne, but that he had, like a great many other prominent persons of the day, the exceeding ill luck to be poisoned.

John—from the city where, in an age studious of Arabic and rabbinic lore, he pursued his studies, called John of Toledo—was a Cistercian monk, and in his own profession achieved a respectable reputation. At a time when the political exigencies of the pope compelled him to lead a wandering life, John was his faithful henchman; and seems to have witnessed, but not without reclamation, the wholesale plundering of England, from which country the pope, according to Bishop Grostête of Lincoln, drew an income thrice that of the king.

'Innocent IV. seemed to surrender himself to two influences—the one an intense hatred against the emperor, the other an insatiable covetousness of English treasure. Frederick contrived to hold his own both in Italy and Germany. The opposition to papal extortions in England assumed such an aspect, that one of the cardinals, who must have been John of Toledo, described as of English race, and as having been a Cistercian monk, personally remonstrated with the pope, and reminded him that in the present condition of the Church, with the supreme pontiff and the cardinals in exile, and with ill-feeling manifesting itself in Hungary, Germany, Spain, and France, it was not a time to drive the English into revolt. But the pope would not listen to reason; and Master John's counsel effected nothing for his compatriots.'—Vol. i. p. 304.

It is wonderful, to use a North of England phrase, *how heavily the English Church was laid upon* even now by the authorities at Rome. John of Toledo was made cardinal by Innocent IV. in 1244. He survived till 1274, having seen four pontiffs. He

was, no doubt, much employed in the frequent appeals made to Rome by both the king and the Church of England; but of his actions and his influences we have no record whatever, but it is on record that he founded a monastery at Viterbo.

Robert Kilwardby, whose name has been a *crux* to historians and decipherers, as there are no less than seven ways of spelling it, and one of these is 'Chiluuardebeies,' comes first to view at Oxford about the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Indeed, all the cardinals we have hitherto passed in review were more or less contemporaries; and the wonder is, why no Englishman appears among the princes of the Church at an earlier age. Perhaps this has arisen from the same arbitrariness as that which left Ireland, the island of saints, so long without one canonized son, and then canonized S. Malachi before S. Patrick. Kilwardby went to Paris, and fraternized with the Black Friars, a family of Dominicans, and, returning, joined their society, which had been welcomed by Langton to Oxford. There he studied the Scriptures and the Fathers, and in course of time he became a public teacher. Among the pupils who flocked to him was Thomas de Cantilupe, the last Englishman admitted into the calendar of saints. While he pursued his pilgrimage in this life, Thomas betrayed a most uncanonical appetite for pluralities; for besides many Church preferments, and the Bishopric of Hereford, he managed to secure to himself the office of Chancellor to the King's Majesty and Chancellor to the University of Oxford. Robert Kilwardby, if prized by his pupils, was still more prized by his brethren, who joined in electing him their provincial. He was not destined, however, to remain long in this position of comparative obscurity. Archbishop Boniface, of Canterbury, died, June 18, 1270. The monks hastened to elect the prior, Adam de Chillendine. The king violently appointed his friend, the eminent lawyer, Robert Burnell, and they carried the appeal to Rome; the prior lodged his 3,000 marks, and felt sure of his election. The king, a personal friend of the pope, was equally confident on his side. Gregory X. adroitly extricated himself from his dilemma by appointing the provincial of the English Dominicans. Poor Adam de Chillendine never recovered his full 3,000 marks; and the circumstances reflect some discredit on Kilwardby. The Roman Court referred the matter to the archbishop, as one to be settled by him. We regret to have to say that his Grace, instead of paying, instituted an inquiry into the life and conversation of his old competitor; and, pressing an unjustifiable compromise, succeeded in defrauding the prior of 1,700 marks! Mr. Williams' version of this untoward transaction scarcely expresses the real facts of the case. The 1,300

marks, 'which had to be paid by the prior's successful rival,' represent the balance of which Kilwardby failed to cheat Adam de Chillendine. In February of 1273 Kilwardby[1] was consecrated, and in the August following he crowned Edward I. and his queen. The monks of Canterbury felt much aggrieved to see a Dominican friar so highly exalted, and held an indignation meeting on the subject; but the happy interposition of the primate brought these angry spirits to an amicable settlement. The archbishop, in this same year, attended by his suffragans, crossed the sea, to be present at the second Council of Lyons, where a deputation from the Greek emperor, preferring terms of reconciliation and his own submission, was to be received. It was to this council S. Thomas was journeying when death overtook him. It was from this council that Bonaventura had just withdrawn when he peacefully yielded up his spirit to Him who gave it. In the death of S. Thomas, the glory of the Dominican order, the archbishop must have felt that he sustained a great loss.[1] Bonaventura had already stigmatized the cupidity of the Franciscans, and had complained that one state of things existed inside, and quite a different one outside the monastery. The feuds which arose between the two orders, beside the mischief they created in the multiplication of sects, provoked a spirit of inquiry, and greatly strengthened the anti-papal feeling in England. The Franciscans were unceasing in their denunciations of the secular and corrupt lives of the hierarchy, and the pride and extravagance of the prelates. In consequence of this, many of them were put to death. On the other hand, in return for their more complacent demeanour, the Dominicans were entrusted by the pope with the direction of the Inquisition. In 1276, the archbishop, having received from the mayor and barons of London the celebrated site, and being munificently aided by King Edward I., did there erect the splendid establishment of the Black Friars, the chapel having been built at the archbishop's own proper cost. Two years afterwards, when Nicholas III. succeeded Gregory X. as Pope, Kilwardby was made a prince of the Church.

'The elevation induced him to resign his archiepiscopate, and betake himself to the Holy See. He did not go empty-handed. He took with him the sum

[1] Though differing on the subject of the Immaculate Conception from the Franciscans, yet it is to the Black Friars that we owe the Rosary and the Psalter of Mary. It was the Dominicans who propounded the appalling theory that the blood of the Saviour on the cross was separated from the divine nature. The Franciscans took the opposite view. Pope Pius II. in 1464, hushed the contending parties, whereby it may be seen how incalculable are the benefits to be derived from the possession of an infallible authority, if not to decide on all doubtful questions, at least to keep the Church's peace.

of 5,000 marks—for what purpose does not appear; all that is known is, that within a few months of his quitting England he died suddenly at Viterbo, under suspicious circumstances. In Italy such deaths had become common; and the popes had lately been following each other to the tomb with singular rapidity. The 5,000 marks disappeared in the insatiable maelstrom that had swallowed an incalculable amount of good English coin. Matthew of Westminster contents himself with stating that the archbishop was summoned to Rome to be made a cardinal. It looks as if he had been enticed to give up his position as head of the Anglican Church in favour of a person who held the office of Auditor Causarum at Rome, John Peckham.'—Vol. i. p. 358.

Now Peckham was a Franciscan.

The state of Rome at this time was very curious. Archbishop Whateley's effective argument against Calvinism is equally effective against the Roman Church. Rome may be the Holy See, and seem often holy; the pope may impersonate the infallible wisdom of the Holy Ghost, and in matters whether of simple *fides* or *fides formata* never go astray; but the Roman Catholic must *act* as if all this were untrue; he must look to himself, and quit himself like a man, although he has all these wondrous supernatural appliances and means to boot. In February, 1288, Cardinal Jerome, a Franciscan, was made pope, as Nicholas IV. When he died, four years afterwards, there was no Englishman in the conclave. There were only twelve cardinals, all Italians except two Frenchmen. They were equally divided, one half being maintainers of an Orsini, the other half being maintainers of a Colonna. For one year and eight months these conflicting parties kept the Church without its head, and though in August one of the two Frenchmen died, still the party thus thrown into a minority succeeded, by secret intrigues, in evading an election. At last, Cardinal Malebranca proposed a third candidate, and the person he proposed was the popular hermit, Pedro Morrone, who was elected by acclamation. But the hermit steadily refused to accept the dignities thus forced upon him, and avowed that he preferred his poverty and his cell. Overborne by the eloquence of Malebranca, he consented so far as to ride on an ass into Naples. To Rome he would not go. The cardinals now found out their mistake in choosing Celestine V. and 'irreverently came to the conclusion, that 'although acknowledged sinners had filled the chair of S. Peter 'but indifferently well, a saint would not do at all.' Every one practised on the simplicity of the guileless hermit pope. At last, in 1294, he summoned a council and announced his resignation; and, before the cardinals had recovered their surprise, he had retired. He had been goaded into taking this step at last by a mysterious voice, which commanded him to return to the vocation he had abandoned; and it was tolerably well known

that the Ariel-voice, which did this spiriting so effectually, was the voice of none other than Benedetto Gaetani of Anagni, who succeeded to the vacant throne as Boniface VIII. A more serious practical joke, however, was played upon himself by one of the house of Colonna, the faction opposed to him. Stazza, the head of it, took Boniface prisoner at Anagni, and, though he was released soon afterwards, he presently lost his wits, and so died. We have a list of doubtful English cardinals: Ancherus, who died in 1286; William Bray, who died in 1282, having seen eight popes, and filled the post of Archdeacon of Rheims; Hugh de Evesham, who died in 1287; and Bernard de Auguescelle, who died in 1290, Archbishop of Rheims.

The elevation of friars to archiepiscopal and pontifical thrones reminds us of the change which had already among the mendicant orders come over their dream of poverty. The Franciscans in England had so deteriorated, that they offered to the pope 400,000 gold florins for permission to hold lands and maintain revenues. The Holy Father consented. But Edward, having learned the movement, by an exquisitely-turned *coup-de-main*, seized and impounded, and what was worse, carried over to his own account, this handsome sum, on the very good plea that, as the rules of the order had received pontifical sanction, he, for his part, could not allow them to be violated. Boniface made ineffectual efforts to retaliate. Benedict XI. who succeeded him, ruled for eight months and fifteen days, and the cardinals poisoned him; and they were three more months before they could agree as to a successor. It is fortunate for the cause of charity, if not of truth, that the report of all these poisonings, and other damnable diversions, does not come to us on Protestant authority, but is witnessed to by devout and genuine Catholics.

Clement V. who succeeded Benedict XI. was a Frenchman, but high in favour with our Edward II. Out of ten cardinals created by him in 1305, was Thomas Joyce, of the Preaching Friars, Confessor to the King of England. He had been greatly distinguished at the schools of both Oxford and Cambridge, but on his elevation he withdrew to Rome. There matters were in an unedifying state. A quarrel had broken out between the retainers of the cardinals and those of the pope, in which the brother of his Holiness was done to death. In consequence of this the pope withdrew to Bordeaux. Writing from this place, he suspended Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, for misconduct towards the king, and then he proceeded to claim the firstfruits of all ecclesiastical benefices in the land: a claim which was met by a decree from the Parliament at Carlisle. It was after this the pope removed to Avignon, and sought to govern Italy by means of legates. While in attendance on him, and actively

employed as legate to the empire, Cardinal Joyce died in 1311 at Grenoble, and his remains were transferred to Oxford. There is a long notice of him in Cardella, who speaks of him as famous in learning as well as in sanctity, and as having been a fellow student of S. Thomas. While Italy was being ruined by the Guelphs and Ghibellines, his Holiness Clement V. died at Avignon, and that very singular sample of holiness, John XXII. reigned in his stead, succeeding, after the Church had been left a peaceful interval of more than two years, wherein it was enabled in some degree to breathe with comparative freedom, recover itself from the mischief inflicted on it by Clement V., and brace itself to meet the worse sorrows which were ready to come with the reign of his successor. John placed the empire under interdict, and the emperor retaliated by setting up Martin as Antipope. John died in 1334, and his successors, Benedict XII. and Clement VI. pursued the same course of opposition to the empire and servility to the French king. Living at Avignon, the pope could not fail to be little better than the vassal of France. But infinitely more injurious than this political collapse to the dignity of the popedom, were the moral influences of the new abode of his Holiness. Disaster in the kingdoms of the world was overtaking on all sides the interests of the pope. Heaven itself seemed to condemn the life which his Holiness led; and a luminous pillar shone over the pontifical palace, a warning which the conduct of its occupant, according to some authorities, had provoked; who had revelled in the luxury of the Grand Turk, rather than imitated the virtues to be expected from a celibate priest. Society was sick to death with terror of the black plague, and with the noisy declamation of many sects, announcing the near approach of the world's end. And, almost worst of all, there was the fanatical republican Rienzi master of Rome. Amongst distinguished English Churchmen at this time Mr. Williams mentions Robert Eaglesfield, chaplain to Edward III.'s queen, who named the college he founded at Oxford, Queen's, in her honour. He never held higher preferment than the rectory of Burgh in Westmoreland. The cloisters of England produced in the fourteenth century the greatest intellectual chieftains of that or the preceding age. Aquinas and Bonaventura from Italy, Albertus Magnus from Germany, and Raymond Lully from Spain, great though they were in their several lines, were not to be compared for 'originality and subtlety, breadth and variety of attainments,' with Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and Occam, all more or less viewed by the Church with suspicion and distrust.

The Benedictines were the order which attracted scholars, and for this reason we may suppose it was that Simon Langham, of

that ilk in Rutlandshire, was drawn into that brotherhood,[1] about 1335, when Henley was abbot. Though no member of the community could have private means after joining, it nevertheless appears that Simon was able to pay the expenses of an action against the abbot, and when he was promoted to the dignity of abbot, he paid out of his own private fortune the debt left by his predecessor.[2] In the brother who succeeded as prior, Nicholas Lillington, Langham discovered much architectural knowledge, and he resolved to avail himself of this unlooked-for help in the renovation of the Abbey of Westminster, which he had resolved upon.

'For centuries each abbey had contained a school of design, in which the art of the builder, as well as that of the limner, was taught: these produced works of utility as well as of decoration; and fishponds, orchards, and gardens increased the enjoyments of the community, equally with illuminated MSS. and transcripts of esteemed books. The monastery of S. Peter seems to have taken an important step in the advancement of art, and instituted a school of mural painting, while the improvements in the building were going on. The monks became painters. It is difficult to trace their labour; but there can be little doubt that from this time scriptural and historical subjects began to appear on every ecclesiastical building of importance, and priests either directed or performed the work. The German monks have hitherto obtained the credit of being the pioneers of art. The palace of the Emperor Arnulph, at Regensburgh, was decorated by a couple of Bavarian recluses, towards the end of the ninth century; near the termination of the tenth the brothers Tutelo and Notker cultivated the same talent in the convent of S. Gall, in Switzerland. About the middle of the eleventh century Ellinger, abbot of the monastery of Tegernsee, obtained considerable celebrity by his artistic labours; and a century later flourished another ecclesiastical artist, Conrad, a monk of the convent of Scheyern. These are earlier examples than can be produced from the Benedictines of S. Peter's, nevertheless, we doubt whether their influence was felt so far as that of the monks of Westminster; for it is on record that the English style of painting was in repute in the Netherlands, and there is reason to believe that Van Eyck learnt it in this country before he made it famous in his own. The eastern portion of the cloister is believed to have been completed at the expense and under the superintendence of Abbot Langham. It was commenced by him in 1350, and, as one of our earliest examples of the Perpendicular, deservedly excites unusual interest. Later he was responsible for other important improvements.'—Vol. i. 391.

He went to Avignon to see the pope. There were other illustrious visitors from England. 'Richard de Bray,' the

[1] 'The first thing done was to place the hood upon the young candidate's neck. The candidate remained fasting, receiving each day the Holy Communion. On the third day he again knelt before the abbot, who put the hood over his head. He enjoined silence, he was not permitted to walk in procession, or to read in the church, or to pray aloud. To perform these and all other monastic duties and offices, the Master of the Novices made application, in Langham's behalf, at the first meeting of the chapter; and this being granted, the novice was duly cucullated.'—Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. iv. p. 166.

[2] Mr. Williams says that twenty of the brethren died of the black death. (Vol. i. 328.) Dean Hook (vol. iv. 169) even says twenty-seven. The discrepancies between the two writers are numerous.

munificent restorer of his cathedral at Durham, and author of 'Philobiblos;' William Bateman, bishop of Norwich, and founder of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, who died at Avignon; Thomas Bradwardine, archbishop of Canterbury. The pope had been ordered by the king to consecrate him. Clement VI. made answer that he could not refuse the king if he asked him to consecrate a jackass. Some of the papal courtiers, practising on his Holiness, while the Archbishop of Canterbury was speaking to the pope, had the doors thrown open, and a clown on a donkey rode in and presented a petition to the pope on behalf of the ass, that he might be consecrated. There, too, Abbot Langham met Laura, the true and beautiful, and Petrarch, now ripening for his final change. Langham, on his return to England, was, in 1360, made treasurer of the kingdom; in 1362 he was made Bishop of Ely; in 1363 he was made Chancellor, or Prime Minister; and in that office assisted in the re-affirming the Statute of Provisors that checked the papal power in England.[1] In 1366 he became Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester having declined it on the ground that, if Canterbury had the highest rack, Winchester had the better manger. Langham in the next year consecrated William of Wykeham, in whose favour he resigned the Great Seal.

Here he touched the highest point of all his greatness. Urban V., whether forgetful or ignorant of the constitutional part acted by Langham in the matter of the Statute of Provisors, or because, though himself not an Englishman, he had been born a subject of the King of England, or astutely thinking that by this course he might succeed in detaching so wise and firm a counsellor from Edward, raised Langham to the purple 27th September, 1368, as cardinal priest of S. Sextus. The king was deeply and hotly enraged, and appropriated the revenues of the now vacant see. The popularity of Langham utterly melted away at once; nor can anything more vividly paint the anti-papal feeling of the country than the circumstances under which Langham left it in 1369. A few days after he reached Avignon, the good pope Urban V. died. Langham was soon longing for England, and dismayed at the prospect of the return of the papal court to Rome. Happily for him, the aged king felt his absence, and wrote tenderly to him. Cardinal Langham was received back again into royal favour; and, having gone as a nuncio, in 1372 to France, he came to England, and succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the court of Flanders

[1] It was in the controversies of this time connected with this subject, that John Wickliffe first came before the public. He most probably owed his appointment to be king's chaplain to Langham.

and the king.[1] On his return he lost caste completely among the cardinals, because in his interview with the King of England he had uncovered: and though the pontiff subsequently made him Cardinal Bishop of Prænestе he was made to feel that he was regarded with distrust and dislike.

At length he received the pope's permission to return, and while he was absorbed in forming plans which he would carry out on reaching his beloved England, he died of paralysis, July 22d, 1376, leaving all he had for improvements in Westminster Abbey. This property, amounting to 10,800*l.*—or about 200,000*l.* of our money—was wholly devoted to the fabric.

Adam Eston, who was made Cardinal Priest of S. Cæcilia by Urban VI. in 1378, was apparently from Norwich, where he entered the Benedictine monastery and distinguished himself for his piety and his love of scientific study. Urban VI. was acknowledged everywhere but in France, which adhered to the Antipope Clement VII., each pope cursing might and main his opponent and his followers. A curious illustration is given of the effect of this kind of conflict on the cardinals. In a schism like that just referred to there was of course no end of plotting. The cardinals attached to Urban VI. of necessity remained at Rome. But theirs was a pitiable case. The temper of his Holiness was, perhaps, the unholiest in Christendom at that time. It was so despotic and violent that his supporters—those who had carried his election—made up their minds to get rid of him. 'They regarded the successor of 'S. Peter as dangerous, and, like common-place conspirators, 'entered into a league to effect his destruction.' At all events they were resolved to issue on their own authority what we suppose ought to be called a writ *de lunatico*. 'So stern was his 'severity, so savage his cruelty, the cardinals who had remained 'with him vainly urged him to adopt more considerate and 'merciful measures in his government; and the appeal having 'failed, they consulted an eminent lawyer as to the possibility 'of restraining him by the appointment of one or more directing counsellors.' Cardinal Orsini betrayed his five accomplices, and the English cardinal among the number. They were all put to the rack and treated barbarously. The English cardinal alone escaped with his life: the rest were either murdered in prison or sewn in sacks and cast into the sea. So says Muratori under this year, 1385. Adam Eston was one of the tortured

[1] I can find nothing to justify the statement made by Mr. Williams in the somewhat unconnected paragraph (vol. i. 417) in which he says that Langham's 'ambition was the tiara.' The sentence is so placed and worded that it might be supposed the author meant Whittlesey, the Archbishop of Canterbury. What Langham was suspected of aiming at was to replace him when Canterbury became again vacant.

cardinals. But Edward III. sent the next year requesting his release from prison; and Urban, willing to do a pleasure to a zealous supporter, released the English cardinal. Three years afterwards Urban VI. died; and Cardinal Eston assisted in 1389 in the election of his successor, Boniface IX. It was he who appointed that jubilee to be held every thirty-three years which Boniface VIII. had held in 1300, directing that it should be repeated every hundred years—that jubilee which Urban VI. had made to be solemnized every fifty years. Why should a Church—spelling its prophets with an *f*—delay so long to repeat and reap the profits of so valuable a solemnity? Amid the cares and anxieties connected with the interests of the pope, Eston lived a busy life; carefully eschewing to the end of his days all conspiracies, all speculations as to whether the wits of S. Peter's successor were disturbed or not. Of obscure or uncertain cardinals in this century we have Walter Winterburn (1303), who died at Genoa in 1306; William Macclesfield, made cardinal at Rome 1303; Sartorius Wallensis, made cardinal 1361 at Avignon; Gremoaldus de Gresant, deacon of York Minster, who in 1366 was made cardinal priest by Urban V., and who died at Avignon 1378. Lastly there is a John Thoresby, said by Godwin to have been a cardinal.

The eighth and last chapter of this volume is headed 'Chaucer, a promoter of the pre-Lutheran Reformation,' and is very pleasant reading. We cannot avow ourselves, however, converts to Mr. Williams' theory, that Chaucer's 'Parish Priest' is drawn from Wickliffe, any more than that Wickliffe wrote—or that some of his followers wrote for the Poet—the final essay in Chaucer's Tales. The fact that the Reformer of Lutterworth died in 1384, while the Tales contain references to events two years later, would rather strengthen than weaken the theory if otherwise entertained, that Chaucer's 'Parish Priest' was drawn for Wickliffe. We should have to be satisfied on the point whether the parson of Lutterworth really entered zealously into his pastoral duties before we could adopt Mr. Williams' theory. Any how, the age was one of intense excitement, and the Universities of Oxford and Paris became every year bolder in their speculations, and more resolute to withstand the unjust authority of Rome. And this temper was wholly the result of the unblushing venality and corruption of the Roman Church. It is not certain extravagant doctrines only which may be and have been stigmatized as *bad dreams*, that Rome is accountable for; but it is for the lives and principles also of her doctors and her popes; it is for that wholesale and gigantic fraud which the Roman court promoted, with which, so to speak, was the dawn of modern history darkened. Pope Alexander V.

dies. He is succeeded by his Holiness John XXIII., known to the best of his own communion as the *Diabolus Incarnatus*. He it was who detached D'Ailly from the side of the Chancellor Gerson, who was assured by his friend, now a cardinal, that the Sacred College would make all reformation impossible. To him Gerson made answer, boldly exposing the popular fallacies as to the person of the supreme pontiff. The anti-papal feeling in England meanwhile was not a little increased by the reflection that English ecclesiastics were practically excluded from all the honours of the Roman court. Before Adrian IV. there had been one hundred popes, and he alone of all was an Englishman; and there has been none since. England can only reckon a dozen or so of cardinals; while the Orsini and Colonnesi can count seven popes, and cardinals by the score. Perhaps when England has returned to her obedience, Rome will repair this practical blunder, and instead of a Bonaparte—a member of a family who has dealt so mercifully by the Holy See—we shall see an Englishman on the throne of Peter. If the cardinals of to-day shared the enthusiasm of Pio Nono, and his feelings on the subject of the repentance of Great Britain, and if they were equally indifferent to secular motives, they would not hesitate to place a Cullen or a Manning on the altar of S. Peter.

Among the cardinals of the fifteenth century, Philip Repingdon, canon of Leicester, is the first. He joined Wickliffe, and preached a memorable sermon against the existing abuses; then he recanted, and, having denounced his past theories, he became Abbot of Leicester, and, in 1400, Chancellor of Oxford. He made his term of office memorable by the severity of his persecutions, directed against all who favoured the tenets he had once so eloquently maintained. He was next appointed by the pope to the see of Lincoln; and in the second batch of cardinals created by Gregory XII. in 1408, he came out Cardinal Priest of SS. Nereo and Achilles. To evade the penalties of the law, he left England, but did not resign his see till ten years later. He founded Lincoln College, Oxford. Pope Gregory sent him to the Council of Pisa; but he achieved no distinction nor rendered any service to the Church as a cardinal.

Robert Hallam was elected Chancellor of Oxford in 1403, and consecrated Bishop of Salisbury in 1407. Ten years afterwards he was sent to the Council of Pisa, along with Chichele, bishop of S. David's. To mark his respect for the English, in 1411, Pope John XXIII. made Robert, and Thomas Langley bishop of Durham, cardinals. Langley's elevation is doubtful: we wish the honour had been conferred by a less-polluted hand. At Constance, Cardinal Hallam headed a depu-

tation of eight bishops: London, Bath, Winchester, Lichfield, Hereford, Bangor, and Norwich. The cardinal distinguished himself by his stern opposition to the rival popes, and his undisguised aversion to John. He was neither a Wickliffite nor a persecutor. He declared the pope deserved to be burnt at the stake; and urged that he should be placed under arrest, if he did not appoint his procurators. Finally, to his credit, he opposed the persecution of the Bohemian reformer; and perhaps he and the party he represented were the only persons in the council who honestly desired the purification of the Church. He appeared at Constance at the head of upwards of four hundred men. The emperor gave him precedence over the French, and was markedly deferential to the opinion of the English cardinal. His health, however, began to fail, and in September 1417 he died.

Henry Beaufort was the fourth son of John of Gaunt, and grandson of Edward III. He studied at Oxford and Cambridge. Boniface IX. made Beckingham resign Lincoln in his favour, 1397; and he was, ten years later, made Chancellor of Oxford and Dean of Wells. By Alice, daughter of the ninth Earl of Arundel, he had a daughter, whether born in wedlock—that is, before he was in orders—or not, seems uncertain. To him, undoubtedly, we owe three important measures: the enforcement of the odious statute, *De Heretico comburendo*, if he did not originate it; the disinterring and scattering of the bones of Wickliffe; and the obstruction of all measures proposed for the reformation of the Church. A great change came over the policy of the Council of Constance on the death of Cardinal Hallam; Pope Martin V. immediately made the King of England's uncle Cardinal of S. Eusebius, and he did this without condescending to make any communication to either king or archbishop. He went even further; and created Henry legate *à latere* for life, 'with permission to hold his bishopric *in commendam*.' A proceeding of this kind, under the circumstances of the age, could have but one significance. The entire subjugation of the Anglican Church was the object of these ecclesiastical conspirators. Archbishop Chichele, who had previously joined heartily with Beaufort in the attack on the Lollards, was the first to raise the alarm at the attitude assumed by the pope and the English cardinal. The appeal addressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to Henry was so cordially responded to by the king, and he, on his part, made the matter so plain to the cardinal, that both the legatine authority and the dignity of cardinal were allowed to lie dormant. Beaufort lived to secure to himself a supremacy during the minority of Henry VI. In 1426 he received the seals; but in two years, after arranging his quarrel with the protector, he resigned them; and quitting

England at the pope's request, to lead the crusade against the Bohemians, he entered actually on his office of cardinal. In Bohemia he was superseded by Cardinal Julian, as he failed in achieving those victories which he promised; and in 1431, returning to France, he acted as one of the judges who tried Joan of Arc; and he was, indeed the only Englishman on the commission, all the rest having been her own compatriots. In 1436 he crowned Henry VI. in Paris, and then returned to England, to renew his feuds with the Duke of Gloucester, and to incur the infamy of having procured his assassination while in prison. He had some difficulty in evading his liabilities for taking office of the pope; but he resigned the revenues of Winchester, and got a bill of indemnity passed touching his acceptance of the office legatine; and he was allowed to attend the Privy Council whenever the pope's business was not under discussion. In the year 1439 he was sent to negotiate a peace between England and France with the Duchess of Burgundy. After many months spent in the interchange of unavailing courtesies, the cardinal returned, having a very stormy passage, to England, October 9. Here he was soon engulfed in the tides of political intrigue. But, though unpopular with the masses, as a thorough upholder of abuses in Church and State he proved himself a valuable servant of the Crown; he quieted and brought an amnesty to the insurgents under Jack Cade; and was a munificent patron of Church work. He completed at Winchester Cathedral the unfinished plans of William of Wykeham; he restored Hyde Abbey, and took a large share in the foundation of S. Cross, which 'he almost entirely rebuilt, and found funds for the 'support of thirty-five additional brothers, two chaplains, and 'three nurses.' His intrigues at Rome were, however, frustrated. Two months after the death of his supposed victim, 'the good Duke Humphrey,' he breathed his last, June 14, 1447, leaving his enormous wealth to the 'pious uses' of a faith which he professed, but in which he seemed to have no real rest. In consideration of his munificence to the church of S. Mary Overies, adjoining his palace at Southwark, the arms of the cardinal, England and France quarterly surmounted by the cardinal's hat, were carved in stone on a pillar in the south cross aisle, where they continue to this day. He appears to have aspired to the popedom.

John Kemp was born in Kent, near the river Stour, in the year 1380; and, having studied at Merton College, became shortly Archdeacon of Durham in 1415. He received the see of Rochester in 1418, Chichester, 1421, and was eventually consecrated to London in 1422. A year or two before this he had been made Chancellor of Normandy. He succeeded Beaufort as Lord

Chancellor, receiving the seal from the baby hands of Henry VI. In 1423 he succeeded to York, and then, resigning the seals, he proceeded to Basle. There, at the Council, offended at the evident good understanding existing between the French and Burgundians, he returned home, to meet a storm of popular indignation at the ill success of his mission. He again failed in the same mission in 1439; but he arranged at Calais a treaty with Flanders. In the December of this year, Eugenius IV. created Kemp a cardinal, Cardinal Priest of S. Balbina. He identified himself wholly in his politics with Cardinal Beaufort. He claimed precedence in the House of Lords of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The matter was referred to the pope, and the pope of course decided in favour of the prince of the Church.

'A curious picture of ecclesiastical life has been given to the public in a volume issued by the Camden Society. There the archbishop figures as a distinguished member of the Church militant, maintaining an armed force in the town of Ripon for three years, that plundered with little discrimination and less mercy. This warfare was the result of a dispute that commenced in 1441, between the cardinal archbishop and the tenants of his forest of Knaresborough; it occasioned a suit at law, pending which, the suitors assumed the character of belligerents. The complaints of the Yorkshiremen against their prelate were loud and fierce, for lives were lost in the quarrel, as well as money and goods. The Earl of Northumberland supported the men of the north; but the king and his Privy Council took the part of the archbishop. The dispute was by them referred to arbitration, and the earl made to recompense the cardinal for all loss and damage inflicted.'—Vol. ii. p. 116.

Kemp obtained the royal licence to found a college at Wye, near his birthplace. Of the college, not a trace remains; though the parish church built by him, with the stalls in the chancel for his fellows, continues to this day. In 1450, he again became Lord High Chancellor, and vainly tried to save the life of the Duke of Suffolk. He was then transferred to Canterbury, and at Rome elevated to the dignity of Cardinal Bishop of S. Rufina, and legate *à latere*. Having taken the oath to the pope, that he and all his whole Church held all of the pope, he took another oath to the opposite effect to the king. He died in 1454, in a season of unpopularity, when his house was surrounded by the injured merchants of London and Calais.

Thomas Bourchier's father was grandson of Edward III. and had married his first cousin, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, the widow of Edmund, earl of Stafford. Thomas was Chancellor of Oxford in 1435, and became, in his thirty-sixth year, Bishop of Worcester, in 1436. In 1443, he was at Ely, where he only officiated once, and he then succeeded Kemp at Canterbury. In 1464,[1] he was created Cadinal Priest of S. Cyriacus. The increased subjection to Rome of the Anglican clergy had

[1] But at page 141, vol. ii. our author tells us that the creation was in 1467.

by this time once more produced its normal fruits; the immorality of the clergy was excessive. The majority of the hierarchy were indifferent to all religion, and the consequence of this was the prevailing unpopularity of the clergy. In March 1456, Bourchier received the seals; he resigned them in a couple of years, but in 1455 he was mainly instrumental in reconciling the two great factions of the kingdom. The reunion took place at Westminster Abbey, but it was not lasting. He induced the queen to give her son out of sanctuary to his care, in compliance with the demands of Richard of Gloucester. On receiving the duke, he went with him to London House, where the young king his brother was; he then placed both in the Tower and hurried into the country. He is responsible for crowning Richard III. and thus setting aside as illegitimate the royal children. But to his credit it must be added, that when satisfied of the crimes of the usurper, he boldly maintained the Earl of Richmond, and, after the battle of Bosworth Field, he officiated at the marriage which united the two houses in June 1486. In the following April he died, and was buried at Canterbury. Among other liberal bequests in his will, was the bequest of 125*l.* to each of the universities, to be lent to poor students in sums of 100 marks. According to the papal annalists, Bourchier was also Archbishop of Adrianople.

John Morton was born 1410 in Dorset, and educated at Balliol, where he mainly studied law. In 1472 he was Master of the Rolls and Rector of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East. When Chancellor, he revived the hated imposts called Benevolences. The collectors were taught to require payment of the thrifty, because they must have saved money, of the lavish, because they had it. This argument was called 'Morton's Fork.' At the time when he was consecrated Bishop of Ely in 1478, he held four archdeaconries, besides other preferments. He walked praying from Downham to Ely, bare-footed, bare-headed, and so was received at the cathedral, where the faithful were dazzled at once by his humility and the splendour of his hospitality. He attended Edward IV. on his death-bed. Richard arrested him, and sent him, Hastings, and others to the Tower. But Oxford earnestly besought his release, and he was sent to Brecknock. Thence he escaped, and, betaking himself to the Isle of Ely and then to the coast, he escaped to Flanders. While on the continent he saved Richmond from a conspiracy to betray him to Richard. On the overthrow of the latter, he was made Chancellor, and on the death of Bourchier he was translated to Canterbury, in which office he displayed himself as a true purifier of existing corruptions; and lastly, in 1493, he was created Cardinal of S. Anastasia by his Holiness Alexander VI. Though

Cardinal Morton could not but be aware of the real character of the pope, he spared no pains to establish an influence at his court. There his attempt to compass the canonization of Henry VI. proved unsuccessful, but the name of Anselm was 'inscribed on the Libro d'Oro of saints.' He was the patron of Thomas More, who has left an account of him. He had princely notions of architecture. He was always building, and he was munificent in his bequests to the Church. He was buried in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, but his tomb is now empty; Archbishop Sheldon gave away his skull nearly a hundred years since. The Church owes much to his memory for his true endeavours to amend the ill manners of the English clergy, which had already formed the subject of complaint in a bull of Innocent IV.

He was the last of the six English cardinals of this century. It is doubtful whether Chichele was a cardinal or not.

Christopher Bainbridge, from Hilton near Appleby in Westmoreland, was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and in 1486 held three prebends in Salisbury Cathedral. In 1495 he was elected Provost of Queen's. Eight years after, he became Dean of York, and in two years more he added to the preferments he already held the deanery of Windsor, and the offices of Privy Councillor and Master of the Rolls. In 1507 he was promoted to the see of Durham, and in the next year he became Archbishop of York. In March 1511, Bainbridge was created Cardinal of S. Praxede, by his warlike Holiness Julius II., and also legate with the army he had sent into Ferrara. Mr. Williams mentions that about 10,000 lives were lost in the wars in which the successor of S. Peter commanded; and yet he was one of the very best and most conscientious of all the popes. Leo X. succeeded, and Bainbridge spent many years at Rome on the king's business. While there he incurred some discredit with his king through the traitorous machinations of his colleague the Bishop of Worcester, but at last he discovered and exposed to Henry the dishonest conduct of this trusted servant of the Crown. The consequences were fatal to the cardinal. He was poisoned in his own house by a priest who, under torture, declared that he had been incited to the crime by the Bishop of Worcester. The inculpated prelate—an Italian—contrived to retain his position at Rome. His statement was, that the priest Rinaldo had been always insane. The poisoned cardinal was buried with due honours by the pope in the church of S. Thomas, where the monument to his memory was one of the few which escaped when the church was destroyed on the breaking out of the first French Revolution. It is now to be seen in the cloisters of the English College, whither it was transferred in 1833 by Dr. Wiseman.

The remaining seven chapters of this fourth book are devoted to the life of Cardinal Wolsey. Whether the Ipswich tradesman, Wolsey, was a butcher or not, there is no doubt that his son Thomas displayed very precocious abilities. As early as 1498 he was already bursar of his college, and displayed that passion for architecture by which he afterwards acquired so much celebrity. While Bursar of Magdalen he came to know Erasmus, and the three youngest sons of the house of Dorset were placed under Wolsey's tuition. Erasmus was tutor to the eldest. Erasmus acknowledges the great obligations he owed to Wolsey. In 1503, while a parish priest, Wolsey indulged in some excess at a neighbouring fair, the consequence of which was that he was put to the ignominious punishment of the stocks. After this he became one of the domestic chaplains of Dean, archbishop of Canterbury, upon whose death he had charge, along with Richard Gardiner, of the corpse from Lambeth to Faversham. The Treasurer of Calais then obtained his services; and as he was old, he left much to his young assistant, who then had his first opportunity for displaying his great administrative abilities, and of becoming known to the court. He was then thirty years of age, handsome, graceful, and refined. He became court chaplain. Then, having discharged most ably a mission to the emperor, Wolsey was made Dean of Lincoln by the king. As King's Almoner he had opportunity of catering for Henry's pleasures, and by this means he rapidly acquired an immense influence with the king. On the invasion of France he marched with the rearward of the English army on its way to Terouenne.

He had, however, no opportunity of distinguishing himself in the field. He witnessed subsequently the Gallican exploit known as the 'Battle of the Spurs.' He was then made bishop. Leo X. had an antipathy to him, and refused the royal request that he might be consecrated with a remission of part of the fees. He succeeded as Chancellor at Oxford, and, on the death of Bainbridge, Henry promoted him to York. When the King of England applied to Leo to make 'my lord's grace of York' a cardinal, he hesitated and demurred, and declared the step was surrounded with difficulties. This reluctance Mr. Williams thinks was feigned, that Leo might make good terms for himself. In September 1515, Wolsey was made Cardinal of S. Cecilia beyond the Tiber. Wolsey appears in a very amiable light in his endeavours to reconcile the king to the secret marriage of Mary, widow of Louis XII. and Charles Brandon. The marriage was eventually recognised, and accepted. After he had presented to Henry the palace at Hampton Court as a gift, he was invited to be godfather to the Princess Mary. He does not seem to have behaved very generously to the magis-

trate who put him in the stocks; whom he summoned to London, and kept a prisoner on parole for six years. This person, who subsequently figured prominently as Sir Amias Paulet, inhabited the house in Fleet Street which belonged to Wolsey; which the prisoner decorated with the cognisance of his gaoler.

In the politics of the nations at this time, it is not too much to say that Wolsey was the visible Providence of Europe. He was master of all the springs and motives of all the crowns and courts. No pontiff ever filled a position so commanding. And this may, in fact, have been the secret cause of the very hearty dislike with which he was regarded by his Holiness. Nor was it only in the world abroad that his influence for good was felt; at home, the king's laws were never so well administered — might was no longer right; and England never before had attained so high a position in the estimate of the other nations of Europe. It was Wolsey who, anticipating that policy of conciliation towards France which is the triumph of our modern English diplomacy, sought at all times, and almost at all hazards, to bind together the two kingdoms in bonds of peace. It was he who negotiated the marriage between the Dauphin and the young princess. Spain shared the antipathies of Leo to the English cardinal. We read now in the most confidential parts of the State papers found among the archives of Simancas, how bitterly he was judged, and how unmercifully he was criticised. It must be admitted that Wolsey—like a late minister of England celebrated for his foreign policy—had rather too much *pluck*, to use the common phrase; which was calculated, both by its very nature and by its frequent success, to awaken the animosity of foiled diplomatists. The visit of Charles to England was due to Wolsey's influence, and was undertaken in the hope of altering his course. When Charles offered to Henry the post of arbiter between him and France, he could not resist the dexterous piece of flattery; and yet, in point of fact, it was Wolsey who was made umpire. It was necessary for the pope, however he might detest him, to bind Wolsey to himself as best he could; and hence he appointed him about this time legate *à latere*. There was one remarkable feature indicative of the weakness or greatness of Wolsey's character. He always rose to the level of his last advancement. As he mounted higher, he himself, and all connected with him, underwent a proportionate change. Nothing could surpass the splendour of his household, or the magnificence of his style. Display of this kind was calculated to excite ill-will among nobles and less wealthy courtiers. Buckingham held the basin and water, and Suffolk the towel, while emperor, king and queen, *and cardinal* made their ablutions. Buckingham threw the water on the cardinal's shoes.

That letting out of water was the beginning of a strife which 'robbed the bewailing land of noble Buckingham.' There can be little doubt that Buckingham deserved beheading as much as perhaps any one who suffered in that reign, but we fear there can be little doubt that, had there been no Wolsey, Buckingham would never have been 'absolved with an axe.'

In Rome, Leo had provoked the anger of one Borghese Petrucci, who resolved to assassinate the pontiff. Intercepted letters confirming some incautious speeches which had been reported placed the matter beyond doubt. Leo invited Petrucci to Rome; and sent him a safe-conduct, with the most solemn assurances of his safety. The Spanish ambassador considered that Petrucci might trust these promises. He arrived with his friend Cardinal Sauli; they were both at once arrested, and Petrucci, under torture, made confessions which compromised some of the cardinals. The incident supplies an admirable illustration of the morality of his Holiness and the Sacred College. If it is a matter of surprise with what little wisdom the world is governed, no less a matter of surprise should it be to see how little piety and fear of God is needed for the administration of the spirituals and temporals of the Holy Roman Church.

'As the evidence then obtained indicated the collusion of other members of the Sacred College, they were summoned to assemble; but before the appointed day the fears of the pontiff for his own safety had so increased that he would not venture to meet them. Cardinal S. Giorgio (Rafaelle Riario) was arrested as an accomplice of the two cardinals in prison, and the Consistory dismissed. Leo left the Sacred College, for a day or two, to reflect on their position; after this he summoned them into his presence, and addressed them with mingled admonition and reproach. Then he caused each cardinal to declare on oath whether he had been privy to the late design on his life. Cardinal Soderini at first recklessly committed perjury; but being pressed by the pope threw himself at his feet, and acknowledged his guilt. "There is still another traitor," exclaimed the pontiff, when Cardinal Adrian, whose experience in poison cases must have been superior to that of his colleagues, now that he knew that further evasion was hopeless, made a similar confession.'—Vol. ii. p. 352.

Leo said that they must pay him 2,500 ducats. They raised that sum. His Holiness declared that what was demanded, and must be paid, was that amount a-piece. Then Soderini escaped to the protection of Colonna, and Adrian fled to Venice. Adrian unfortunately held at this time the bishopric of Bath and Wells. Petrucci, De Sauli, and Riario were degraded, their property confiscated, and they themselves handed over for capital punishment. Petrucci was strangled that night. The entreaties of the pope's brother-in-law obtained for a money payment the life of De Sauli. Riario also was permitted to ransom his life, and fled to Naples. Leo ever after kept around his person an armed guard, even during the holy ceremonies of the Church;

and, to neutralize the ill effects of his severity on the Sacred College, and to signalize his dislike of England, he created thirty-one new cardinals, not one of them an Englishman.

Mr. Williams gives us a sketch of the court festivities of Leo X. at a time when Christianity seemed to be wholly impregnated with heathenism.[1] The straits for money to which his expensive mode of living reduced the pope compelled him to have recourse to the sale of indulgences. They had been made a traffic of for centuries before, but not in so public and audacious a way as now. The complaint of the German monk was looked upon as a Teutonic joke. The pope and cardinals had just sanctioned a sermon, at the delivery of which Erasmus was present, in which the pope was represented as Jove, and the Virgin as Diana. 'Why should they take any notice of an 'obscure recluse in a foreign land, who had preached against a 'particular feature in papal finance?' Leo, at length aroused, issued a bull declaring that indulgences were lawful; and Luther, strong in his cause, and backed by the press, appealed to a General Council. Wolsey, in the general stir, acted a studied part. Wherever in England the anti-papal feeling was strong, he did not interfere to repress it; on the other hand, in the interest of the pope, he encouraged the king to come forward as his advocate. It was specially grateful to the wounded feelings of Pope and College to receive the deputation from England which came to present the King of England's book in defence of the Seven Sacraments. A plenary indulgence was granted to all the faithful who should read the book, and a title was given thenceforward to the English king. At first it was proposed he should be called the *Apostolic*, or the *Orthodox*, or the *Faithful*, or, lastly, the *Angelic*. One cannot be too thankful that the last was not fixed on. Leo knew from Wolsey what the king looked for, and the theological champion was duly acknowledged. 'All the learned men in England were said to have taken part in its composition.'

When Leo died, so impoverished was the papal exchequer, that he was buried with funeral tapers provided for the obsequies of Cardinal S. Giorgio. He was dead on 1st December, 1521, after four days' illness, and a reign of eight years. 'On a *post* 'mortem examination there were indications of poison. He died 'without the sacraments, in the greatest disfavour with the 'Romans; while the Sacred College, who shared his revels, 'debated whether the acts of his pontificate should not be erased 'from the papal records.' In appointing his successor, at the

[1] For an admirable sketch of the classic heathenism, piety, and morality of the day we refer the reader to Browning's admirable poem on the Bishop ordering his tomb at S. Praxed's.

fifth scrutiny Wolsey's name appeared among the candidates: 'he is last in the list but four, and they have but one vote less.' Pace was sent at once to Rome, and the king wrote to the emperor, claiming his old promise to forward Wolsey's interests. Before Pace arrived, or the emperor could interfere in a plan already, no doubt, pre-arranged, his tutor, the Bishop of Tortosa, was elected. There were twenty-nine candidates, and eleven scrutinies. On one of these Wolsey had seven votes, and the Cardinal Volterra twelve. The seven votes had been bought. Finding his chance hopeless, the cardinals gave him up. How 'intensely secular' the whole process for the transmission of the infallible virtue was, is testified by the Spanish envoy: 'There 'cannot be so much hatred and so many devils in hell as among 'these cardinals.' Wolsey, when he learned his failure, might well console himself with the general disgust created by the measures of the new pontiff, and the manner in which he allowed himself to be influenced. Bad as the Roman court had been under Leo X., it found a lower depth of degradation under Adrian VI. Wolsey's state at home, indeed, might be described as super-pontifical. Cavendish, who was one of his gentlemen ushers, gives an account which is doubtless well known to our readers,—mentions his over-profusion, and dilates on his stateliness. When Dr. Barnes made this a subject of a sermon, the cardinal sent for him, and good-naturedly discussed with him and defended the things on which the preacher had animadverted. After all, this no doubt is to be urged in abatement of his condemnation; that he but lived according to the usages of his station and of the times, and that much of his splendour reflected credit on the king his master. How clear in his high office as chancellor he was, we have the testimony of Sir Thomas More, who was not a partial witness, but one who regarded with severity the worldliness of the great prelate. More's eulogy is expressed in the very highest terms. If at times Wolsey was, in the matter of loans and taxes, arbitrary and exacting, it is certain that the responsibility for all this lies at the door of that despotic and angry master whom he served. When, after a short reign, Adrian VI. died, Henry again interposed on his friend's behalf; again Charles acted treacherously, and again Wolsey's ambition was frustrated. Charles's capacities for deceit were wonderful. The cardinal, however, had the satisfaction of being able to decline the emperor's after-advances; of concluding, unknown to Spain, the treaty with France; and of urging, though ineffectually, the king his master to interfere for the release of Clement from his imprisonment by the emperor.

At this time, however, Wolsey at home had become as un-

popular with the clergy as he had long been with the laity. The suppression of the monasteries for the benefit of his own foundation had been a most unacceptable measure, and in one instance the feeling of the neighbourhood broke out into open opposition. He was really favourable to a purer teaching in the Church, and to a removal of the abuses of the ecclesiastical system of the land; but this capture of the pope, and his brothers of the Sacred College, this storm of Rome was too affecting a consideration; it diverted unfortunately the thoughts of the cardinal from reform. The order of the day was war with the emperor. To promote this, Wolsey was sent as plenipotentiary into France. On his return he met with a reception which indicated a declining influence. His enemies had been active in his absence, preventing the French ambassador from ratifying the treaty. The fatal trouble of Wolsey's life, however, was connected with that unhappy Englishwoman, Anne Boleyn. She spared no blandishments, no sugared speech of whispering humbleness to gain the good favour of his Eminence, Of course he was not to be deceived. He seems to have rated her at her true value from the beginning. He was long familiar with Henry's complaint of Katherine, that she brought him no sons. Katherine had been at first passionately attached to her brother-in-law, and when the Spanish confessor hinted at the religious objections to such a union, her love of Henry took the form of hatred of all who ventured to indicate any objection to the gratification of her passion. In the same way, the Spanish ambassador, who communicated these religious objections in his despatches home, was abruptly recalled; and when Henry avowed his passion for Anne Boleyn, Wolsey objected, not to the measure of seeking a divorce from Katherine, but to the impolicy of Henry's marrying a subject. But Henry convinced Wolsey that his mind was made up. Therefore the cardinal redoubled his courtesies to Anne, and at the same time, as in truth he could scarcely help doing—he warned his young page, Lord Percy, to forbear his pressing suit for Anne. He, yielding to the remonstrances of his father and the advice of the cardinal, was induced to marry a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Anne never forgave the cardinal for thus persuading her lover to discard her. The pope was in a difficulty. Just released from prison, he had covenanted with his conqueror to take no step prejudicial to Queen Katherine. Wolsey was pressing him; was consulting his universities; was obtaining answers from them, declaring that the pope could not dispense with the law forbidding marriage with a brother's widow. Would not the king be content with a dispensation to take a second wife? Would nothing induce the

queen to die? Campeggio arrived in England; after tedious delays the case was opened, and the royal parties examined. Henry, when appealed to, declared that the doubts as to the legality of the marriage had first been suggested to him by the Bishop of Bayonne, and that Wolsey had objected to his course. At last the case was referred to Rome, through the emperor's influence, and Clement was resolved not to grant a divorce. The first suggestion that the case should be removed to Rome had come from Wolsey. His letter on the subject had been filched from the pope's papers, and, to ruin Wolsey, had been placed in the king's hands. The genius of Shakespeare has made us all familiar with the account of the great cardinal's downfall. Every history but brings into fuller light the wondrous fidelity of the narrative of the great dramatist. The removal to Esher, the conspiracy of Norfolk and Suffolk, the refusal to deliver up the seal. Then came the express on the journey to the north, the messenger of unabated good-will from the king. Then the cruel arrest for high treason, under the Act of Provisors, made by the Earl of Northumberland, who had been once Wolsey's page. Then his journey south again; his halt once more at Newstead; his apprehension of poison; and his death at Leicester. Nothing in all his life became him like his manner of leaving it. He was made for better things than to wear the purple in a society of monks. He was fitted to fill with glory the throne which his great enemy, Charles, covered with disgrace. He has left behind him enduring memorials of his heroic character. He stands in our history, next to the greatest of the Plantagenets, as the grandest of Englishmen. All who triumphed in his downfall came to misery and death, violent or sudden. Henry rapidly deteriorated from a king to a tyrant and monster; and the Church which the master mind of the great cardinal would have reformed in due order, and purified, had to undergo fearful and irreparable disaster. There is not a ruined abbey in the land but is a memorial and a picture of that noble person, who would have saved it had he been able to counterwork the secret envy of unworthy nobles, and the triumphant witcheries of the royal harlot.

We rejoice to find that Mr. Williams means to continue the series. He may do great service by giving us a careful life of Pole. But the higher interest of the subject closes with Wolsey. He is in our cardinalate what Shakespeare was to the drama—one of many, but one alone. Mr. Williams writes with industry and conscientiousness; and his book ought to prove very acceptable. And if his materials were arranged more discreetly, and needless repetitions avoided, he would be entitled to our praise, unmarred by any qualification.

ART. IX.—1. *The Church and the World.* Essays on Questions of the Day in 1868. By various Writers. Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. London: Longmans. 1868.

2. *An Address on the Connexion of Church and State, delivered at Sion College on February* 15, 1868. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: Macmillan. 1868.

3. *Essays on Church Policy.* Edited by the Rev. W. L. CLAY, M.A., Incumbent of Rainhill, Lancashire. London: Macmillan. 1868.

ADVICE is a very cheap commodity in the opinion of those to whom it is offered, and very valuable in the opinion of those who offer it. We shall probably share both opinions in the course of this paper, the purport of which is to criticise the advice of others and to offer advice of our own. When the wise man said, 'In the multitude of counsellors there is safety,' he made a statement which experience does not invariably justify, if the stress of the sentence rest upon the word 'multitude.' But he, doubtless, made 'counsellors' the emphatic word; and inasmuch as this word involves the ideas of wisdom and of competency to give counsel, there is no difficulty in believing that the more of such persons there can be had, the better. In these days, however, there is that in the condition of things which gives prominence to the expression 'multitude.' There is no lack of counsellors at every emergency and upon every question; but the inconsistency of their advice, and the worthlessness of most of it, incline one to think that, if there be any safety in the multitude, it must be the safety of disregarding what the multitude says. It is so hopeless to follow all the counsellors, that the safest thing appears to be not to follow any.

The Church of England at this time offers just such a case, around which advisers eagerly crowd. She is going through a sea of troubles, and there is a storm in the wind as violent as any she has ever weathered. She already seems to be on its verge, and many declare that it will not be long before she is in the thick of it. Every one feels that good navigation (we speak of course from the mere human and temporal side) is of the greatest importance. The enemies of the Church exclaim, half exultingly, that she needs all the skill she can command, and

more. Her friends grow increasingly anxious, and amongst a few there are signs of a panic. The wisest of them are not free from doubts of the result. Amongst all there is a stir, a going to and fro, a desire to bear a hand and make things snug and taut and trim. Moreover, there are the counsellors; and they a multitude. Their numbers are almost overwhelming; would that we could say their wisdom was impressive! Let us not, however, anticipate. It cannot be expected that, when advice is so abundantly given, and when the advisers are prompted more by an excited eagerness to say something in the juncture than by a well-ascertained fitness to say anything, there should be unmixed wisdom in all that is said. Of the sort of advice that is offered, our readers have had samples submitted to them from time to time. The first two series of 'The Church and the World' received ample attention at our hands; and now we have a third series, under the same editorship, to introduce. But along with them we must group other counsellors, who look at affairs from a very different standpoint, and yet claim to be considered true friends of the Church, who come forward in the day of her necessity with the best advice they can offer. And yet another company is looming in the future; hurrying up to the council-board from a quarter altogether different; a sturdy band of Evangelicals, whose disquisitions upon 'Principles at Stake' have not yet advanced further within the range of public notice than a bare announcement of their approach in Mr. Murray's advertisement-sheet. We hope to be able to give a good account of these last at some future day. At present we have plenty to occupy us in reviewing the publications which stand at the head of this article.

As we take up this third volume of 'The Church and the World' we cannot help expressing a sort of admiration for the magnificent career which Mr. Orby Shipley is pursuing, as an editor of Church essays. This volume of 1868 is stouter by a hundred pages than either of its predecessors of 1866 and 1867, and they were the bulkiest bundles of essays that had been turned out by any group of writers. Surely 'the force of' essay-writing 'can no further go' than this portly octavo of 662 well-packed pages. And next, as to its contents. It is perhaps not speaking to its discredit to say that the book is unequal within its own compass, and not up to the level of the First Series. Certainly this is so. Yet, if it had been the first attempt, it would not have been a failure. There are useful papers in the volume strong enough to carry the weak ones into a larger share of attention than they would have found for themselves. Indeed, the amount of notice which these bulky productions command is very remarkable. They are not cheap, or, in any extended sense, amusing. They

smack of the strongest possible flavour of, what is absurdly called, 'Ritualism,' and in truth can only be fully acceptable to out-and-out Ritualists. Yet we do not suppose that either the editor or the publishers would have embarked this third venture if the former two had not turned out successful in a commercial sense. On the contrary, the advertising fly-leaf of this volume announces a third edition of the First Series and a second edition of the Second. This fact may not be taken as an absolute gauge of the influence of the opinions which the volumes propound, but it at least shows that those opinions have obtained a handsome share of attention.

And, it must be admitted, the opinions are not watered down to weak stomachs. They are strong enough to bite the most seasoned palate. The writers are bold gentlemen. They, professing themselves loyal members of the English Church,—many of them priests of the same,—avow such opinions in such language as to make an Evangelical's flesh creep; but, on the other side, to tickle into inextinguishable laughter the Ultramontanists of the *Dublin Review*. Our readers are probably aware of the paper in that periodical to which we advert. We hope the *Rock*, the *Record*, and the *Church Association* will accept that article as evidence contradictory of their insinuations that the Ritualists are in league with the Pope. In order to give a general idea of the 'strong meat' that is provided in this volume, we may refer to the last paragraph of the Preface, in which it is announced that Manuals of devotion, by way of Invocation of Saints, and also of Prayers for the Dead, are in preparation; and it adds that these books will be such as can be 'loyally' used by members of the Anglican Church. We suppose that the former of these Manuals will have a few introductory remarks, explanatory of Article XXII. of the Thirty-nine Articles, for the satisfaction of those 'loyal' Churchmen who may feel somewhat doubtful as to whether the Article means what it says: also, a kindly consideration for 'loyal' Churchmen who are apt to be squeamish, will, we hope, induce the editor of the said Manual to allay any misgivings that may arise in their minds from the fact that the Anglican Church has carefully excised, from those portions of ancient liturgies which are incorporated in her own service-books, every allusion whatsoever to the practice of Invocation. In short, to put the matter plainly, we should, in these days, be very thankful indeed to the editor of this Manual, or anybody else, for explaining what loyalty means, and also for stating whether it be an extant or an obsolete quality; moreover, if extant, we should be glad to know whether it is of a piece with the loyalty of the Roundheads to Charles I. who always approached his Majesty with protestations of loyalty, and finished up their devotion by cutting off his Majesty's head.

And now something by way of a more particular notice of the book. Dr. Littledale leads off with an article upon the First Report of the Ritual Commission. It exhibits all the characteristics of the writer; clever point, bitter invective, varied illustration, general absence of Christian charity, and general presence of bad taste. The bishops, we need hardly say, are abused and ridiculed with the insolence and acrimony with which the readers of the *Church Times* are familiar. It must, however, be owned that he sometimes puts in the knife, and gives it a cruel turn too, where there is good reason for its use. If that sort of thing must be done, Dr. Littledale is the man to do it: yet some persons may think that even the advantage of Dr. Littledale's trenchant sarcasm may be purchased too dearly by the Ritualist party at the cost of its character for Christian courtesy; and it may be doubted by some, whether to have destroyed the *Record's* monopoly of religious abuse and theological bad language be altogether a gain to the Church cause, although the competition be initiated by the unrivalled talent for those accomplishments which Dr. Littledale is known to possess.

The sixteen other articles admit of being clustered together, and in this way we shall deal with them. Nos. 2, 5, and 7 touch social questions, and that on their evil side. The 'Defects in the Moral Training of Girls' (the title of the first of these essays), though written 'by a Mother,' and consequently by one naturally better able to form an opinion than ourselves, yet, we venture to hope, is too highly coloured for a picture of general society in this respect. Nevertheless, it is a paper full of sound sense and wholesome advice. It puts the finger of intelligent censure upon what is really a social evil, and one which, as much as any other cause, tends to produce what is technically called *the* 'social evil.' It may be pretty safely assumed that the bad bringing-up of a young woman will show itself most surely and most promptly in the way she treats her servants when she becomes a housewife. The frivolity, vanity, and selfishness which were fostered by the worldly training of her maidenhood will bring forth their proper fruits in the arbitrary and pettish behaviour of her married life. The truth is, there are quite as many bad mistresses as bad servants; and the faithlessness of the latter is oftentimes the direct result of the selfishness of the former. The caprice and bad temper of the mistress make the maid careless and fickle. The servant is frequently treated, not as a fellow-creature, still less as a fellow-Christian, but rather as a labour-machine set to perform a certain amount of work in a certain time for a certain payment. The idea that there is any moral duty which a mistress owes to

her servant, never enters the empty head of your fine lady of the period. If anything go wrong, instead of taking pains to find out how far it was the result of ignorance which the mistress can remedy by instruction, how far of carelessness which a gentle caution might correct for the future, how far of wilfulness and evil disposition which, on the first occasion at least, should be met with kindly admonition and advice,—instead, in short, of treating her servant with the forbearance and consideration due from one Christian to another, this modern sort of mistress, straightway and in a fit of ill-temper, gives the offender warning. Hence it is that one hears of houses in which there are as many changes of servants as of months in the year; and from such houses incalculable social mischief flows. For servants thus treated lose conscientiousness, become low-minded in their views of servitude, insincere, restless, fond of change,—in a word, demoralized. But this sort of mistress neglects her duty towards her servant, not only by hasty dismissal, but also by indifference to her moral and religious welfare while in her household. The servant's personal interests are coldly disregarded. She is in the house, but not of the family. The unfeeling rule, 'no followers allowed,' drives her to the dangerous deception of a clandestine courtship; and as for religion, it seems to be assumed that she has no religion: for turning her adrift in the street on a Sunday evening, under the pretence of allowing her to go to church, without being able, and in fact without caring, to ascertain whether she go there or not, is a cruel sham, which cannot for a moment be maintained as representing any real interest in the woman's welfare. And this pernicious practice has contributed largely to another evil. Inasmuch as multitudes of maid-servants are only let out on a Sunday evening, many town clergy, the strength of whose untutored zeal is in due proportion to the weakness of their Church principles, have broken through catholic custom, set at defiance the most obvious and grave objections, and established evening communions. Many loose practices have been, and are, permitted in the worship of the Anglican Church, but the whole of them put together do not amount to so serious a mischief as this unwarrantable and inexcusable innovation. Yet an apology (for we never yet heard of any clergyman who practised evening Eucharists attempt to do more than apologize, and that in very quavering terms, for his offence) is set up in respect of maid-servants who are not allowed to go to church at any other time. Did it never occur to these well-meaning but rather obstinate men, that it was their duty to protest against and endeavour to break down the hateful selfishness of employers, which flings their dependants into the streets, to be caught up by vice as easily as by religion for any-

thing they know or care? And could not these clergy perceive that by steadily insisting upon the necessity of communion to full Christian fellowship, at the same time that they faithfully kept to their morning celebrations, suiting the hours to all reasonable requirements, they worked a powerful engine which must in the end have largely corrected the selfishness of employers which refuses to make—or, more charitably, never dreams of making—any sacrifice of personal convenience to give their servants an opportunity of receiving the Blessed Sacrament? As it is, they have thrown away a grand means of reforming a social practice which is a disgrace to our Christianity, and by the very same act have fastened upon our Church an ecclesiastical practice which is a blot and a scandal in the face of all Christendom.

The next essay in this group, No. 5, is entitled 'The Abolition of Marriage,' and is a well-deserved and well-directed attack upon the existing state of the law concerning marriage and divorce. Its censures and its suggestions are alike sound, and there runs through the whole paper a quiet common-sense, which adds force to its remarks. The seventh essay, 'On Immoral Literature,' takes up another and a kindred feature of the vice of the age; and its merits entitle it to a similar meed of commendation. To a thoughtful mind these three articles, forming, as they do, part of a volume which is, as far as it goes, both a proof and consequence of the increased religious activity of the age, present matter of very grave and even mournful interest.

We now turn to two articles of a very different class. They are on 'Invocation of Saints and Angels,' and 'Prayers for the Dead.' Mr. Humble, Canon of S. Ninian's, Perth, is the chivalrous champion of the former practice. He is very ingenious, but utterly unconvincing; and although he argues with all the warmth of a perfectly sincere man, we hold him to be offering to the Anglican Church the most mischievous counsel that an enemy could wish, in advocating the revival of Invocation. Mr. Humble is just one of those advisers with one idea, and that a wrong one, who are always so eager to advise in times of trouble, and whose counsel induces one to think that our Church would get on tolerably well, but for her friends. He insists very strongly upon the distinction between '*latria*' and '*dulia*,' and points out how both the Roman and Greek Churches have authoritatively condemned the serving of the saints with the former instead of the latter. Now, how clearly soever a man of education, whose mind has been trained to preserve fine distinctions, might be able to discern between these two kinds of worship, it is simply ridiculous to suppose that the multitude will maintain the distinction clear in their ignorant and confused minds. Let Mr. Humble go with us into a church in Greece or

Russia, and observe how the poor ignorant peasants cross themselves and bow before, and kiss, the ikons and the relics, in the most mechanical way, their faces exhibiting as blank an indifference to, and ignorance of, what they are about as if they were Marionettes worked by strings. Does he mean soberly to assert that these poor creatures know, and are mentally capable of acting upon, the very fine distinction between the service which is expressed by λατρεύω and that which is indicated by δουλεύω? Do the crowds of devotees, who throng at all times of the day the little chapel of the Iberian Mother at the Iverskoi gate at Moscow, —do the streams of worshippers who pass from picture to relic during, and to the great interruption of, the celebration of the Divine Mysteries at the Church of S. Spiridion at Corfu,—do these simple folk split such a slender theological straw? The notion is preposterous; and when the authorities of the Greek Church appeal to the anathemas of Orthodox Sunday as a proof that their Church authoritatively forbids the confusion of the two kinds of worship, the most charitable conclusion is that they are both the victims and the fautors of a gross delusion. Again, with respect to Invocation in the Roman Church. Let Mr. Humble accompany us to Padua, and enter the Church of S. Antony at the hour of high mass on a Sunday, and let us observe what is actually going forward. The altar of S. Antony is in a chapel on the north side of the church, next the choir. A double row of open, fixed benches are ranged right across the church from north to south, facing towards S. Antony's altar, and consequently having their ends turned to the high altar. During the whole morning low masses are being celebrated on S. Antony's altar as close upon one another as priest can follow priest, one celebrant returning from the altar passing another on his way to it. At the appointed hour high mass begins at the high altar, and proceeds, with every adjunct of ritual and music carefully rendered, to its conclusion; but from first to last not a single person out of the whole crowd of worshippers who fill the benches and are scattered through the church, pays the slightest attention to the high mass, but all their devotion is absorbed by the reiterated low masses at the shrine of the favourite saint. In point of fact, the high celebration is treated as a musical performance for the entertainment of the worshippers at the shrine of S. Antony. We may observe that about three low masses are celebrated during the time that the high mass is going on. Now it will not do for the Roman Church, in the face of these facts, to disclaim the affair as a local *cultus* for which she is not, as a Church, responsible, and to point, by way of self-vindication, to the decree of Trent concerning *latria* and *dulia*. Whatever her theory of Invocation may be, here is the fruit

Physicians,' which serves as a good companion to his contribution to the First Series on 'Hospital and Workhouse Nursing.' Mr. Carter's papers on Retreats gives much information to guide the conductors of them.

Other papers make up the book, all of more or less interest,—none that will not repay perusal. But we take up the volume, not so much for the sake of the information it may contain, as for the principles it represents. These seventeen writers stand forward as a deputation of friends who come to give advice to the Anglican Church in the day of her necessity. Their appearance rests on the assumption that Church matters are in perplexity, and also that they are friends of the Church who have come to the rescue. We grant both assumptions. The former is only too plainly the fact; the latter ought in fairness to be conceded. But now comes the question, Is the advice, which these friends of the Anglican Church offer, wise and sound? We feel that in its essential features it is not. Of course, whatever counsel they may give with regard to improving the organization of our communion, the development of its energies, and the consolidation of its strength, will be all welcome, and, as coming from the party which these writers represent, will have the special value of being practical and based on knowledge and experience. For assuredly the Church owes an immense debt to the so-called Ritualists for their keen appreciation of her wants, and their clever adaptation of her machinery to meet them. But the essential features of their advice are just those in which it differs from the convictions of the rest of Churchmen; and herein, we think, lies its unsoundness. Clearly, without being consciously disloyal to the Anglican Communion, their proclivities are Roman. They are warm in their praises of all that they can possibly praise; they are gentle and constrained in their censures of what they cannot possibly approve. They evidently speak with a will in commendation and with an effort in condemnation. This latter peculiarity might, indeed, be set down to the spirit of large-hearted charity, in which this volume may be supposed to be steeped; but, unfortunately, this kind supposition is swept away by the rancorous tone in which the writers assail whatever, on the Protestant side, they disapprove; and the contemptuous sneer with which they refer to anything that is distinctively Anglican. With them it appears to be a fixed rule of judgment that whatever is Roman is presumably right till shown to be wrong, and that whatever is Anglican is presumably wrong till shown to be right. Now, if these essayists suppose that they are doing one particle of good in assuming this attitude towards Rome, and towards their own communion, they are hugely mistaken. Their praise is

wasted upon the unthankful and the proud, for Rome despises it as the adulation of heretics. The article in the number of the *Dublin Review* for last April only confirms what every one knew before, that the movements of the Ritualists are regarded with ridicule and contempt by Rome. What, for instance, can be more contemptuous than the well-deserved rebuke which this party receives at the hands of our Roman Catholic contemporary for their insolent abuse of the bishops, and contemptuous disregard of their authority? In this respect the language and behaviour of the Ritualist party are such as to provoke the remark that they have imitated Rome in everything but her cardinal virtue of obedience;—and have renounced Protestantism in everything but its cardinal vice of self-will. Then, again, they injure as far as their power extends, the Church to which they belong, by their persistent slighting of whatsoever is characteristic of her. If an institution be condemnable in every point by which it is distinguished from other institutions, then clearly the institution itself, as such, stands condemned. But when the condemnation proceeds from the lips of those who are all that they are by virtue of the institution, then common-sense declares that the institution is treacherously humiliated by its members in the eyes of its enemies. And in this particular case the Roman Catholics agree with ourselves in taking this view. Further, as regards reunion: what can be more chimerical than to suppose that it is promoted one jot by the line of policy which these gentlemen adopt? Even supposing Rome were not as she is, in the very delirium of Ultramontane madness, still she would hardly go out of her way one step to join hands with a communion which is repeatedly declared by the mouths of the reunionists to be beneath respect.

While touching upon this subject of reunion, and the futile attempts made to coax the Roman Catholics to give one moment's serious attention to it, we cannot avoid referring to another effort put forth in another direction with results more disappointing, because the grounds of expectation were more reasonable. Our readers remember the admirable letter which Mr. P. G. Medd addressed to the *Guardian* last January, in which he started, in a noble spirit of Christian charity, the subject of bringing back the Wesleyan body to the fold of the Church. The discussion which ensued, in the press, in Convocation, and at clerical meetings, showed a variety of opinions as to the hopefulness of the scheme, though general agreement with respect to its desirableness. Nothing, however, could be positively ascertained concerning the view which the Wesleyans themselves, as a body, took of the matter, until the Wesleyan Conference assembled in August. Then the subject was brought

on for discussion; and with what result we all know, and probably regret. The members of the Conference turned round upon the Church and flung Colenso and Ritualism in her face. Nor was this all. Dr. Pusey, who with other great men—Gladstone and Disraeli for example—seems to have caught the complaint of inordinate letter-writing, addressed a letter to the President, couched in the most courteous and conciliatory language, inviting the Conference to take joint action with the Church with respect to Mr. Coleridge's Universities Bill, and proposing a scheme of comprehension for that purpose. We are bound to say that the reception which his letter met with was discreditable, not merely to the generosity, but even to the good manners of the Conference. The style of language in which many of the speakers repudiated all ideas of treating with Dr. Pusey or the Church, was coarse, and its spirit narrow. The nett results of Mr. Medd's and Dr. Pusey's overtures to Wesleyanism are simply these: a scornful rejection by the Wesleyans themselves of all such advances, and a *pas d'extase* executed by the *Times* in its delight at the rebuff. The fact is, both these gentlemen seem to have been misled by an amiable assumption, that because John Wesley was a High Churchman in his principles, therefore the Nonconformist sect which calls itself after his name contains the spirit of the Church more largely than any other sect,—a complete mistake, as the Wesleyans themselves have now somewhat rudely taught us, and which by a little precaution we might have found out for ourselves. The fact is, Wesleyanism is no more a faithful following of Wesley than Irvingism is of Irving. The Wesleyan sect is undistinguishable from other Protestant sects, except, perhaps, in being more systematically organized. To all intents and purposes Wesleyans are common Dissenters, who dissent from the Church as little and as much upon principle, as little and as much from self-will, as little and as much for political or class reasons, as any other dissenting body.

Now, we respectfully submit to the consideration of the whole Anglican Church, and especially to that section of it which is represented by 'The Church and the World,' this question: Will not the cause of reunion be more substantially aided by the members of the Anglican Church steadily drawing towards each other upon grand Catholic first principles, tempered with the widest charity in details, and carried forward in a spirit of forbearance, self-restraint, and watchful repression of individual predilections, than by the unauthorized advances of parties and individuals towards other communions, which receive, and can only be expected to receive, refusal or neglect? If the strength of the Anglican Communion were concentrated, its powers and resources consolidated, a general compactness of force, together with an

elastic freedom, given to its corporate action, it would then be such a body as would further reunion by the power of attraction inherent in it. Sects, or portions of sects, would fly off to it, and become absorbed. If, however, it exhibit so much internal looseness of structure, a rude shaking, which shall displace the girders of establishment, may break it up into the fragments, of which the fissures are only too plainly visible. And then, piecemeal, it will be absorbed instead of absorbing,—the Ritualists by Rome, the Rockites and Recordites by the Evangelical sects, the ultra-Broad party by the Socinians; and the Anglican residue, like a bankrupt parent, will have to apply to her children of Scotland, of the Colonies, of the United States, to enter with her into a new alliance upon equal terms. But what if she should discover that these daughter Churches had suffered irreparable injury by the disestablishment of their ancient mother? that they had lost—not moral, least of all spiritual, but certainly social, weight? And can this force be dispensed with?

We will now turn to a very different set of friends of the Church. They resemble the party we have just left only in the fact that they come forward with advice. In every other respect they could not be more unlike if they professed themselves to be the Church's enemies. The advice they offer can scarcely be said to have one single point of contact with that of the other troop of friends. Even their phraseology has nothing in common but the sound. In Dean Stanley's 'Address on the Connexion of Church and State' and in the 'Essays on Church Policy' the word Church is used in a sense which is anything you please but one of the many senses which other people attach to it. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the only clear thing about it is, that it by no means involves Christianity as an essential element. But let us be more particular.

The Dean's Address very properly takes precedence, for its writer is the leader of this school of 'Churchmen,' and this pamphlet is generally accepted as the manifesto of the 'Broad' party. We will therefore see what valuable assistance the Church in her day of trouble may hope from this distinguished friend. Now, at the outset, we are afraid that the Dean has fallen into a blunder in the very title of his pamphlet. He calls it 'An Address on the Connexion of Church and State.' Without insisting upon much accuracy in the use of words, or even stipulating that the word Church should imply Christianity, we think this formula commits Dr. Stanley to the very principle which it is the whole aim and purpose of his essay to show does not, and ought not to exist. The words 'Connexion of Church and State' necessarily imply that the Church and the State are distinct: it is impossible to conceive of a connexion being

effected between two things that are not distinct. But the gist of the Dean's argument is that the Church and State are identical. We confess it is a much easier and more agreeable task to admire the picturesque and glittering style of Dean Stanley's writing than to endeavour to make out the sense of it; but we venture, not without diffidence, to believe that such is the meaning of the following passage:—

'How can the real voice and mind of the Church be arrived at?

'Not by the clergy alone. In the Middle Ages, when so large a mass of the intelligence of Christendom was absorbed in the clerical ranks; when metaphysical philosophers like Albertus Magnus, and scientific inquirers like Pope Sylvester, could be put side by side with theologians like Aquinas, and priests like Hildebrand, this might have been partially true; but, even then, there were elements of life in the king, the nobles, and the people; elements especially of family life, of intellectual life, which the clergy failed to represent. St. Louis was a far truer exemplar of Christian virtue, Dante of Christian intelligence, than any ecclesiastic, however high in rank or however devout in character. And this is much more the case now, when the lay professions have been so infinitely multiplied.

'Not by an assembly of the whole Christian community, for the simple reason, that in a nation like England such an assembly would be impossible; still less by separate assemblies in particular towns or provinces, which could not represent the whole community itself. The formation of Christian nations is a fact which cannot now be recalled, and therefore, to exclude the principle of national life from religious affairs would be to deprive religious thought of one of the noblest and most enkindling of human motives.

'Not by what is called the lay element in Church synods. The laymen who, as a general rule, figure in such assemblies do not represent the true lay mind of the country. They are often excellent men, given to good works, but they are also usually the partisans of some special clerical school; they are, in short, clergymen under another form, rather than the real laity themselves.

'Where and how, then, can the true voice of the laity be found for the Church? Surely, in the same manner as it is found in other spheres. Whatever is the motive guiding force that rules the intelligence and the conscience of the whole country, by whatever means that force is called forth, that is the lay element which in our age corresponds to the early assembly of the Christian Church. And this, in its highest form, is what we call the Government, or the State.'—P. 7.

Dean Stanley is an instance of the power which language has to deceive those who are most facile in the use of it. According to the common acceptation of the terms, he possesses a great command of language: nevertheless, in point of fact, language has a great command of him. It exercises an immense and a perverting influence over him. He seems to be quite unconscious that in the passage we have quoted he has glided into a perfectly different position of thought and argument from that which he occupied at the commencement of his paper. One is apt to be dazzled by the brilliancy of his allusive style, which plays so charmingly with history; but if we look steadily at

the bare reasoning of this extract, we shall find it stands thus:—'How can the real voice and mind of the Church be arrived 'at? Not by the clergy alone; not by separate extra-national 'assemblies; not by the lay element in Church synods, but by 'the Church. And this, in its highest form, is the Government 'or State.' If any one of his ability, learning, and dignity than the Dean of Westminster, had talked thus, we should unhesitatingly have set it down as sheer nonsense. The fact is, Dr. Stanley is in a false position from the very first. In his mind Church and State are absolutely one and the same thing. He is incapable of conceiving of them as separate ideas. But inasmuch as Church and State are two different words, and that in other people's minds these words stand for two different ideas, he adopts the two words, but not the two ideas; and in the end comes forward with his one idea, for which the terms Church and State may stand as synonyms.

For this strange confusion there is a cause. Dr. Stanley is confessedly the disciple of Dr. Arnold. Now, the master was what the disciple assuredly is not, a clear-headed man who used language with precision. Dr. Arnold maintained the theory of the identity of Church and State; his disciple follows him in this. But it so happens that just because Dean Stanley adheres so closely to his master's theory, he departs entirely from his master's principle. When Dr. Arnold spoke of the State, he always, and only, understood a Christian State,—a State, that is to say, into whose legislature none but Christians were admitted, and such the State was in his day. But Dean Stanley, when he speaks of the State, is in reality speaking of a thing which did not exist in Dr. Arnold's time; for he is speaking of the State as it is now, a State, mamely, into whose legislature non-Christians are admitted, and this form of State Dr. Arnold most emphatically protested against.

It is important to lay stress upon this fact, for they who argue for the connexion of Church and State, in the sense of their being identical,—a halting argument, indeed, as we have shown,—are wont to speak of Dr. Arnold as though they were developing his theory, or at least that he would be on their side in the discussion, taking the State to mean what it is in 1868. Likewise they who do not accept the views of this party are apt to think that Dr. Arnold was in favour of them, and to suppose that the latitudinarianism of Stanley is the same in principle as the latitudinarianism of Arnold. We will, therefore, take some pains to show that this is a mistake; and we do so quite as much from a sense of justice to the great master of Rugby, as from a desire to correct the errors of his favourite pupil. 'The Life and Correspondence of Arnold,'—that noble work of a

loving and able hand,—shall suffice for our purpose. Our point, then, is to show that Arnold only conceived of the State as being Christian, not having any non-Christians in its Government or Legislature, and that only in this sense did he contend for the identity of Church and State. Accordingly, we find him writing to a friend:—'I must petition against the Jew Bill, and 'wish that you, or some man like you, would expose that low 'Jacobinical notion of citizenship, that a man acquires a right 'to it by the accident of his being littered *inter quatuor maria*, or 'because he pays taxes.[1] This was in 1834. Again, in another letter, two years later, he is still more explicit:—

'I want to petition against the Jew Bill, but I believe I must petition alone; for you would not sign my preamble, nor would many others who will petition doubtless against the measure. I want to take my stand on my favourite principle, that the world is made up of Christians and non-Christians; with all the former we should be one, with none of the latter. I would thank the Parliament for having done away with distinctions between Christian and Christian; I would pray that distinctions be kept up between Christians and non-Christians. Then I think that the Jews have no claim whatever of political right. If I thought of Roman Catholicism as you do, I would petition for the Repeal of the Union to-morrow, because I think Ireland ought to have its own Church established in it; and, if I thought that Church anti-Christian, I should object to living in political union with a people belonging to it. But the Jews are strangers in England, and have no more claim to legislate for it than a lodger has to share with the landlord in the management of his house. If we had brought them here by violence, and then kept them in an inferior condition, they would have just cause to complain: though even then, I think, we might lawfully deal with them on the Liberia system, and remove them to a land where they might live by themselves independent; for England is the land of Englishmen, not of Jews.'—*Life*, ii. 32.

This is plain enough; and he is no less clear in writing thus on two occasions to Archbishop Whately:—

'But for the Jews I see no plea of justice whatever; they are voluntary strangers here, and have no claim to become citizens, but by conforming to our moral law, which is the Gospel. Had we brought them here as captives, I should think that we ought to take them back again, and I should think myself bound to subscribe for that purpose. I would give the Jews the honorary citizenship which was so often given by the Romans, *i.e.* the private rights of citizens, *jus commercii et jus connubii*, but not the public rights, *jus suffragii et jus honorum*. But then, according to our barbarian feudal notions, the *jus commercii* involves the *jus suffragii*; because land, forsooth, is to be represented in Parliament, just as it used to confer jurisdiction. Then, again, I cannot but think that you over-estimate the difference between Christian and Christian. Every member of Christ's Catholic Church is one with whom I may lawfully join in legislation, and whose ministry I may lawfully use, as a judge or a magistrate; but a Jew or heathen I cannot apply to voluntarily, but only obey him passively if he has the rule over me. A Jew judge ought to drive all Christians from pleading before him, according to S. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 1.'—*Ibid.* p. 35.

[1] 'Life,' vol. i. p. 379 (3d edition).

'I have no thought of writing anything about the Jew Bill or Church Reform at present. If the Jew Bill comes forward, I shall perhaps petition against it, either in common with the clergy of the neighbourhood, whom I could on that question join, though not probably in my reasons for opposing it; or else singly, to state my own views as a Liberal in being unfavourable to any measure of the present Government. Undoubtedly, I think that up to 1795 or 96, whenever the elective franchise was granted to the Catholics, the Protestants were, *de facto*, the only citizens of Ireland; and that the Catholic claims could not then be urged on the same ground that they are now. Till that time, one must have appealed to a higher law, and asked by what right the Protestants had become the only citizens of Ireland: it was then a question of the *jus gentium;* now it is merely one of *jus civile.* I never have justified the practice of one race in wresting another's country from it: I only say, that every people in that country which is rightfully theirs may establish their own institutions and their own *ideas;* and that no stranger has any title whatever to become a member of that nation, unless he adopts their institutions and ideas. It is not what a Government may impose upon its subjects, but what a people may agree upon for themselves; and, though England does not belong to the King, yet it belongs to the English; and the English may most justly say that they will admit no stranger to be one of their society. If they say that they will admit him, that is, if Parliament pass the Jew Bill, I do not at all dispute their right as Englishmen to do so, and as an Englishman I owe obedience to their decision; but I think they make England cease to be the πόλις of a Christian, and we, like the old Christians, shall then become in our turn πάροικοι. Politically, if we are the minority, I see no injustice in this, but I think that we may wonder a little at those of the majority who are Christians; seeing that we as Englishmen have a nearer claim to English citizenship than the Jews can have; and Christians, being the majority, ought, I think, to establish their own ideas in their own land.'—*Ibid.* ii. 38.

In writing to Bunsen he uses expressions which place it beyond all possible doubt that his idea of the identity of Church and State was based upon a conception of the State altogether different from that which we have to deal with at the present day:—'I want to know,' he asks, 'what principles and 'objects a Christian State can have if it be really Christian, 'more or less than those of the Church? In whatever degree it 'differs from the Church, it becomes, I think, in that exact pro-'portion, unchristian. In short, it seems to me that the State 'must be "the world," if it be not "the Church;" but for a 'society of Christians to be "the world," seems monstrous.'—*Ib.* ii. 142.

We think we have quoted enough to sustain our assertion that the views of Dr. Arnold regard a condition of things which has passed away. The moment that the Jew Bill became law, Dr. Arnold's theory became impracticable. To put the matter succinctly as between the master and pupil, it stands thus:—Dr. Arnold's latitudinarianism insisted upon Christianity, and extended the name to the utmost possible limits, and the whole area included within these limits he considered to be the Church

in respect to religion, the State in respect to Government. Dr. Stanley's latitudinarianism does not insist upon Christianity at all, but accepts the State as he finds it,—namely, a body which is only adequately described in the third Collect for Good Friday, and asks us to call it the Church. We need not add that the principles of the master and pupil radically and irreconcilably differ. For if Dean Stanley really desire to carry out Dr. Arnold's theory, his first step should be to move for the repeal of the act by which Jews were admitted to Parliament.

This is so clear that one naturally wonders how any confusion could have arisen. But Dr. Stanley and those who think with him are singularly inaccurate in their use of language. When discussing the question of Church and State, they are constantly performing a juggle with the words 'Church,' 'State,' 'Christian.' This, no doubt, they do unconsciously through defective perception of the meanings of the terms they use, and perhaps they deceive themselves even more than they deceive others. But so it is: the process is a kind of intellectual thimble-rig; you never can be sure under which of the three cups the pea lies. To this cause alone can we attribute the extraordinary use the Dean makes of other people's language upon the subject. When he quotes Oliver Cromwell as saying, 'If any whosoever 'think the interests of Christians and the interests of the nation 'inconsistent, or two different things, I wish my soul may never 'enter into their secret,' he repeats a fine saying, but one wholly impertinent to the matter in hand; for Oliver Cromwell knew not, neither could he conceive of, the nation renouncing its Christianity by admitting non-Christians into its legislature. So likewise, and yet more glaringly absurd, is the use he makes of Hooker, claiming him 'as one of the chief champions of the doctrine set forth in this Address.' Can Dean Stanley possibly forget that the conditions upon which Hooker based his theory of Ecclesiastical Polity no longer exist? But the truth is, Dean Stanley is afflicted with a disease which has led away many writers, but none so far and so fatally as himself—the disease of false historical analogy. His memory is crammed with historical and biographical *tesseræ*, wnich he never tires of working into pretty patterns, producing harmonies and contrasts pleasing to the eye, but utterly misleading to the judgment, and subversive of the truth. The accomplishment itself is fascinating, and under severe discrimination may be harmlessly employed. But by the Dean it is carried to a a morbid extravagance, and this Address teems with examples.

Before we dismiss this pamphlet, some notice must be taken of the way in which Dean Stanley presses Holy Scripture into the service of his argument. On page 14 we read thus:—'The

'chief example of a judge in religious matters, whom S. Paul 'and S. Luke hold up to us as a model of impartial justice, but 'whose name with ecclesiastical zealots has by a strange mistake 'of interpretation become a term of reproach, is the Proconsul 'Gallio. "He cared for none of these things," says the author 'of the Acts, with a genuine burst of admiration, as he records 'his noble indifference to the popular clamour of the Jews at 'his judgment-seat.'[1] Now, for our part, we do not use the name of Gallio,—'the blameless brother of Seneca,' as the Dean calls him,—as a term of reproach. We have always regarded him as an honourable example of an impartial judge. At the same time we fail to detect in the language of S. Luke the 'burst of admiration,' of which our author speaks so confidently. To our poor judgment the sacred writer is engaged throughout the whole of Acts xviii. in relating simple facts without any garnishing of sentiment; and among the facts he has occasion to state that 'all the Greeks took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment-seat;' a somewhat strong measure, it must be allowed, but one which did not disturb the equanimity of the proconsul, as S. Luke informs us, simply adding, *Καὶ οὐδὲν τούτων τῷ Γαλλίωνι ἔμελλεν*, 'and none of these things was any concern to Gallio.' It may, indeed, be that S. Luke felt admiration for Gallio's conduct as he penned these words; only the words themselves do not express it. This, however, is a matter of slight importance. But what is of importance is the inapplicability of the passage to the purpose for which Dean Stanley quotes it. In his eloquent peroration (p. 29) he exclaims, 'Let us not be ashamed to be Erastian with S. Paul!' Now the passage in Acts xviii. is nothing to the purpose, and gives no colour to this artifice of rhetoric. It was the hostile Jews who brought S. Paul before Gallio, not he them; and inasmuch as the Proconsul's decision was in his favour, so far as it went, it was likely enough that he would acquiesce in it. But he was not, therefore, Erastian; not, therefore, of Dean Stanley's peculiar views as to the connexion of Church and State; not, therefore, a case in point at all. The Dean, however, would have done some-

[1] We cannot pass unnoticed the very loose and inaccurate reference (to say the least of it) which Dean Stanley makes, on p. 15, to Rom. xiii. In a rhetorical flourish he thus expresses himself:—'The magistrate, whom S. Paul calls "God's minister to him for good," "a terror not to the good" works of faith and love, "but to the evil spirit" of fanaticism and oppression.' S. Paul's words, rightly translated by the A. V., are:—'For he is the minister of God to thee for good;' and, 'For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil.' They occur respectively in verses 4 and 3 of that chapter. We leave the reader to decide whether the Dean's ingenious tesselation of them into his eloquent page be a justifiable treatment of such words in such an argument.

thing pertinent if he had followed up Dr. Arnold's hint in one of his letters above quoted, and taken in hand S. Paul's opinions as he states them in 1 Cor. vi. It would have been a real triumph if Dr. Stanley had cited the first verse: 'Dare any of 'you, having a matter against another, go to law before the 'unjust, and not before the Saints?'—and likewise the sixth verse: 'But brother goeth to law with brother, and that before unbelievers;' and have shown that the heathen Proconsul Gallio was *not* such a person as the Apostle intends either by ἄδικοι or by ἄπιστοι; but that he *was* included in the term ἅγιοι. This, however, he has not done. In like manner his reference to S. Paul before Festus, and our Lord before Pilate, is beside the mark, for the simple reason that there is no parallel between their circumstances and the circumstances of the case he is arguing.

It is not our intention to go into the whole question of the union of Church and State. We have on former occasions expressed with sufficient emphasis our adherence to the principle of their union; we repeat that conviction, and we deprecate the acts, by whomsoever committed, which imperil the union. We do this in the interest of the State more than in the interest of the Church. She has lived, can live, and will live beside, above, beyond, the vicissitudes of earthly governments, and the transient interests of secular systems. But as citizens, as patriots, in short, as true Englishmen, we demand the union for the sake of the State. We hold that the national life will lose in tone and efficiency for the highest good of those who partake in it, if the union should come to be severed. Now, without wishing to startle by uttering a paradox, we maintain that amongst those who place the union in peril we class Dean Stanley. And we justify this statement by an appeal to the whole tenor of his public conduct in this matter. We do not doubt but that in all he does he acts conscientiously, but his conscience is ill-informed; we admit readily that he is sincere in his desire to befriend the Church, but the Church as he imagines it is not known, has not been known, and never will be known in Christendom. It is the creature of his own fancy, and if (which God forfend!) he should so far prevail as to get near to the realization of his own ideal, he will discover that he has only succeeded in exorcising the spirit of Christianity from the body of the nation, and driving it to take refuge in a few obscure but devoted sectaries, who will continue to hold that belief in Christ is essential to the existence of the Church of Christ.

Let us think for a moment what is Dean Stanley's attitude towards the Church. The reports of the Southern Convocation witness to his efforts to bring that assembly into contempt.

That its action is crippled, that its constitution is defective, that it cannot be accepted as the representative assembly of the Anglican Church, being no more than an assembly, and that very imperfect, of the representatives of only the clergy, and that of only one province, all this every reasonable person will readily admit; yet, such as it is, there it is, a part of the constitution, with ancient prestige, and also with great learning, and wisdom, and piety amongst its members. Dr. Stanley, as Dean of Westminster, is one of them, and his talents no less than his position place him among the most illustrious of its members. Yet his dislike of all Church assemblies makes him disrespectful to Convocation; he ridicules its want of power; and not seldom, by his own share in the debates, he does actually bring discredit upon its proceedings. Again, with regard to the Lambeth Conference, nothing could be in worse taste than his behaviour; but Bishop Hopkins has sufficiently treated that affair. In like manner, he takes the side of a strenuous opponent whenever the question of Church Synods is mooted. In fact, every scheme for reforming the Church, as the Church, for extending her influence, for improving her organization, finds in Dean Stanley a relentless and scornful foe. Now, the various movements towards improving the Church system which Dean Stanley opposes are promoted by Churchmen of every shade of opinion—except, of course, the Dean's own indescribable tint—and they proceed from a very widely-spread feeling that for the Church, in the very broadest sense of a Christian society, to be legislated for solely by Parliament as it is now constituted, being a non-Christian assembly, is a grievance and an anomaly. The fact is very simply exhibited. Forty members make a House of Commons; if twenty-one of these be Jews, infidels, or deists, they may pass a measure affecting the well-being of the Church against the nineteen Christians. In the name of common sense can Christians be expected to acquiesce in this state of things? Dr. Arnold would have replied, 'Certainly not.'

In the days of the Church's necessity, glad indeed should we be to inscribe on her list of friends the name of Dean Stanley. He possesses many elements of power for good; he has a generous heart, a cultivated intellect, and a mind well stored with various learning. The influence which his amiable and attractive character gives him would be of great value if employed in behalf of any reasonable and definite Church policy. As it is, his very virtues and talents serve rather as hindrances to the promotion of the Church's welfare, for they hold back in expectation many who, from personal regard, would wish to follow him, and he has no whither to lead them. He is reputed to be a masterpirit of the party whose chief boast is to be able to read the

times with an acute perception of their wants and their issues; and yet there is nothing more certain than that he is perfectly ignorant of the one and incapable of forecasting the other. He offers himself as a pilot, and it turns out that the currents and the sunken rocks are unknown to him, and that what he is making for as the promised land of a reformed historic Christianity is only a wreath of clouds which hangs on the horizon of his own fancy.

Although we have devoted a special article in the present number of the *Christian Remembrancer* to Mr. Clay's volume, we must, by way of completing the parallel or contrast which the Church's counsellors present, now direct the reader's attention to the volume which is the joint production of seven gentlemen who are supposed to belong to Dean Stanley's school of thought. The 'Essays on Church Policy' are eight in number, and deal with questions of undeniable importance at the present day. For that reason, and also because the writers represent the Church's most newly-found friends, we shall take some pains to test the value of their counsel. 'The purpose of this volume,' the preface says, 'is 'to discuss, with special reference to the circumstances of the pre-'sent time, the principles upon which the Church of England may 'be sustained as the National Church, and the modes of action 'by which her national character may be further developed.' Brief as this preface is, its language raises two questions which ought to receive answers before we go any further, at the same time that it takes their solution for granted. First, What is the Church of England? next, What is a National Church? Now the language of the preface would seem to assume that the Church of England is some settled and well-understood form of religion which the nation of England adopts as its own. But the most notorious fact of the day is, that there are several very different ideas afloat as to what the Church of England is. This difference of opinion prevails, not only amongst those who professedly stand outside her pale, but also amongst those who professedly stand within; and, in truth, more extensively among the latter than among the former. There is one section that will tell you that the pure Church of England is to be sought for in pre-Reformation times, and that the Reformation was an Erastian compromise, an ecclesiastical fraud and a political blunder, fruitful of gigantic evil and infinitesimal good. There is another section that insists upon the lowest type which the invasion of foreign Protestantism and home-grown Puritanism have produced as the genuine Church of England. There is another section which points to the Statute Book as the creator, and holds that the Church of England is its creature. There are those who take the Book of Common Prayer, minus the Articles, as expressing

the mind of the Church, and who pass lightly by the Articles as expressing only the mind of their framers when that mind was in a state of doubtful orthodoxy. There are those who take the Articles as the supreme standard, the full foundation, of the Church of England, and read all else into the sense which they believe they find in the Articles. Besides all these, there are people of confused intellects who, being thrown into consternation at the aspect things have assumed with reference to the Irish Establishment, take the Establishment, or the endowments, or the royal supremacy, or the Protestant faith, or anything else that muddle-headedness in alarm can fasten upon, and proclaim that to be the Church of England, which must be fought for 'to the moral death.'

Then again, What is a National Church? Opinions on this head do not present such variety. Two chief views prevail, and all others are deducible to one or the other of them. One view is, that a National Church is the Christian society which in a particular nation is in alliance with the State, which alliance is maintained by law, both as regards the enforcement of discipline and the security of temporalities. The other view is, that a National Church is the expression of the religious sentiment of the nation. The irreconcilable opposition of these two views is made apparent at once when we reflect that Christianity is essential to the former, but that the latter would serve equally well for the maintenance of Mohammedanism in Turkey or Mormonism in Utah. The truth is, the language of the preface of the book we have in hand, while it is meant to speak with precision, succeeds only in producing two examples of *petitio principii:* it begs the question with respect to both sides of the great subject, the controverted condition of which is the very cause of the book having been written.

In passing, we may pause to make an observation upon the idea of a National Church being the expression of the religious sentiment of the nation. They who use this phrase always do so on the assumption that nationality implies 'Establishment' in the technical sense. Now we need only cross the Tweed to find a grand living refutation of this fallacy. Presbyterianism, both ecclesiastically and doctrinally, is the national religion of Scotland as fully and completely as it well can be. Presbyterianism is the expression of the religious sentiment of the Scottish nation, for the laity have immense power, which they vigorously exercise in governing the Church. The lay voice is the supreme voice. But while Presbyterianism is truly national in Scotland, the established religion is only sectional. The Free Kirk and the United Presbyterians are identical with the Established Kirk so far as the expression of the national religious sentiment goes; but

politically they are severed from her, and organically are distinct from each other. S. John's Church—the *quondam* cathedral—at Perth, is divided into three places of worship. The east section is held by the Established, the west by the Free, the transept by the United Presbyterians. The national religious sentiment pervades the whole; they are all Presbyterians upon the model of the Westminster Confession and the Directory, but only the first is in alliance with the State. Here, then, is an instance of the national religious sentiment finding the fullest and most harmonious expression in three sections of religionists, two sections of whom utterly repudiate the very notion of being connected with the State. We have turned aside to offer these remarks, because it is well to have attention drawn to the extreme confusion of thought and inaccuracy of expression which infest those who are the foremost in discussing the *quæstio vexata* of the day. We will now address ourselves to our Essayists, whose united efforts have produced this modest volume of eight papers by seven writers, making up less than three hundred pages.

The first essay is entitled 'The Church and the Working Classes,' and proceeds from the pen of the Rev. T. W. Fowle. The subject is one, beyond all doubt, most urgently demanding the best attention that can be given to it, and the author of this essay is not unmindful of the fact. Without committing ourselves to the approval of the whole of his positions and reasoning, we do not hesitate to say that Mr. Fowle's paper may be profitably read by all whom it may concern. He lays his finger boldly and unerringly upon the weak places in our Church system as regards its practical relations towards the working classes. He does not spare, though he is not needlessly censorious towards, his clerical brethren. No conscientious parish priest need be pained by any remark of his; for, while he points out defects, he gives full credit for honest labour. And the working classes, if the book should fall into the hands of any intelligent member thereof, need not complain of anything that is said about them, either in respect of 'soft sawder,' or condescension, or unkindly fault-finding.

The scheme of the essay is 'to establish or comment on these four propositions:—

'I. That the idea of an Established Church is essentially a 'democratic one, and yet that the working classes have no 'affection for the Established Church of England.

'II. That attendance at public worship is essentially part of 'democratic religion, and yet that the working classes, as a rule, 'attend nowhere.

'III. That the clergy and the democracy are naturally friends 'and allies, and yet that there is no friendship or alliance between 'the Anglican clergy and the working classes.

'IV. That the Christian revelation is one eminently suited to 'a democracy, and yet that the working classes are indifferent to 'its claims upon them.'

The phraseology of these theorems, it will be observed, indicates Mr. Fowle's political leanings. He is a Liberal; but in this paper he is not a partisan. He accepts frankly, and with undisguised good-will, the idea of a democracy as the potential, if not the actual, political condition of this country; but, for all that, he does not offensively force the idea so as to affront any reasonable person to whom that idea may be unwelcome. Setting all likings aside, the power of the Demos in the British commonwealth has been placed beyond all controversy by the Reform Act of last year. It is always foolish to blink facts, and the folly becomes criminal when the facts are such as to affect vital and general interests. That the British Constitution is now essentially democratic is a fact of this order; and the clergy will show their wisdom, or proclaim their incompetency, by the way in which they deal with this fact. Let them face it: let them avoid, as the most ruinous, the most suicidal of all possible courses, the insane policy which some would counsel them to adopt, of identifying the cause of the Church with the cause of a political party. What claim can the Church lay to catholicity if her welfare be bound up with the maintenance of a particular form of secular government in a particular part of the globe,—she whose boast it is to be engaged about interests common to all mankind, be their form of government what it may? But it seems to be the unvoidable tendency of a certain class of minds to rest the eternal truth upon the most evanescent foundations, whether in politics or theology. Yet can anything be more unwise than to make a political cry or a scientific theory the *articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ?*

We do not propose to exhibit an analysis of the reasoning which Mr. Fowle offers upon the four propositions above stated. Their terms, however, suggest some thoughts which we will proceed briefly to express. Of the affection which the working classes may, or may not, feel for the Anglican Church as by law established, it is difficult to speak with precision, inasmuch as the working classes, in that mass and shape which the rapid rise and expansion of commerce and manufactures in this country have given to them, are the growth of recent times. Although the term 'working classes' covers the whole section of the population which in any way lives by manual labour, yet it is the artisan and mechanical portion of it which is chiefly kept in view in all discussions upon this subject. And when it is borne in mind at what a disadvantage, owing to the peculiar circumstances which called the class into existence, the Church and the mechanical

labourers stood to each other from the first, it is scarcely fair to speak either of the failure of the Church in reaching them, or of their want of affection for the Church. That they are to a large degree strangers to each other (though this sometimes is overstated) is a fact, and a deplorable one. But it is not the result of estrangement, but rather because they have never been acquainted. The great fault of the Church—whether by reason of her alliance with the State, or of her ancient character—is, and ever has been, rigidity; and it was scarcely possible for her to meet very promptly the exigencies of a social development which has worked a greater change in the nation during the last century than all that had taken place in the five centuries before. We, therefore, think that Mr. Fowle is incorrect in making use of the expression, 'the alienation of the Democracy from the Established Church,' simply because they have never, in this country, been in union. The Church is doing something, and she will have to do more, to overtake her work amongst the masses; but it will not be to recover the influence she has lost, but to acquire that which she never yet has had.

With regard to Mr. Fowle's second proposition, we cannot exactly say that we know what is 'essential to democratic religion.' Our ideas of religion are not tied to a democracy, or a despotism, or an aristocracy, or anything else you may choose to name as the form of civil polity. But we can cordially endorse all Mr. Fowle says about the mischief of pews and pew-rents. No condemnation can be too severe of a system which has robbed of their full beneficial results even the efforts that have been made to bring the workman and the Church together. To build a church for working-men, and then apportion the best-placed sittings to be rented by the class above them, is a wrong which the plea of impecuniosity does not mitigate, but only exposes other evils in the system which permits it. That the Anglican Church has been too 'respectable,' in the odious middle-class sense of that word, is sadly true, but straitened resources, where plenty was needful, have driven her to it; and who is to blame for that? Neither she nor the working classes, but the cotton kings and mining millionaires whose interests have massed labourers together in such unmanageable multitudes. With respect, however, to the complaints made of the non-attendance of the labouring classes upon public worship, though it be quite true that pew-rents and dull services, and chilling 'respectability,' have had a good deal to do with it, it should be remembered that one influence which sends the middle and upper classes to church is entirely wanting to the lower classes. That influence is social custom. If it were withdrawn, a large number of middle-class people who are regular enough in putting in an appearance

at church once a week now, would never be seen there again. It only needs that fashion should alter, and the numbers of 'respectable' church-goers would fall off amazingly. Now the working-man is under no constraint of fashion to go to church. If he go at all, it is because he chooses to go. Nay, more, the fashion, if any, sets in the opposite direction with him; and one of the worst and most inexcusable features of the irreligion of working-men is the persecution, by ridicule and scoffs, with which they deter those amongst them who have a desire to attend public worship. We should be the last to say anything unjust of the working classes, but some of their most glaring faults arise from a sort of big-boyish tyranny with which they interfere with the personal freedom of their fellows.

The assertion which Mr. Fowle makes in his third proposition requires, to say the least, considerable qualification. The statement that 'there is no friendship or alliance between the Anglican clergy and the working classes' is a very reckless and blind way of calling attention to the fact that the clergy and the working classes are not so intimately united, in the relation of priests and people, as a philanthropic Churchman would wish to see. But the cause is to be sought rather in the insufficient staff of clergy which large parishes, peopled by working-men, possess, than in any fault of the two parties. In such cases a clergyman can only meet his parishioners in large masses, at church or at assemblies, and approach no nearer to them than any other lecturer can to a large audience whom he sees only from the platform. So far, however, as it has been found possible for a clergyman to get into close acquaintance with working-men, at their houses or his, the difficulty of 'alliance and friendship' has not been found to be insuperable. That the working-man should be shy is natural enough, for he feels his inferiority in education and culture. But he would feel much the same shyness in conversing with a layman of the same intellectual and social superiority as the clergyman. It should also be remembered that when a clergyman enters a working-man's house he is, in most cases, the only person of his class that is ever seen within its walls. A good deal of allowance ought to be made for this fact, and it will be found to modify considerably the opinion so positively stated by our essayist. The remedy then of this evil is to be found in multiplying clergy in populous parishes, and so rendering the intercourse between them and working-men less hopeless and impracticable than it is at present. It is, indeed, conceivable that when every facility has been given for this desirable intercourse to spring up, it may, in particular instances, fail to be effected: for both among clergy and working-men there will be found individuals who lack the all-necessary gift of a gentle,

candid, unsuspicious disposition, which marks a man to be one of nature's gentlemen. If, unhappily, though by no means impossibly, the defect lies in the clergyman, then indeed, throughout the whole population of working-men over whom he is placed, there will be a sad absence of 'alliance and friendship.' For no learning, no talent, no industry can make up for that touch of gentle nature which none is so keen in recognising or missing as the respectable and self-dependent working-man. His highest praise of a clergyman, whom he has known best as a friend and adviser, is that he is 'quite a gentleman.' But the defect often lies in the working-man himself. If *he* be not a gentleman, little way will any clergyman make towards striking up a friendship with him. Churls are to be found even in fustian jackets; and the churl, whatever may be his position in life, will treat with suspicion and reserve all whom it is not his interest to conciliate.

In arguing out his fourth proposition we think Mr. Fowle has overrun himself. He complains that the theology of the Church pulpit is so repulsive in its form and matter to the working classes that it drives them from church. But it has been elaborately shown under the second proposition that they never went to church. We do not quite see how people can be driven from a place they never enter. It is no business of ours to apologize for all that is preached from Church pulpits: much of it is dull, and silly, and injudicious, and betrays a not very refined perception of religious truths; but, taking it all round, it is far superior in every respect to the common run of dissenting sermons. Yet working-men frequent dissenting chapels a good deal; and those places where harsh doctrine is preached in a coarse and repulsive manner are rather preferred by them. In fact, it is all nonsense to talk of the working classes being alienated from the Church by the doctrines which are preached in her pulpits. They have never reached that point of religious earnestness or theological squeamishness. It may be, indeed, that they have some inscrutable objection to being damned by a clergyman; but they have no objection to being damned by a ranting cobbler every week, and will pay him for doing so too. At the same time, there is much to be said upon the point of greater boldness, tempered with nicer discretion, in Church preaching. It is a great mistake to suppose that any good is done by imitating the style of the meeting-house. Working-men turn away from it in disgust: their remark is, 'We hear that sort of thing at chapel.'

On the whole subject we think, that while the discussions which it awakens do great credit to those who are anxious about the spread of Christian truth among the working classes, too little account is taken of the fact that many among the working classes do not care much for Christian truth. They find they

can get on very well without it; no man earns less wages for neglecting it; and they see that those who do take an interest in it, manifest their interest oftentimes in quarrelling over it. The meeting at the London Coffee-house (to which Mr. Fowle makes reference) showed as plainly as possible, by the flimsy and pointless character of the excuses alleged, that the working-men, as a general rule, do not go to church or chapel simply because they do not wish to go. The efforts that are made to bring the Church within their reach are highly commendable; but let it not be forgotten that the working classes have their share of responsibility in the matter. Some amiable persons speak and write upon this question as though working-men were children or lunatics, whom it is everybody else's duty to keep out of trouble, and no blame of their own if they get into it. In fact, the British workman is not permitted by these well-meaning people to call his soul his own. It is taken in and done for by them; and his body receives a blanket or a dinner to purchase his consent to the operation. Much real harm is done to the cause of religion, much hindrance thrown up against its being heartily and honestly embraced by the working classes, by the injudicious manner in which enthusiasts and busybodies present it to them. To pet them and pity them, as though they were helpless and irresponsible, and to be finding fault with all schemes and systems of religion for not making them models of virtue and piety, either offends, or misleads working men. If they be of the better sort,—well-educated for their position, thoughtful, intelligent, and self-respecting,—it will certainly offend them. Men of that order see plainly enough that the other classes of society are treated in a different manner. No one dreams of flannelling and souping the gentry into religion; and this difference the sturdy independence of a good workman rebels against. If they be of an inferior type, ignorant, thriftless, dull, it will probably mislead them; for they will take up the notion that their spiritual welfare (whatever they may think that may mean) is other people's affair, not their own, and that they are doing rather an obliging thing to allow themselves to be practised upon and worked up into religious statistics,—for a valuable consideration.

The next essay, upon the 'Voluntary Principle,' by the Rev. J. Ll. Davies, is, as we might expect from the writer, thoughtful, temperate, and impartial. The subject is so intimately enfolded in that of Church establishment that almost all that can be said upon the one may be, with equal propriety, said about the other.

The phrase itself,—voluntary principle,—has more meanings than one, and sometimes it is employed, inadvertently, in one sense when the object is to vindicate or condemn its practice in

another sense. Its most limited sense is that in which it is applied to Church finance; as, for instance, when the whole expenses of a particular place of worship are defrayed by voluntary contributions in lieu of rates, tithes, pew-rents, endowments, or grants. In a more extended sense it has a political and an ecclesiastical application. In its political application it is opposed to establishment or to State control, and is assertive of the right of the Christian society to govern itself. In its ecclesiastical application it vindicates the claim of the laity to choose their own pastor, to regulate their own religious economy, to set up a 'cause' where and how they like. Voluntaryism, being interpreted, signifies freedom of will in matters of religion. Yet, though this interpretation be, perhaps, as near the truth as any single abstract statement can be, the concrete expressions of voluntaryism present some variety of forms. There are some cross-bred examples of religious bodies that are voluntary in one sense, and perfectly non-voluntary in another sense. In this country the Roman Church is politically voluntary, but ecclesiastically it is entirely non-voluntary. In Scotland the Anglican Church is politically voluntary, and so it is ecclesiastically in a very partial sense. Its voluntaryism consists in choosing its own bishops, and governing itself through its own synods. The Presbyterian establishment offers another variety. It is non-voluntary politically; ecclesiastically it enjoys a limited voluntaryism; for through its system of kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and General Assembly, it governs itself under State guarantees, rather than State control, except in the matter of patronage. In England the Congregationalist body is a pure specimen of voluntaryism; and the Anglican Church a pure specimen of non-voluntaryism. In France the Roman Church is politically non-voluntary in the slightest degree; for while it is in alliance with and paid by the State, its ecclesiastical organization, now that the Ultramontane theory has triumphed so completely, is non-voluntary; for not only have the laity no voice, but the Gallican clergy, as such, have none in the matter of Church government. All regulations issue virtually from Rome. Where, and so far as, the 'Gallican Liberties' had existence, the Gallican Church might have been considered to be partially voluntary in the ecclesiastical sense.

We need not pursue this further; but we may turn to the question, What kind of freedom does the Voluntary principle involve? The answer is, The freedom of the majority to bind the minority. Consequently, it is inconsistent with the full freedom of individual consciences. This latter kind of freedom, in point of fact, can only fully be secured by the State to the members of the Church which it establishes as the National Church.

Yet much confusion prevails upon this point. Mr. Davies well points out how Dissenters, in their arguments against a State Church, fall into contradictions. They demand theological liberty; and this, they assert, cannot consist with a Liturgy and Articles imposed by the State: but what is the theological liberty they enjoy? Even this, that their ministers are bound by two, and sometimes by three, strong fetters. First: The narrow creed of the sect; very jealously protected by the people who elect, and can dismiss them. Second: By the necessity of keeping the goodwill of the congregation, the loss of which implies being starved out, or turned out (oftentimes). Third: By the terms of the trust-deed of the particular meeting-house, which lays down the canon of orthodoxy, departure from which involves the minister's own departure from the said meeting-house. Again: they demand liberty for individual consciences, and they deny that this can be had when the people have no voice in choosing their minister, or power to bring him directly to book for his opinions. The liberty for individual consciences, which they claim to possess under the voluntary principle, is just this: that the votes of twenty men can bind the consciences of thirty-nine, their own and nineteen others, because twenty is a majority of one over nineteen; or the single will of a rich and powerful member, who keeps the conventicle going out of his ample purse, can override the wills of the two or three hundred other members who belong to that conventicle. Mr. Davies' way of putting it as regards the voluntariness of Voluntaryism is so good, that we will quote his words:—

'This form of power is chiefly meant by the voluntary principle: it is the power of a close corporation to exercise inexpressible control by the vote of the greater number in matters relating to their own faith and worship. It is the power of the majority, applied directly and immediately in a society not numbering more than a few hundreds. Against this power individuals have no appeal. The alternative offered them, if they are unwilling to submit to the majority, is that of breaking off and forming another society.'—P. 62.

Before quitting this subject, of which we have been able only to touch the outer verge, and upon which the reader may profitably peruse Mr. Davies' excellent paper, we will present another quotation from it for the sake of its good sense and appropriateness to the state of anarchy and confusion into which self-will has brought our own Church:—

'Though a large proportion of the appeals of voluntaryists are made to the more vulgar love of liberty, which covets the pleasure of doing as one likes, the better and more religious thought of the dissenters is aiming at a kind of freedom which depends essentially not on the indulgence, but on the conquest, of self-will. It is impossible for devout Nonconformist

Christians to forget that self-will, instead of being an object to be cultivated, is a bondage from which man needs to be emancipated; that the liberty of the children of God is not to be attained by making it easy for every man to do what is right in his own eyes, but by the determined submission of the will to what is best. I wonder that such men can find pleasure in a name like the Voluntary Principle,—a name so suggestive of self-will; I cannot imagine S. Paul appearing as a champion of it. But it is evident that religious dissenters persuade themselves that the conditions of a State Church are unfavourable to the consecration of the will to God; that instead of encouraging they hinder, that "service" of God which is "perfect freedom."'—P. 68.

The editor of this volume of essays, the Rev. W. L. Clay, has very courageously reserved to himself the two hardest subjects in the whole programme. He contributes Essay III. on 'Clerical Liberty of Thought and Speech,' and Essay VI. on 'The Church, and Education of the People.' To speak first of the former, we are free to allow that if the writer has not arrived at a conclusion perfectly satisfactory to impartial readers, it is more his subject's fault than his own. And that his conclusions are not quite satisfactory even to himself may, we think, be gathered from the undertone of mistrust which can be detected beneath the surface of his general argument, and especially in his doubling back upon orthodoxy in the last paragraph of his essay. We will quote the paragraph for the reader's immediate information:—

'I may be asked,—if one of the "orthodox" chance to read this essay he will be sure to ask,—where is the process of dogma-dissolving to cease? The answer has been implied throughout the preceding pages; but before I conclude it may be well to repeat it explicitly. A certain measure of common belief is essential to the coherence of a Church, and must, therefore, be required of the clergy. You may change one essential (in this sense) belief for another, but you cannot diminish the minimum. Here, then, we have a security for some belief; and in human nature itself, linked as it is with the Divine nature, we have a warranty that the common shall be ultimately the true belief. Man, ever progressive, ever under the guidance of God, cannot persist in the acceptance of error or the rejection of truth. A generation hence, for example, educated Christians will be as incapable of believing in endless perdition as they now are of believing in the diurnal revolution of the sun round the earth. Truth is indispensable to progress, and, therefore, men must and will have it. The Truth of truths, then, "God manifest in the flesh," is safe, whatever betide. We *cannot* abandon that faith in the Incarnation which is destined to be the great dynamic idea of our future civilization.'—P. 119.

Now here, if we mistake not, we have a Broad Churchman confessing himself to be caught in the toils of his own net. The passage is most instructive. In the preceding pages Mr. Clay had done his best, as became a good Broad Churchman, to demonstrate, that on the theory that the Church is the organ through which the nation expresses its aggregate sentiment on

religious matters, it is clear that no dogma, no creed, can be permanent in its duration, or universal in its obligation. For as the popular voice changes, so will the Church change. The *vox ecclesiæ* will be the echo of the *vox populi;* in one age the former will say, 'We believe this dogma;' the latter will echo, 'believe this dogma;' in another age, it will be another dogma, the previous one having been 'dissolved;' and so on. And then, feeling uneasy at this sorry condition to which his theory, the theory of his party, has reduced the Church; and seeing plainly that there is nothing in the theory to prevent the *vox populi* proclaiming 'We believe nothing,' and the Church echoing 'believe nothing,' our author makes a desperate effort to save himself and his argument from this wretched conclusion, which, his Churchmanship over-mastering his broadness, he cannot bring his mind to face. And the way the rescue is effected is amusing, though somewhat melancholy in its issues. Mr. Clay lays sudden hold upon an imaginary 'orthodox' objector, and supposes him to ask where this dissolving of dogmas is to cease. Now, if we may be taken to represent the 'orthodox,' we beg leave to say that it did not occur to us to ask this question, and on two accounts. The first is, that there is no reason at all why the power of dogma-dissolving should stop anywhere, and we accordingly should not pause to ask where it would stop. The second is, that as we are persuaded of the falseness of the Broad Churchman's *terminus à quo*, we are not very solicitous about being ascertained concerning his *terminus ad quem*. We do not, of course, suppose that these reasons are of avail with him, but they are quite sufficient for ourselves.

But now comes the sorriest part of the whole. Having caught his 'orthodox' objector, and made him ask an appropriate question, Mr. Clay returns him this comforting answer—comforting to himself, that is to say, for it is absurd to suppose that any other reasonable being will find satisfaction in it—Something will always have to be believed, and that something 'must be required of the clergy.' That something will not always be the same thing; in fact, it will be continually changing; but still something there will be for the faculty of faith—which, alas! cannot be annihilated, though Broad Churchmen wish it could—to live upon; and that something, be it never so meagre, never so unwholesome, the poor national parson will be bound by law to feed upon himself, and serve out to others. 'You may change one essential (in this sense) belief for another, but you cannot diminish the minimum.' Philosophers have taken a good deal of pains to decide whether there be a minimum in matter, an atom the division of which is inconceivable. They have not succeeded. But Broad Churchmen have embarked upon a more

ambitious enterprise. They intend to find the minimum in faith, and, when they find it, stick to it. And the discovery of this minimum Mr. Clay complacently regards as 'a security for *some* belief.' To us it seems that the maximum of credulity is required to accept such a conclusion as this. Moreover, the question naturally arises, what security is there that this 'minimum belief' shall be true, and not false? Mr. Clay offers an answer; and, at the risk of some repetition, we will examine his answer somewhat closely. He says: 'In human nature itself, linked as it is with the Divine nature, we have a warranty that the common shall be ultimately the true belief.' So the Broad Churchman's belief is an ultimatum as well as a minimum; in short, it is confessedly *in extremis*. But seriously, what meaning does Mr. Clay attach to the words, '*shall be ultimately* the true belief?' Is it this, that through the vista of ages, during the passage of which all sorts of false and imperfect belief shall be the soul's food of generation upon generation of mankind, the keen perception of a Broad Churchman can foresee a last age in which true belief will flourish, a last generation which shall believe the truth? If this be the meaning, then Mr. Clay, and they who think with him, are of all men most miserable; and if this be not the meaning, then we should like the passage to be re-written in a more intelligible way. Again, in speaking of the human nature being linked with the Divine, surely Mr. Clay is not unaware that, taking him on his own platform, he is making here a huge and unwarrantable assumption. As a believing Christian, as an earnest Churchman, which he claims to be, one can well understand Mr. Clay speaking thus from the bottom of his heart; but he must know that in doing so he is begging a very large question which the ideal National Church for which he has been arguing will challenge and dispute; he is talking 'orthodoxy' which it will reject as dogma. Then he passes on to a further remark (we refer the reader to the whole quotation), which is just one of those platitudes that cover either truth or error, according to the connexion in which they are used. The example which is added, with the intention of giving it point, has the drawback of not being pertinent. Assuming that belief in 'endless perdition' is an error, there have always been some 'educated Christians' who have rejected it, but there is no reason whatever for asserting that there will be no 'educated Christians' in the next generation who will accept it.

The remainder of the passage is to be objected to on the simple ground, that it is so thoroughly orthodox as to be quite inconsistent with the whole tenour and argument of the essay. We, of course, do not object to it; but then we reject the reasoning of the essay: they who will object to it, will do so just because

they accept the reasoning of the essay. Mr. Davies, towards the conclusion of his paper, commits a similar inconsistency, when he speaks of 'the old system of our State Church' being 'the 'system which binds a powerful branch of the Church Catholic 'to the State, so that they give and receive mutual benefits.' We hail with satisfaction these flashes of truth gleaming through the cloud of error. We regard them as proofs that the authors are writing below the level of their own proper standard as Churchmen. They are the homage which a sincere man involuntarily pays to his own higher principles when, by some curious conspiracy of circumstances, he is led into pleading a cause which is based upon a lower principle. With reference to the particular case before us, Mr. Clay is true to himself when he speaks of 'God manifest in the flesh' as being the 'truth of truths,' but he is false to the theory he has been advocating. 'We 'cannot,' he emphatically adds, 'abandon that faith in the Incar- 'nation which is destined to be the great dynamic idea of our 'future civilization.' That *he* cannot abandon it we fully believe. But does he for a moment suppose that the 'minimum belief,' which is to be the creed of his ideal 'National Church,' will include this 'truth of truths?' He himself has more than once whispered a misgiving upon this very point. He says (p. 113): 'The majority of our own nation might become Unitarians.' Again (p. 119): 'There is a great—too great—probability that the next question will concern the Godhead of Christ.' We feel as confident as Mr. Clay that the doctrine of the Incarnation will not, cannot, be abandoned, but the ground of our confidence is totally different from that of his. We believe in One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, divinely founded, divinely perpetuated; having the Lord Jesus Christ for its Founder and Head, the Holy Ghost for its indwelling light and life. The doctrine of the Incarnation is the grand central truth of which the Catholic Church is the keeper. It will never be abandoned, because Christ will never suffer His Church to cease; nor will the Holy Ghost ever fail to abide within her. We cannot, however, be so sure that the Church will always maintain her hold upon the nations which now may be called Christian. We can see no warranty for confidence that the civilization of the future will be expanded only by the force of this great 'dynamic idea.' Neither history nor the tendency of things gives us any assurance that this will be so. Bishop Butler asked, What security was there for whole communities not going mad? It is at least a fair question to put, What security is there against whole communities renouncing Christianity? Mr. Clay, however, and they who entertain his views of a National Church, repose their confidence in the opinion that the majority must be right, or at any rate

ultimately right, whatever may betide the faith of the generations that precede the ultimate. But this faith of the Broad Churchman in majorities is a very peculiar thing. It is held with discrimination. It does not extend to clerical majorities. There is nothing so certain to a Broad Churchman as that the majority of any assembly of ecclesiastics will go wrong upon a question affecting the Church. Many of that school speak and write concerning clerical majorities so contemptuously, and in such a spirit of suspicion, that they would seem to prefer taking the votes of the Reform League upon an article of the creed, than the votes of Convocation; and would sooner submit doctrinal disputes to a bench of magistrates than to the bench of bishops.

When Mr. Clay falls back upon the doctrine of the Incarnation as the one faith which must not be abandoned, and which, come what may, will remain in the national belief, it might occur to him that the preservation of that 'truth of truths' is, alone, a refutation of his theory of a Church, and also a proof of the Catholic theory which we maintain. It is to the Church, in the Catholic and Apostolic sense, that the existence of that truth as an article of belief is, under God, to be attributed. We cannot, of course, presume to say that God might not have appointed other methods of preserving His truth amongst men; but as a matter of fact the one method which, throughout the Christian ages, He has appointed, is just that which the new theory of the Church is intended to supplant. The paragraph of this essay, which we have been considering at some length, is an orthodox recoil from the dreary desolation of all Christian belief into which the writer, by the force of a vague liberalism, had been drifted. Mr. Clay takes refuge in the ancient stronghold of faith, and is glad to believe that it will ever abide as the 'dynamic idea' of the future. We heartily rejoice to see him, after all his wanderings in this essay, standing at last upon the firm ground of 'the truth of truths.' But they who have been his willing companions in his rambles after the ideal Church of liberalism, must be surprised at his thus running back to the old shelter. To them he will appear amazingly inconsequential in his movements. And here we must remark upon the scarcely fair measure dealt out to ord Amberley. Mr. Clay speaks of his articles in the *Fortnightly Review* good-naturedly enough, but he reflects upon their absurdity. That they were stark nonsense from beginning to end we should not be disposed to deny; but they at least had the merit of being consistently nonsensical. Lord Amberley did not spoil the completeness of his absurdity by talking sense in the last paragraph.

With Mr. Clay's other essay, entitled 'The Church and the Education of the People,' we shall not detain the reader. The

large question between religious and secular education, either discussed with especial reference to the Conscience Clause, or on its own merits, is too familiar to be touched upon slightly, and too extensive to receive any other than slight attention in the present article. We shall therefore content ourselves with recommending the paper to those who wish to see the subject fairly discussed from the 'Broad' side. A clever and sensible pamphlet, by the Rev. Henry Brandreth, has come into our hands ('Wastethrifts and Workmen'), and we refer to it in this place merely to note, that while he, like Mr. Clay, is of the most pronounced 'Broad' school, he, like Mr. Clay, insists upon religion being an element of education. With regard to the quantity or the quality of the religion we may be of a different opinion from these gentlemen, but in the face of a proposal that national education should be purely secular, they and we are on the same side; and this it is well to know, and, when the struggle comes, to remember for practical purposes of co-operation and sympathy.

There are other essays in this volume which we shall pass over uncommented upon, not as being undeserving of notice, but because we have not space to give them the notice they deserve. With regard to two, however, we must make some brief remarks. Mr. Abbott, the Head Master of the City of London School, writes on 'the Church and the Congregation.' There is a good deal of sound sense in the article, and many of his hints might be imported into a work upon the Pastoral Office; we might say that many of his hints have appeared in such works. His prescription, however, for curing the supposed diseases of the Church, if written out very briefly, would stand somewhat thus: Let the congregational, rather than the parochial system, be preferred. Outside the church (building), take the Wesleyan class-system as a model, and work it out, with such adaptations, alterations, and developments as circumstances may suggest. Be more sociable, brotherly, and club-like in all schemes for promoting the religious welfare of the community. Inside the church, take the Presbyterian model of worship as a type; let there be a little more form in it; but still keep it free, elastic, susceptible of adaptation to the condition of the worshippers—whether town or country folk, whether rich or poor. But, above all, reduce the distinction between minister and people to a minimum; let the trained singers lose themselves in the congregation; let there be as little of 'order,' 'ritual,' 'decency,' or 'beauty,' in the worship as possible. Mr. Abbott would have reached the point of his article much more quickly and intelligibly if he had simply recommended the establishment of Wesleyanism as the national religion, and suggested that, while people are waiting for that

happy consummation, they should frequent Wesleyan or Independent conventicles. He frankly admits that his 'theory' of the Church is quite different from the received 'theory.' This is well; for it prepares people for the kind of Church reform which they are to expect at the hands of the 'Broad' school. Its nature is not darkly hinted at by another essayist, Mr. Berkley, in his paper on 'The Church and Universities.' 'Protestantism,' says this gentleman, 'as a phase of progress, has done its work; 'it was a protest against Roman aberrations from principles held 'in common with Rome; the question now is, as to the principles '—and Protestantism is of no avail here' (p. 153). To say that the success of these reformers' endeavours would be the destruction of the Anglican Church, is to put the matter in a half light, quite inadequate to the vast proportions of their designs. It is more true to say that, under their scheme of improvement and reform, Christianity itself would be 'improved' off the face of the earth. They do not, we believe, consciously aim at this result; they would repudiate such a purpose, if challenged with it. But it is not necessary for people to know, or to intend, the result which will infallibly follow upon their own efforts.

The last essay in the volume, by Mr. J. R. Seeley, demands some special attention, both because it contains some misconceptions, and also because there is some good advice in it worth attending to. The title is 'The Church, as a Teacher of Morality,' and the essay is addressed to clergymen. The essay takes the form of a general complaint against the clergy of all shades of opinion, except, of course, the 'Broad,' for the insufficient and inefficient manner in which they teach morality from the pulpit. The writer asserts that in the average of sermons there is little distinctive moral teaching; and that little is chiefly upon one point, alms-giving. He maintains that the greater part of the clergy either do not teach morality at all, or else put it forth in a general form of exhortation to do what is right, and condemnation of doing what is wrong; that the more intimate treatment of morality, by pointing out what is moral duty, and how it becomes so, and how it is to be fulfilled, finds no place in the ordinary run of sermons. In laying this indictment against preachers, Mr. Seeley speaks with so much courtesy towards the order, and offers his advice to clergymen in so considerate and becoming a manner, that we have much pleasure in hearing what he has to say.

'Anyone,' says he, 'who inquires for the moral result of so 'much zealous preaching will discover, I think, just this,—a 'moral sense really awakened, but instructed only on one point; 'namely, the duty of relieving distress' (p. 250). Now we will

not say that this is not, to some extent at least, true; but then, the question is whether it be blameworthy? The particular moral duty which he alleges alone receives proper attention, is just the one which differs from all others in this, that its practice forms a part of public worship. To give for any 'pious or charitable use,' during service and at the altar, is an integral part of the Christian liturgy. This at once explains how it is that the moral duty of alms-giving receives more practical treatment than any other. But could the others be as practically dealt with from the pulpit? We are far from asserting that there is no room for improvement in the direction indicated by Mr. Seeley; but against much that he says, there may be set one or two considerations, which may tend to qualify his strictures, and apologize for the facts. In the remarks we are about to offer we shall keep our eye, not only upon Mr. Seeley's essay, but also upon the much more acrimonious and much less sensible observations about preaching and pulpit cowardice made this vacation by the *Times* and its irrepressible 'S. G. O.'

Whenever a preacher feels moved to deal very pointedly and elaborately with any particular moral duty and its violation, the question will arise in his mind whether his so doing will be unto edification? His audience may be mixed, in the fullest sense of the term, in social rank, in occupation, in age, in sex, in moral and religious strength or weakness. The recollection of this fact may make him decide against so dealing with that particular duty. He may conclude that a general awakening of the moral sense would be more profitable for the whole congregation than the discussion of a particular phase of duty which many of his hearers are not in the way of neglecting or observing. In fact, the argument, which is always so forcible in favour of a fixed form of service, and against extemporaneous prayer, has weight with him. The prayers of a service-book are so framed as to meet the common wants of public worshippers, and, consequently, in their language and thoughts the purpose of being applicable to each worshipper is subordinated to that of being applicable to all. But the extempore supplication (besides other grave objections) is liable to be so particular in its matter, as to leave the generality out of consideration, and, in an extreme case, to suit actually no one present at all—not even the minister who is making the prayers. It may be, we say, that this sort of consideration has weight with a preacher to a mixed assembly; and so far as they influence him, that far will his preaching bear away from the intimate treatment of moral subjects which Mr. Seeley recommends. It may be observed, in passing, that the less mixed an audience is, the more definite is the preaching addressed to it. Sermons to schoolboys and soldiers, before the

Universities and at the Inns of Court, are more decided and intimate in their treatment of moral questions, simply because the preacher has a special congregation, which can receive special teaching.

There is another point to be considered. That the pulpit should be the place of sound and definite moral teaching we freely allow; but is it possible to make it do the whole duty in this respect? The particular treatment of moral teaching is only practically useful to the individuals who need it, and, in order to bring it to bear, the application must be personal. But if this be attempted in the pulpit, the thing is denounced as personality—as preaching *at* individuals: and the complaint is reasonable. The personal intercourse in private life between a clergyman and his flock is the proper sphere for carrying out moral teaching, which as properly begins in the pulpit by awakening the moral sense. As for the charge of cowardice which 'S. G. O.' brings against his clerical brethren for *not* speaking plain in the pulpit, it is obvious that it could as easily be brought against them if they *did* speak plain. For while in the former case it is alleged that they are afraid of offending their hearers, in the latter case it might be said that they take a cowardly advantage of their security in the pulpit from retort to say that which they dare not say out of the pulpit, and where men could answer them. In fact, it is in this latter sense that the pulpit has been called 'Coward's Castle.' But the charge is one which the clergy may treat with contempt, both for its own sake, and also for the sake of him who brings it.

Another fault that Mr. Seeley finds with preachers is, that they talk in Oriental language, and confine their illustrations to Bible characters. Oriental language is condemnable: so is that language which deals largely in words ending in 'ation,' 'ite,' 'ism,' and 'ist.' But, with regard to the exclusive use of Scripture personages for moral and religious example, something may be said in its defence when we come to hear the substitute which our author proposes. He suggests the use of characters illustrious in the modern history and biography both of our own and of other countries. Against this suggestion two obvious objections lie. The first is, that people are not sufficiently familiar with modern historical characters to understand the allusions that may be made to them. And as such illustrations can only be employed in sermons in an allusive way, which assumes acquaintance in the hearers with the facts referred to, it is clear, that in addressing average congregations, the preacher who should resort to this style of illustration would appear pedantic, without being useful. The second objection is, that even supposing the congregation to be sufficiently well informed to appreciate illustrations drawn

from modern history and biography, they might—some of them certainly would—dispute the estimate of character upon which the allusion was based. They might take a different view from the preacher's, and perhaps undervalue a really good argument because it was garnished with an illustration which they considered to be misapplied. But to neither of these objections are Bible illustrations obnoxious. All may fairly be supposed to know them, and all are agreed as to the estimate that should be formed of them. In saying this, we do not mean to object to Mr. Seeley's suggestion *in toto*. We rather think that some use may be made of it; but it is only fair to recollect the aforesaid objections as an apology for preachers whom Mr. Seeley blames on this account. The suggestions which he makes have in view average congregations, and the objections to their being adopted arise from the fact that the congregations are average. As we remarked above, in reference to the directness of moral teaching, so here, in respect to this point, where the congregation is, by circumstances, so selected that the preacher knows the intellectual calibre of his hearers, there we find him striking out with a good deal of freedom.

One more of Mr. Seeley's points must be noticed. He pleads for a more extended mental culture and a more varied mental *pabulum* for the clergy. They should understand political economy and social science, at least in their principles. We quite agree with him. A parish priest will be all the wiser in his vocation for having read Mill's 'Political Economy.' The fact however is, that clergymen are not more given to reading than laymen; and the large fact which covers both laity and clergy is that the majority of men do not find very great delight in books. With regard to the clergy, there are very many who do not read one book of any size or substance in twelve months. Newspapers and well-thumbed theological manuals,—most of these latter being anything but comparable in theology with Liebig's Extract of Beef in food,—are all their minds subsist upon. If they did more than this, they would do what is to them a disagreeable task. We think they ought to do it, even as a task. But who is to make them? The force of the discontent of the educated classes with the present state of things. But this force has to overcome reasons, or excuses, which cannot be better stated and refuted than they are by Mr. Seeley in the following paragraph:—

'"But, then, the clergyman has no time for study! He is expected to do so many things; his congregation intrude so constantly upon his leisure; so much activity and publicity are forced upon him." But, in the first place, the studies of which I have been speaking are not of the kind which specially require seclusion from the world. I have been advocating the

study of actual life and society: such a study absolutely requires a good deal of contact with society and experience of life. Still, it must be admitted that a certain amount of solitude is the indispensable condition of all study; the facts collected in the world must be arranged and generalized in private. A perpetual round of petty engagements is fatal to progress even in practical studies. We suffer from this malady in all departments of culture at once at the present time; not only in the Church, but among the teaching class at the Universities and in Schools. As idleness was the besetting sin of the last age, industry is the besetting sin of the present; or, more correctly, the idleness has been succeeded by a merely external and superficial industry. Our conversion seems to have begun not at the heart but at the extremities. The hands and feet have thrown off their listlessness and move to and fro indefatigably; the tongue, throat, and lungs tax themselves prodigiously; but the change will be more in form than in substance till it penetrate to the brain and will. In all the professions a man's first duty now is to renounce the ambition of becoming distinguished for activity; the temptation chiefly to be avoided is that of undertaking more work than he can do in first-rate style. The quality of work must be improved, and, for that end, if necessary, the quantity reduced. A higher and calmer sort of activity must be arrived at,—economy in energy, expenditure without waste, zeal without haste. The moral teachers of the community should set the example of an industry thus tempered, of a proper distribution of life between solitude and society, between contemplation and action: they are the last persons in the world who should allow their work to be spoiled by the unreasonable expectations of others. How can they direct the actions of others if they have not independence enough to direct their own? The question for all people, but particularly for them, is not how they are expected to do their work, but how their work may best be done; and the higher the kind of work, the more necessary it is that the worker should claim and use the privilege of doing it in his own way. If he is to submit to any other opinion in such a matter, at least let it be an authority above him, not an ignorant clamour from beneath.'—P. 284.

Such, then, are some of the friends of the Church of England, and such their advice. We have spoken freely and strongly both of them and their counsel, and we make no apology for having done so; for these are not the days to disguise honest opinions, whether of censure or approval. To the two sets we stand in no attitude of hostility, but rather of frank goodwill, which will not allow the services of a friend to be lost to the Church if a plain straightforward word will save them. Both sets hold something which is essential to the completeness of the Church of England. Both sets hold that something with an extravagance and disproportion of zeal which imperils the advantage they would otherwise render by their insisting upon it. That which the Ritualists hold is Catholicity; that which the Broad Churchmen hold is Nationality. Both must be maintained, or our venerable Mother will cease to be. Without Catholicity she would no longer be the *Church*-of-England; without Nationality she would cease to be the Church-of-*England*. But both to Ritualists and Broad Churchmen we must

say a word of earnest remonstrance. The former we ask to re-consider their infatuated admiration for everything Roman. Their behaviour in this respect is not only laughable, but is loudly laughed at by others, and by none more scornfully than by Rome herself. If they persist in fostering this most ignoble passion for a Church which, in the present time of her decaying fortunes and the breaking up of her strongest alliances, takes peculiar pleasure in spurning and scoffing at their advances, they will ruin their own communion. They are giving life and vigour and abundant triumph to such mischievous societies as the Church Association; they make *The Rock* a success; they put into the mouths of the Church's enemies the logic of appearances, which is more difficult to refute than the logic of facts. All this they, as English Churchmen, are doing, and the reward they reap is to be kicked aside as heretics and schismatics by the foot of Rome. Will they not forbear?

To the 'Broad' party we have little more to say than what we have said. Their infatuation is Nationality. As an idea held in due proportion with other ideas, it is important and fruitful of good. But held as they hold it,—as Dean Stanley above all others holds it,—it is a monomania, a frenzy, which warps the judgment, and destroys the intellectual balance. Every one can see, but these gentlemen themselves, that what they are willing to sacrifice for the sake of maintaining a national religion is not this dogma, or that formulary, not a creed or a set of articles, not even the Church, but that which includes all these, Christianity itself. Let not Broad Churchmen console themselves with the notion of a residual modicum of belief, which shall be able to resist the force of non-belief to which their policy of indefinite comprehension is giving an irresistible impetus. To cut off unhealthy excrescences, to throw aside burdensome accretions, to cut out diseased parts from the body—these offices may well come from friendly hands, for they contribute to strength and continuance; but to sacrifice essential elements, to forget the principle of its constitution, and yield it up by little and little in order to attain an imaginary inclusiveness which shall leave nothing outside of it, this is only a slow kind of self-destruction. If the Broad Church party persevere in their eliminating and dissolving policy, while they claim to be friends of the Church, they will not, as they suppose, save the Church, and the only thing left to hope for will be that the Church may be saved from her friends.

NOTICES.

THIS is with publishers the dull afternoon of the year. We can only specify, as befits the autumn quarter, the gleanings of the book-harvest. Mr. D. T. Stewart's 'Monograph of Ely Cathedral' (Van Voorst), recalls Willis rather than Stanley. A painstaking archæologist, an expert in architecture, and with a love for his subject, which Mr. Stewart's former connexion with this noble church accounts for, the author has had unusual opportunities for composing an interesting work. He has succeeded, and though we should have been pleased had not Mr. Stewart's plan, to which he has rigorously adhered, precluded him from adverting to the magnificent and munificent works of restoration at Ely which our own times have witnessed, and at the same time forbidden him to enliven his pages with such picturesque biography as that of which Dean Stanley is a master, yet we may say that in severe precision and accuracy this handsome volume is one for which students have great reason to be grateful.

One of the main causes of that popularity, not of the very highest class perhaps, which the advanced school of so-called 'Ritualists' has attained, is to be found in the circumstance that many of them can preach. They are lively, picturesque, and dramatic. In a volume of 'Sermons' which has reached us, Dr. Lee's (Hayes), we recognise a good deal of vigour, and, as they are usually concerned with practical subjects, there is little that can offend. Somewhat stilted and over-ornate in diction, they do not satisfy a very pure taste; but the fact is, that sermons ought not to be over-refined. A false metaphor, so that it tells, is better than our correct platitudes; and we can quite believe that, in all the senses of the word, not excluding the best sense, Dr. Lee is a striking, as he certainly is an eloquent, preacher.

Some attention has lately been called to the expenses of religious societies. If the Revised Code principle of paying for results is good for anything, the 'Report of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews,' is, as they say, interesting. The Society's income is more than £36,000, and last year they spent their income, and £1,400 more than their income. At the large London institution in Palestine Place twenty-seven adults were baptized, at Liverpool one, at Manchester three, in Sweden none, in Holland eight, in Germany, with eight or more stations, eight, in France none, in Italy none, in Greece none, in the Danubian Principalities one, in European Turkey one, in Asiatic Turkey, including the expensive mission at Jerusalem, costing about £5,000 a year, one convert is reported; in Algiers two, but in Tunis none. A little more than fifty converts involve an expenditure of thirty-seven thousand pounds! The Bishop of London knows with what difficulty his fund for the spiritual necessities of London is collected. Has it ever occurred to

him, as one of the Vice-Presidents of this remarkable Society, to investigate its accounts and work ?

Archdeacon Churton is one of the most accurate of our living writers, and in critical acquaintance with English theology he stands unrivalled. The legitimate and hereditary guardian of that sound school of Churchmanship which is best known by the name of Bishop Van Mildert, and of which Mr. Joshua Watson was, as a layman, so noble a living exponent, Mr. Churton is at home as with most subjects so especially with this. Bishop Jackson, of Lincoln, has recently thought fit to republish 'Waterland's Views on the Eucharist,' and he went out of his way, or rather made it his way, to show that Waterland's was *the* text book of Anglican theology on this subject. Archdeacon Churton has recently got hold of some unpublished papers of Waterland, of no great value in themselves, and these he reprints as a supplement to Van Mildert's large edition of Waterland's Works, under the title of 'Fourteen Letters from Daniel Waterland to Zachary Pearce' (J. Parker). This republication the Archdeacon of Crowland prefaces with one of the neatest pieces of literary criticism which we remember. It dispels two figments: one that Waterland is *the* authority on the Eucharist: the other, that Van Mildert either said or thought so. We commend this curious little tractate to all who are interested not only in theological criticism, but in acute and polished writing.

It seems to be Mr. S. C. Malan's speciality to select out-of-the-way subjects. He elucidates them always with immense erudition, and whatever his subject is he enters into it heart and soul. We know—that is, if we think of it we know—the existence of the Armenian Church; but as to its having a history, a literature, and a hagiology, he must indeed be a ripe and exceptional scholar who can say that he has studied this subject. Mr. Malan has done so; and in his 'Life of S. Gregory the Illuminator' (Rivingtons) he has given us a really interesting book,—interesting rather for the fields of knowledge which it hints at than for those which it discloses. Without the late Mr. Mason Neale's attractive style, Mr. Malan possesses much of his singular and esoteric learning.

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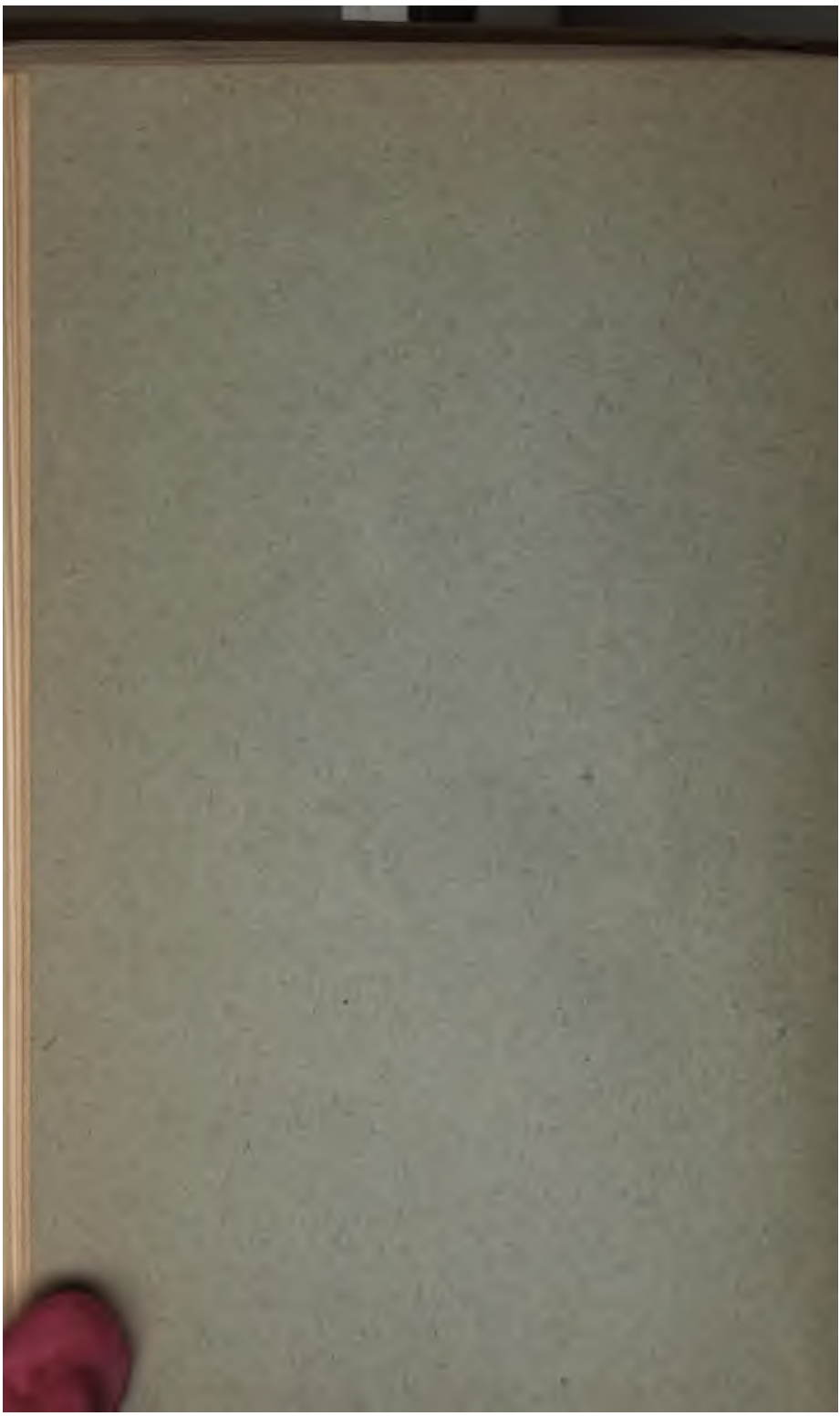

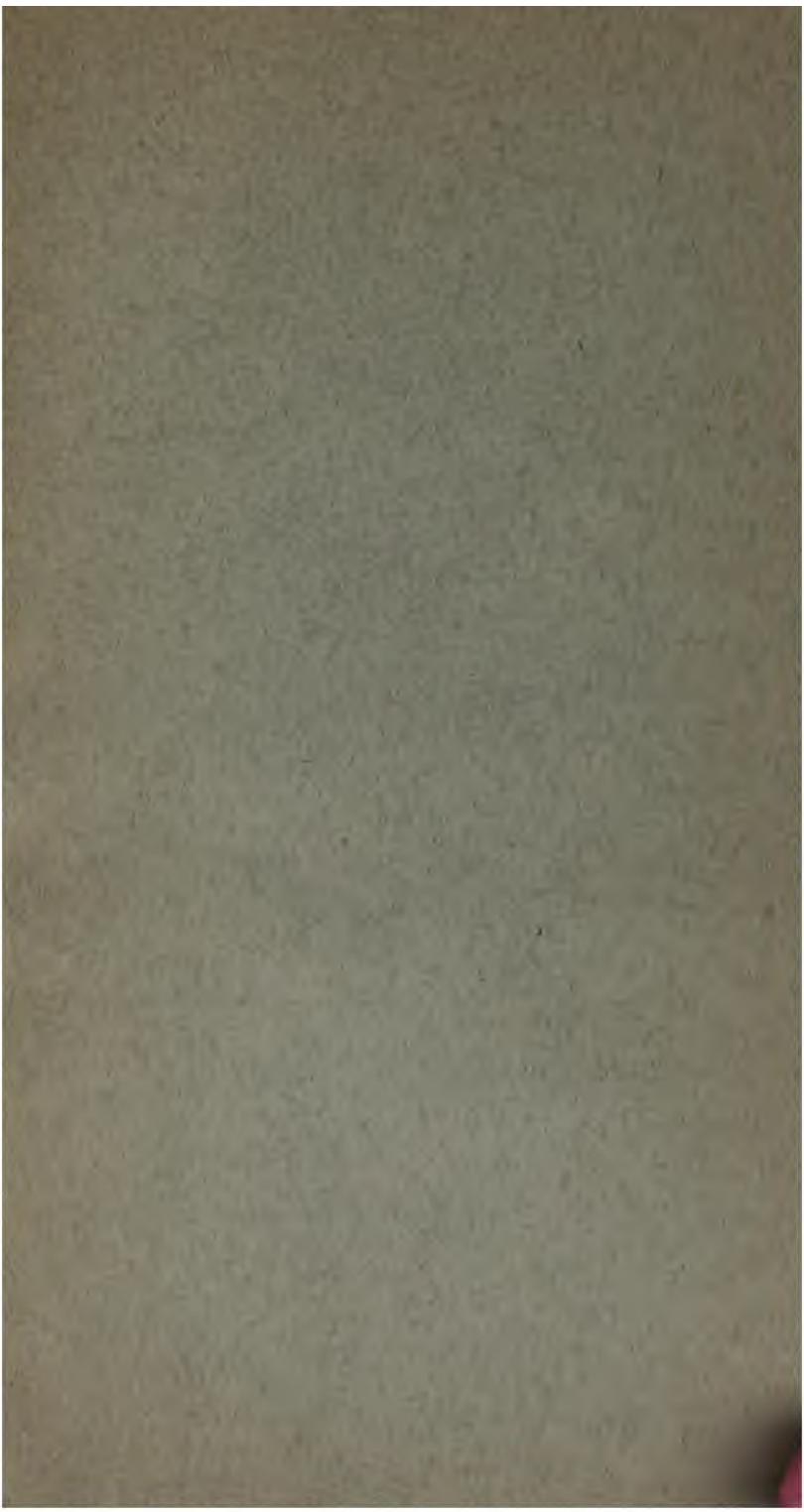

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